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## BRITISH BIOGRAPHY;

OR.

An Accurate and Impartial Account

OFTHE

## LIVES and WRITINGS

OF

# Eminent Persons,

IN

GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND;

From WICKLIFF, who began the REFORMATION by his WRITINGS, to the PRESENT TIME:

WHETHER,

STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, GENERALS, ADMIRALS,

PHILOSOPHERS, POETS, LAWYERS, Or DIVINES.

#### IN WHICH,

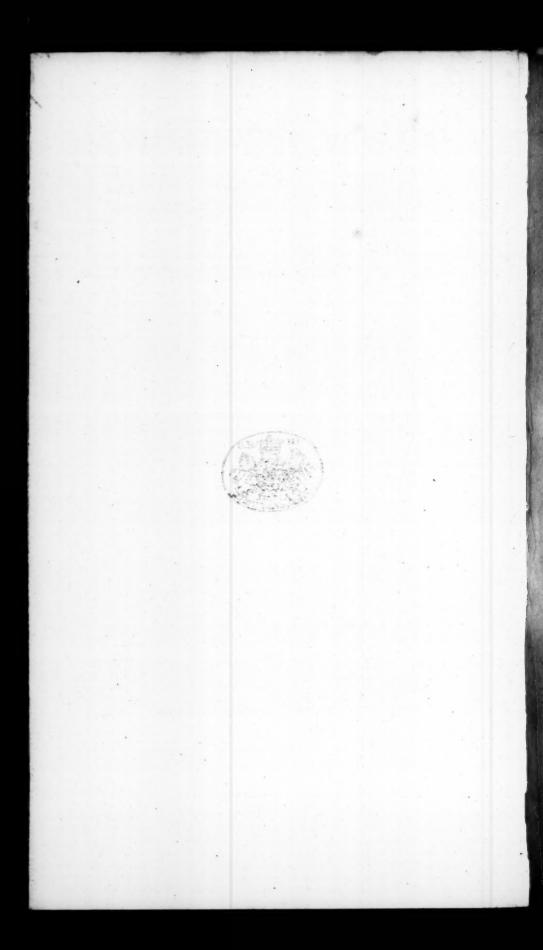
The feveral Incidents and remarkable Actions of their Lives, and the Particularities of their Deaths, that could be collected from HISTORY, FAMILY MEMOIRS, and RECORDS, are related; a Catalogue and Specimen of their Writings given, with occasional Remarks; and their Characters delineated with Freedom and Impartiality.

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## BRITISH BIOGRAPHY.

### The Life of EDMUND SPENSER.

HIS pleasing and justly celebrated Poet was born in London, and educated at Pembroke Hall in Cambridge; where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1572, and that of Master of Arts in 1576 (f). He had but little fortune, and appears to have had but little interest, at his first fetting out into the world; for he is faid to have stood for a Fellowship in the College, and to have missed it : and this disappointment, together with the narrowness of his circumstances, is supposed to have obliged him soon after to quit the University. During his residence here, however, he became acquainted with Mr. Gabriel Harvey (g), of Trinity-Hall, a gentleman of distinguished wit and good sense, with whom he cultivated

(f) This appears from the register ber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. of the University, and is a sufficient P. 98. confutation of the supposition that Spenfer was born fo early as 1510; which, though it is the date fixed upon his monument at Westminster-Abbey, cannot but be erroneous. But, indeed, it has been sufficiently proved that the infcription upon his monument is of no authority .-- Vid Mr.

(g) GABRIEL HARVEY was born at Saffron-Walden, in the county of Essex. His father was a ropemaker; but he was nearly related to Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State. He received his education at Christ-Church in Cambridge, where, in a short time, he made such a pro-Upton's Preface to his Edition of the ficiency as astonished his tutor; and Fairy Queen, P. 10, 12. and Cib- having taken both his degrees in arts,

cultivated an intimate friendship, which proved very ferviceable

to him afterwards.

After leaving the University, he went into the North of England, whether to visit any of his friends, or for any other purpose, does not particularly appear: however, during his refidence there, he sell in love with a Lady, whom in his Pastorals he has finely celebrated by the name of Rosalind, and of whose cruelty he very pathetically complains. His friend E. K. who wrote notes to his Pastorals, says, that "Rosalind is a "feigned name, which being well-ordered, will bewray the very

he was made Proctor of the Univerfity, and became eminent for his skill in poetry and oratory. After some time he was elected a Fellow of Trinity Hall in Cambridge, and applying himself to the study of the civil law, he obtained his grace for a degree in that faculty, and was admitted Doctor of laws at Oxford in 1585. He afterwards practifed as an Advocate in the prerogative court of Canterbury, at London. However, we are told that in his elder years he turned his mind to aftrology, in which also he became eminent, and wrote almanacks that were much efteemed in the reign of Queen Eli-A copy of English verses zabeth. written by him, and figned Hobbinol, (by which name he is covertly reprefented in Spenser's Pastorals) are prefixed to the Fairy Queen, and have been very highly commended. He published also several other Pieces, and particularly a treatife of Rhetoric in Latin. Spenfer takes notice, that he was very highly effeemed, both by Sir Philip Sydney, and his friend Mr. Dyer. He lived to a great age, dying in the year 1630. Dr. Gabriel had some controversies with Robert Green, and Anthony Wood censures him for writing against Green after the death of the latter. Green (fays Wood) " wrote against, or at " least reslected upon, Gabriel Harvey, " in feveral of his Writings; where-" upon Harvey, being notable to bear " his abuses, did inhumanly trample " upon him when he lied full low in " his grave, even as Achilles tortured " the dead body of Hector."

ROBERT GREEN was educated at the University of Cambridge, where he took the degree of Master of

Arts, and was afterwards incorporated into the University of Oxford. He was a man of great humour and drollery, and by no means deficient in point of wit; but he too often prolituted his talents to the purpofes of vice and obscenity. He was one of the most noted Writers of his time, and published a very great variety of Pieces in profe and verse. Winstanley observes, that he was a great friend to the printers by the many books he wrote; but he adds, that he was a man fo addicted to pleasure, that he drank much deeper draughts of fack, than of the Heliconian stream. He is mentioned as the first English Poet who wrote for a fupport; and, as a profe-writer, was reputed master of a clear and elegant ftyle, and numbered among the improvers of our language in those days. And as his Works contained a confiderable share of licentious wit, they fold well, and afforded him a confiderable income. However, his method of living was extremely vicious and irregular; he had, we are told, a very fine and deferving woman to his wife, by whom he had a child, but whom he abandoned to penury and distress, lavishing his substance on harlots and common profitutes. And at length, after a course of years spent in distipation, riot, and dehauchery, whereby his faculties, his fortune, and constitution, had been destroyed, we find him fallen into a state of great wretchedness, disease, and self-condemnation. His fituation at this time is frongly represented in a letter from him to his wite, still extant. notwithstanding the evidences which he feemed to give of his repentance in his latter days, his death was fuit-

every name of his love and mistress, whom by that name he " coloureth." What he means by " well-ordered," fays Mr. Upton, is the reducing the letters out of that confused state, in which, by way of anagram, they are involved, and placing them in their proper order: for Spenfer is an anagrammatist in many of his names. Thus Algrind transposed is Archbishop Grindal; and Morell, Bishop Elmer, or Aylmer (b). However, the real name of Rosalind has not yet been discovered; though we are told that she was a Lady of fine accomplishments.

As poetry is frequently the offspring of love and retirement, it is probable that Spenier's genius began to distinguish itself about this time; for the SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR, which is fo full of his fuccessless passion for Rosalind, was the first of his Works of any note. This he addressed, by a short dedication in verse, to Sir Philip Sydney, concealing himself under the humble title of IMMERITO (i). It was his friend Gabriel Harvey, as Mr. Upton informs us, that introduced Spenfer to Sir Philip Sydney ( k ), and Sydney recommended him to the Earl of Leicester. And it appears from many passages in his Pastorals, that he often visited at Penshurst in Kent. At this de-

feit gotten by eating too great a quantity of pickled herrings, and drinking Rhenish wine with them. Soon after his death, in the same year, was published in 4to. in black letter, "The Repentance of Robert Green, " Master of Arts; wherein, by him-46 felf, is laid open his loofe life; " with the manner of his death." The following are the titles of a few of his Pieces: 1. Euphues his censure to Philautas, Lond. 1587. 4to. 2. Nusquam sera est: or, a treatise decyphering those particular vanities that hinder youthful gentlemen from attaining to their intended perfections. 3. The History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay; a dramatic performance. 4. Doraftus and Fawnia. 5.
Tully's Loves. 6. Philomela, the
Lady Fitzwalter's Nightingale. 7.
Green's Arcadia. 8. A Farewell to Folly. 9. Monardo: the Tritameron of Love; wherein certain pleafant conceits, uttered by divers worthy perfonages, are perfectly dif-courled; and three doubtful queftions of love most pithily and pleafantly discoursed; shewing to the wise, how to use love; and to the

able to his life; for he died of a fur- ing to all both pleasure and profit. 4to. 1584.

(b) Preface to the Fairy Queen,

P. 13.

(i) Hughes's Life of Spenfer, P. 3.

(k) This is quite inconfiftent with a flory which has been often told, introduced to Sydney in a very different manner. It is faid, that our Poet was an entire stranger to Sir Philip when he began to write his Fairy Queen; and that he took occasion to go to Leicester-House, and introduce himself by sending in to Sir Philip a copy of the ninth canto of the first book of that poem. Sydney was much surprized with the description of despair in that canto, and is faid to have shewn an unufual kind of transport on the discovery of so new and uncommon a genius. After he had read fome stanzas, he turned to his Steward, and bad him give the person who brought those verses fifty pounds; but upon reading the next stanza, he ordered the fum to be doubled. The Steward was no less surprized than his mafter, and thought it his duty to make fome delay in executing fo fudden wife, how to use love; and to the and lavish a bounty; but upon read-fond, how to eschew lust; and yield-ing one stanza more, Sir Philip raised

lightful place, with the accomplished Sydney, he studied poetry and philosophy, especially the Platonic, which is interwoven in his poems (f). Here he wrote his eleventh ecloque, November; as he is also supposed to have done his tenth, October.

Though it was a very favourable circumstance for Spenser, to be introduced to Court by Sir Philip Sydney, yet he did not reap all the advantage from it which might have been expected. He was, indeed, created Poet-laureat to Queen Elizabeth; but for fome time he only wore the barren laurel, and possessed the place without any pension. The Lord-Treasurer Burleigh, notwithstanding his great abilities, had not, it seems, much poetical taste; and is reported to have prevented, from some motive or other, the Queen's intended bounty to our Poet (1). However, Spenfer fent the three first books of his Fairy Queen. when printed, to Burleigh, with a fonnet complimenting him as

the gratuity to two hundred pounds, and commanded the Steward to give it immediately, left, as he read further, he should be tempted to give From this away his whole estate. time, we are told, he admitted Spenfer to his acquaintance and converfation, and prepared the way for his being known and received at Court. But this flory, though frequently related, appears to have had no foundation .-- Vid. Preface to Upton's edition of the Fairy Queen, P. v. and also Biograph. Britan. art. Spenfer, note F. where this story is treated as a fiction, and for good reasons; though a little farther, in the fame volume of that work, in Sir Philip Sydney's article, the fame story is related as a fact.

(f) Mr. Upton fays, that "Sydney foon discovered our Poet's genius was formed for more fublime fubjects (than those he had hitherto atsempted); and perfuaded him " for " trumpets stern to change his oaten reeds." And as I have very little doubt myfelf but that Sir Calidore represents the Arcadian typically Shepherd; fo in the VIth book, canto 10. where Calidore by his abrupt arrival drives away the rural graces, and all fly the field,

" All fave the shepherd, who for fell despite

of that displeasure broke his bagpipe quite.

The Poet feems to allude to Sir Philip Sydney's forcing him to leave his rural retreats for the Court, and his rustic for the Epic Muse: for Colin Clout there mentioned is Spenfer." --- Preface to the Fairy Queen,

P. 15.

(1) To this purpose we are told the Spenfer's prefenting fome poems to the Queen, the ordered him a gratuity of 100l. but the Lord-Treasurer objecting to it, faid with some scorn of the Poet, What! all this for a fong? The Queen replied, Then give him what is reason. Spenser waited for fome time, but had the mortification to find himself disappointed. Upon this he took a proper opportunity to present a paper to Queen Elizabeth, in the manner of a petition, in which he reminded her of the order she had given in the following lines.

" I was promised on a time " To have reason for my rhyme;

From that time unto this feafon, " I received nor rhyme nor reason."

Hereupon the Queen, we are told, after sharply reproving the Treasurer. immediately directed the payment of the 100l. she had first ordered. But there is some reason to doubt the truth of all this; for the same story is told of another Poet of that age, of a much inferior reputation to Spenfer, to whom the same verses are also attributed .--- Vid. Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, Vol. I. P. 131.

the Atlas of the State, yet at the same time shewing some diffidence of his Lordship's regard for poetry, in excusing his unfitly presenting those rhimes. The sonnet is as follows:

- "To the Right Hon. the Lerd BURLEICH, Lord "High Treasurer of England.
  - " To you right noble Lord, whose careful breast
  - "To menage of most grave affairs is bent
  - "And on whose mighty shoulders most doth rest
    "The burthen of this kingdom's government
  - " As the wide compass of the firmament,
    - " On Atlas mighty shoulders is upstay'd;
    - " Unfitly I these idle rhimes present,
  - "The labour of lost time, and wit unstay'd :
  - "Yet if their deeper sense be inly weigh'd,
    - 44 And the dim veil with which from common view
    - " Their fairer parts are hid, afide be laid,
  - "Perhaps not vain they may appear to you.
  - "Such as they be, vouchfafe them to receive,
    - " And wipe their faults out of your censure grave,

" E. S. (m)

But it should seem, that the present was not received by the Lord-Treasurer in a manner agreeable to our Poet, since in the introduction to the fourth book of the Fairy Queen, he is supposed to reslect upon that Statesman's dislike of his poem in the sollowing lines.

- "The rugged forehead that with grave forefight
- "Wields kingdoms, caufes, and affairs of State, "My lower rhimes, I wot, doth sharply wite,
- " for praising love."

He is also supposed to allude to the discouragement he received from the Treasurer in the following lines:

- " O grief of griefs! O gall of all good hearts!
- " To see that virtue should despised be
- " Of fuch as first were rais'd for virtue's parts,
- " And now broad-spreading like an aged tree,
- " Let none shoot up that nigh them planted be.
  - " O let not those of whom the muse is scorn'd,
    - " Alive or dead be by the muse adorn'd."

And in his MOTHER HUBBARD'S TALE, Spenser has painted the unhappiness of being obliged to depend on Court-favour in the most lively and striking colours.

- " Full little knowest thou who hast not try'd,
- "What hell it is in fuing long to bide,

<sup>(</sup> m ) Vid. Sonnets prefixed to Mr. Upton's edition of the Fairy Queen.

"To lose good days that might be better spent,
To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with sear and sorrow;

To have thy Prince's grace, yet want her Peers;
To have thy asking, yet wait many years;

To fret thy foul with crosses and with care;
To eat thy heart thro' comfortless despair;
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run;
To spend, to give, to want, to be undone."

In 1579, Spenfer is faid to have been fent abroad by the Earl of Leicester; but in what service does not appear: and indeed fome are of opinion, that though he was nominated as an Agent for some foreign business, he never actually went (n). However, he attended the Lord Grey of Wilton, who was appointed Lord-Deputy of Ireland, in the quality of his Secretary, the following year. He discharged the duties of his post with great abilities and integrity; but the Lord Grey being recalled in 1582, Spenfer returned with him to England, where he feems to have continued till the much-lamented death of his patron Sir Philip Sydney, in 1586, which greatly affected him. He foon after obtained a grant from the Queen of upwards of three thoufand acres of land, in the county of Corke, in Ireland ( 0 ). This Royal bounty carried him again, in 1587, to that kingdom, where he entered upon his estate, and enjoyed an happy tranquillity, having for his residence the castle of Kilcolman, a feat of the Earl of Defmond, (which had been forfeited by that Nobleman's rebellion), and the river Mulla, which he has more than once so beautifully introduced in his poems, ran through his grounds. In this agreeable retreat, he refumed his great Work, the FAIRY QUEEN, and was thus employed in 1589, when Sir Walter Raleigh, with whom he had been feveral years acquainted, touching, in his return from the Portugal expedition, upon Ireland, in order to take a view of a grant of lands

(n) Vid. Biograph. Britan. art. Spenser, note I.

(o) Mr. Upton observes, that "it may seem somewhat strange at first sight, that one of such acknowledged merit could procure from the patronage of his great friends no preferment or place of profit in England. But if it be considered, that places and place-men were not quite so numerous in the reign of Queen Eizabeth, as in modern times; that he church, in her reign, was the proper place for learned Clerks to seek for preferment; that he had joined himself to the puritanical party, first to

Leicester and Sydney, and after their deaths to the Earl of Essex; that he had abused notoriously Bishop Aylmer, and praised Archbishop Grindal; which was not altogether for well received, neither by the Queen nor her Courtiers, nor the Lord-Treasurer, to whom he was always in opposition. These reasons well weighed, I think the wonder is, not that he got no preferment in England, but that he should be able to obtain from the Queen a grant of any of the forseited lands in Ireland." Preface, P. 17, 18.

there which he had obtained from the Crown, made a trip to fee his old friend Spenfer. The poem called "Colin Clout's come his old friend Spenfer. The poem called "Colin Clout's come to home again," in which Sir Walter is described under the name of "the Shepherd of the Ocean," is a beautiful memorial of the friendship between them, which took its rife from a similarity of taste in literature and the polite arts. Sir Walter invited Spenser to accompany him to England, which he accordingly did; and Raleigh did him some good offices at Court. However, he returned again to Ireland in 1591; and some time after he became a more successful lover than he had been when he courted Rosalind. For the collection of his Sonners are a kind of short History of the progress of a new amour, which we fird ended in marriage, and gave occasion to an excellent Epi-

thalamium, written by himself.

In 1596, Spenfer again returned to England, and in that year published at London in 4to. the second part of the Fairy Queen, containing the fourth, fifth, and fixth books, together with the four HYMNS OF BEAUTY, dedicated to the Counters of Cum-The following year he went back to Kilcolman; but had not been there above twelve months, when the Earl of Tyrone broke out into open rebellion, and having dispersed the forces which were fent against him by the Earl of Ormond, he ravaged and spoiled the whole county of Corke; fo that Spenfer was forced to feek his fafety in his native country, accompanied by his wife, leaving his estate in Ireland to be plundered by the rebels, who are faid to have carried off his goods, and burnt his house, with a little child in it. He did not long furvive these calamities, which reduced him to a state of absolute dependence and great indigence, under which he languished till his death, which happened at the close of the year 1598, or the beginning of the following year (p), when he is supposed to have been about forty-five years of age.

Camden fays, that Spenfer was "born under so favourable an aspect of the Muses, that he surpassed all the English Poets of former times, not excepting Chaucer himself, his sellow-citizen. But by a fate which still sollows Poets, he always wrestled with poverty, though he had been Secretary to the Lord Grey, Lord-Deputy of Ireland. For scarcely had he there settled himself in a retired privacy, and got leisure to write, when he was by the rebels thrown out of his dwelling, plundered of his goods, and returned into England a poor man, where he shortly after died, and was interred at Westminster, near to Chaucer, at the charge of the Earl of Essex, his hearse being attended by Poets, and mournful elegies and poems, with the pens that wrote them, thrown into his tomb." But notwithstanding this account by Camden of Spenser's death and burial, it has been supposed that he really died in Ire-Vol. IV. 1.

land. Mr. Drummond of Hawthronden, an ingenious Scottifa gentleman, had an intimate correspondence with all the genivifies of his time who refided in London, and particularly with the famous Ben Johnson, who had so high an opinion of Mr. Drummond's abilities, that he took a journey into Scotland, in order to converse with him, and stayed some time at his house at Hawthronden. After Ben Johnson departed, Mr. Drummond, careful to retain what passed between them, wrote down the heads of their conversation; which is published amongst his poems and history of the five James's, Kings of Scotland. Among other particulars are the following. " Ben Johnson " told me, that Spenfer's goods were robbed by the Irish in Def-" mond's rebellion, his house and a little child of his burnt, and " he and his wife nearly escaped; that he afterwards died in King-street (q) by absolute want of bread; and that he re-" fuled twenty pieces fent him by the Earl of Effex (r), and " gave this answer to the person who brought them, that he " was fure he had no time to fpend them (s)." It may be alledged as a prefumption in favour of the supposition that Spenfer died in Ireland, that he appears to have left fome descendants in that kingdom (1); and it may be also urged, that if he literally died for want, according to Johnson's account, it is more probable that this should happen in Dublin than in London, as he may reasonably be supposed to have had many more friends and acquaintance in the latter city than in the former. However, it may be observed in support of Camden's account, that it appears always to have been the prevailing opinion, that Spenfer was buried in Westminster-Abbey; and as Camden was upwards

(9) According to Cibber, King-Street, Dublin, is here meant.

(r) The Earl of Elfex was fent over to Ireland, as Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom, in March, 1598-9.

( s ) Cibber's Lives of the Poets,

Vol. I. P 97. 98.

( : ) Mr. Hughes fays, " I find no " account of the family which spen-" fer left behind him only that, in " the few particulars of his life pre-" fixed to the lalt folio edition of his " Works, it is faid that his greatw grandion, Hugolin Spenier, after the " return of King Charles the Second, " was restored by the Court of Claims " to fo much of the lands as could be " found to have been his anemiors. " Whether this were true or not, I " cannot determine : but I think I " ought not to opin mentioning and-" ther very remarkable pallage, of " which I can give the reader much

" better affurance; that a person

" came over from Ireland, in King " William's reign, to folicit the fame " affair, and brought with him let-" ters of recommendation as a de-" fcendant of Spenfer. His name " procured him a favourable recep-" tion; and he applied himself par-" ticularly to Mr. Congreve, by " whom he was generously recom-"mended to the favour of the late " Earl of Halifax, who was then at the head of the Treasury; and by "that means had obtained his fuit. " This man was fomewhat advanced " in years, and might be the fame " mentioned before, who had pof-" fibly recovered only fome part of " the effate at first, or had been di-" flurbed in the possession of it. He could give no account of the Works of his ancestor which are " wanting, and which are therefore " in all probability irrecoverably " loil." -- Life of Spenier, P. 21, 22

of twenty years older than Ben Johnson, he was likely to be best acquainted with the truth of this affair; and it may also be confidered, that we have Johnson's account only at secondhand.

Among Aubrey's manuscripts at Oxford, (Mus. Ashmol.) there is one, which contains "an account of English Writers, " particularly our Poets, with many of whom Aubrey was inti-" mately acquainted, and contains feveral new and curious " anecdotes of their Lives." And Mr. Warton, in his Life of Dean Bathurst, has transcribed the following as a specimen. " Mr. Edmund Spenfer was of Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge. " He mist the Fellowship there, which Bishop Andrews got. He " was an acquaintance and frequenter of Sir Erasmus Dryden; " his mistress Rosalind was a kinswoman of Sir Erasmus's Lady. " The chamber there at Sir Erasmus's, is still called Spenser's " Chamber. Lately in the College, taking down the wainfcot " of his chamber, they found abundance of cards, with stanza's " of the Fairy Queen written on them, From John Dryden, " Poet-laureat. Mr. Beeston says, he was a little man, wore " Poet-laureat. Mr. Beeston says, ne was a fittle man, if short hair, a little band, and little cuffs (u)."—The Works of Spenfer, which are now extant ( av ), are as follows: I. " The Shepherd's Calendar." Three editions were pub-

lished of this by the Author at London, in 1579, in 1586, and

in 1590.

II. "Muiopotamos; or the fate of the Butterfly."

III. "Complaints," containing fundry fmall poems of the world's vanity; as, 1. The ruins of time. 2. The tears of the Muses. 3. Virgil's gnat. 4. Prosopopæia; or Mother Hubbard's tale. 5. The ruins of Rome, by Bellay. 6. Visions of the world's vanity. 7. Bellay's visions. 8. Petrarch's visions. IV. "Astrophel; an ecloque, or pastoral elegy, on the death

" of Sir Philip Sydney." Lond. 1595.

V. " Colin Clout's come home again." Lond. 1595.

VI. " Four Hymns on Love." Dedicated to the Countess of

Cumberland. Lond. 1596.

VII. " A View of the State of Ireland." This is the only treatife we have written by Spenfer in profe. It is a valuable and curious performance, and contains many ingenious and judicious observations.

VIII. " An Elegy upon the death of the noble and virtuous "Douglas Howard."

IX. " The Mourning Muse of Thestylis."

X. " An Elegy, or Friend's Passion for his Astrophel."

XI. " Amoretti,

(u) Life of Dean Bathurst, P. 154.
(vo) It appears that Spenser wrote most considerable were nine consemany Pieces, which are now entirely lost.—Vid. Cibber's Lives of the Poets, bis admired Ariosto, inscribed with Vol. I. P. 100. and Hughes's Life of the names of the nine muses.

XI. " Amoretti, or Sonnets, &c." with the " Epithalamium

" on his marriage," and some other small poems. -XII. " The Fairy Queen (x)." This is our Author's capital Work, and which hath defervedly procured him an immortal reputation. - It may be proper here to give some account of the plan of this celebrated poem, and which we shall therefore do in the words of the ingenious Mr. Warton; after premising that the Fairy Queen is formed upon the model of Ariofto, which was agreeable to the tafte of that age, and confifts of allegories, enchantments, and romantic expedicions, conducted, by Knights, Giants, Magicians, and fictitious Beings. " The Poet supposes, that the Fairy Queen, according to an established annual custom, held a magnificent feast, which continued twelve days; on each of which, respectively, twelve several complaints are presented before her. Accordingly, in order to redress the injuries which were the occasion of these several complaints, she dispatches, with proper commissions, twelve disserent Knights, each of which, in the particular adventure allotted to him, proves an example of some particular virtue, as of holiness, temperance, justice, chastity; and has one complete book affigned to him, of which he is the hero. But besides these twelve Knights, feverally exemplifying twelve moral virtues, the Poet has constituted one principal Knight, or general hero, viz. Prince ARTHUR. This personage represents magnificence; a virtue which is supposed to be the perfection of all the rest. He moreover assists in every book, and the end of his actions is to discover, and win, GLORIANA, or Glory. In a word, in this character the Poet professes to pourtray, the image of a brave Knight perfected in the twelve private moral virtues (y)."

Many objections have been made both to the plan and execution of the Fairy Queen. Mr. Thomas Rhymer fays, that " Spenfer may be reckoned the first of our heroic Poets. He had a large spirit, a sharp judgment, and a genius for heroic poefy, perhaps above any that ever wrote fince Virgil. But our misfortune is, he wanted a true idea, and lost himself by following an unfaithful guide. Though besides Homer and Virgil, he had read Taffo, yet he rather fuffered himfelf to be mifled by

Ariofto;

(x) Spenfer intended that this poem should consist of twelve books, but no more than fix were ever publifhed. The first three books were published by the Author at London in Folio, in 1590. The fecond edition of these, with alterations and additions, and three new books, were also published by the Author at London, in 1596; and after his death, in 1609, a third edition came out, intitled, The Fairy Queen, containing two

" new cantoes, the only remains of a " loft book, intitled, The Legend of "Conflancy." It is reported that the fix last books of the Fairy Queen were loft by Spenfer's fervant, whom he had in hatte fent before him into England; but there is reason to doubt the truth of this.

(y) Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenfer, by Thomas Warton, M. A. Vol. I. P. 4, 5. edit. 1762.

Ariofto; with whom, blindly rambling on marvellous adventures, he makes no conscience of probability. All is fanciful and chimerical, without any uniformity, or without any foundation in truth. In a word, his poem is perfect Fairy Land." Dryden fays, that "the English have only to boast of Spenser and Milton in heroic poetry, who neither of them wanted either genius or learning to have been perfect Poets, and yet both of them are liable to many censures. For there is no uniformity in the defign of Spenfer; he aims at the accomplishment of no one action; he raises up an hero for every one of his adventures, and endows each of them with fome particular moral virtue, which renders them all equal, without subordination or preference. The original of every Knight was then living in the Court of Queen Elizabeth; and he attributed to each of them that virtue, which he thought was most conspicuous in them: an ingenious piece of flattery, though it turned not much to his account.——His obsolete language (z), and the ill choice of his stanza, are faults but of the second magnitude. For notwithstanding the first, he is still intelligible, at least after a little practice; and for the last, he is the more to be admired, that labouring under fuch a difficulty, his verses are so numerous, fo, various, and fo harmonious, that only Virgil, whom he has professedly imitated, has surpassed him among the Romans, and only Waller among the English."

Mr. Hughes observes of the Fairy Queen, that " the chief merit of this poem confifts in that furprizing vein of fabulous invention which runs through it, and enriches it every where with imagery and descriptions more than we meet with in any other modern poem. The Author feems to be possessed of a kind of poetical magic; and the figures he calls up to our view rise so thick upon us, that we are at once pleased and distracted by the exhaustless variety of them; so that his faults may in a manner be imputed to his excellencies. His abundance betrays him into excess, and his judgment is over-borne by the torrent of his imagination." Upon the whole, it is justly observed by Mr. Warton, that " if the Fairy Queen be destitute of that arrangement and economy which epic feverity requires, yet we fcarcely regret the loss of these, while their place is so amply supplied by something which more powerfully attracts us : something, which engages the affections, the feelings of the heart, rather than the cold approbation of the head. If there be any poem, whose graces please, because they are situated beyond the

( z ) Spenfer greatly affected the the practice of many of his cotempouse of old English words and phrases, rary Writers, who had adulterated, such as were obsolete even in his according to his judgment, the purity time. He is supposed to have done of the Euglish tongue, by various inthis partly with a view of giving a novations from the Spanish, French, Latin, and Italian.

cast of antiquity to his Writings; and H appears that he was difgusted with

reach of art, and where the force and faculties of creative imagination delight, because they are unaffished and unrestrained by those of deliberate judgment, it is this. In reading Spenser, if the critic is not satisfied, yet the reader is transported (a)."

As a specimen of Spenser's manner, we shall select from this celebrated poem the description of Prince Arthur, when he is first introduced, as meeting with Lady Una, or Truth.

" At last she chanced by good hap to meet

"A goodly Knight, fair marching by the way,
"Together with his 'Squire, arrayed meet:

" His glittering armour shined far away,

Like glancing light of Phoebus brightest ray;
From top to toe no place appeared bare,
That deadly dint of steel endanger may:
Athwart his breast a bauldrick brave he ware,

"That shin'd, like twinkling stars, with stones most precious rare:

" And in the midst thereof one precious stone

" Of wondrous worth, and eke of wondrous mights,

"Shap'd like a Lady's head, exceeding shone, Like Hesperus amongst the lesser lights,

"And strove for to amaze the weaker sights;
"Thereby his mortal blade full comely hung
"In ivory sheath, yearv'd with curious slights;

"Whose hilts were burnish'd gold, and handle strong "Of mother-pearl, and buckled with a golden tong.

" His haughty helmit, horrid all with gold,

" Both glorious brightness and great terror bred :

" For all the crest a dragon did enfold

"With greedy paws, and over all did fpread His golden wings; his dreadful hideous head, Close couched on the bever, feem'd to throw From flaming mouth bright sparkles fiery red; That sudden horror to faint hearts did show;

" And scaly tail was stretch'd adown his back full low.

" Upon the top of all his lofty creft,

" A bunch of hairs discolour'd diversly,
" With sprinkled pearl and gold full richly drest,

"Did shake, and seem'd to dance for jollity;
"Like to an almond-tree ymounted high
"On top of green Selinis all alone,

"With blossoms brave bedecked daintily; Whose tender locks do tremble every one

" At every little breath, that under Heaven is blown.

ce His

(a) Observations on the Fairy Queen, Vol. I. P. 16.

- " His warlike shield all closely cover'd was,
  - " Ne might of mortal eye be ever seen ;
  - " Not made of steel, nor of enduring brass,
  - " (Such earthly metals foon confumed been)
  - " But all of diamond perfect pure and clean
  - " It framed was, one massy entire mould,
  - " Hewn out of adamant rock with engines keen;
  - " That point of spear it never percen could,
- " Ne dint of direful fword divide the fubstance would
- " The fame to wight he never wont disclose,
  - "But whenas monsters huge he would difmay,
  - " Or daunt unequal armies of his foes,
  - " Or when the flying Heavens he would affray:
  - " For so exceeding shone his glist'ring ray,
  - " That Phobus golden face it did attaint,
  - " As when a cloud his beams doth over-lay;
  - " And filver Cynthia waxed pale and faint,
- " As when her face is stain'd with magic arts constraint.
- " No magic arts hereof had any might,
  - "Nor bloody words of bold enchanters call;
  - " But all that was not fuch as feem'd in fight
  - " Before that shield did fade, and sudden fall:
  - " And when him lift the rascal routs appal,

  - " Men into stones therewith he could transmew,
  - " And stones to dust, and dust to nought at all;
- " And when him lift the prouder looks fubdue, " He would them gazing blind, or turn to other hue.
- " Ne let it feem that credence this exceeds;
  - " For he that made the fame, was known right well
  - " To have done much more admirable deeds.
  - " It Merlin was, which whilom did excel
  - " All living wights in might of magic spell:
  - "Both shield, and sword, and armour all he wrought
  - " For this young Prince, when first to arms he fell;
- " But when he died, the Fairy Queen it brought " To Fairy land; where yet it may be feen, if fought."
  - FAIRY QUEEN, Book 1. Canto vii. Stanza 29--- 36.

We shall conclude with the two following Stanzas, in the third Canto of the second Book, being Belphæbe's speech in praise of true glory, which is represented as attainable only by study, and pains, and labour.

"Whoso in pomp of proud estate, quoth she,

" Does swim, and bathes himself in courtly blifs,

" Does waste his days in dark obscurity,

" And in oblivion ever buried is :

- "Where ease abounds, it's eath (b) to do amiss:
  But who his limbs with labours, and his mind
- " Behaves with cares, cannot fo eafy miss.
  " Abroad in arms, at home in studious kind,
- Who feeks with painful toil, shall honour soonest find:
- " In woods, in waves, in wars, she's wont to dwell,
  - " And will be found with peril and with pain;
    " Ne can the man, that moulds in idle cell,

" Unto her happy mansion attain :

" Before her gate high God did sweat ordain,

"And wakeful watches ever to abide:
But easy is the way and passage plain

" To pleasure's palace; it may soon be spied,

And day and night her doors to all stand open wide."

The Works of Spenser were published in 1715, in fix Volumes, 12mo. by John Hughes, with an account of his Life, remarks upon his Writings, and a glossary. This was re-printed in 1750. And in 1751, Dr. Birch published an edition of the Fairy Queen, in three Volumes, 4to. There were also three more editions of the Fairy Queen published in 1758. One by Mr. Upton in two Volumes, 4to. Another in two Volumes, 8vo. published anonymously; and a third by Mr. Church, at Oxford, in four Volumes, 8vo. In 1734, Dr. Jortin published Remarks on Spenser's Poems," in 8vo. in which that ingenious Writer hath displayed his usual learning and sagacity; and Mr. Warton has also published "Observations on the Fairy Queen," in two Volumes, 8vo. which have great merit, and have been well received, the second edition of them being published in 1762.

(%) The word EATH Signifies EASY



## The Life of RICHARD HOOKER.

ICHARD HOOKER was born at Heavitree, near Exeter, about the year 1553. His parents were more remarkable for their virtue and industry, than for their extraction or riches. In his early youth he was distinguished by a remarkable modesty, and great mildness and serenity of temper; and at the same time was very inquisitive, of a quick apprehension, and desirous of knowledge. His parents intended to breed him to a trade: but his schoolmaster at Exeter prevailed with them to continue him at school, affuring them, that his natural endowments and learning were both fo remarkable, that he must of necessity be taken notice of, and that GOD would provide him fome patron, who would free them from any future care or charge about him. Accordingly his uncle, John Hooker, who was then Chamberlain of the town, and being known to Bishop Jewel, made a visit to that Prelate at Salisbury soon after, and " besought him for charity's sake to " look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom nature " had fitted for a scholar, but the estate of his parents was so " narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of " learning; and that the Bishop would therefore become his " patron, and prevent him from being a tradesman; for he was a boy of remarkable hopes (c)." The Bishop hereupon examining into the merits of the boy, found him to be what the uncle had represented him, and took him henceforward under his protection and care. He got him admitted, in 1567, when he was about the fifteenth year of his age, one of the Clerks of Corpus-Christi College in Oxford, and settled a pension on him; which, with the contributions of his uncle, afforded him a comfortable subfistance.

He applied himself to his studies with the greatest diligence, and became eminent for his learning, as well as for his prudence, humility, and piety. When he had been at the University about three years, he fell into a dangerous illness, which continued two months. As soon as he was perfectly recovered, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter to see his mother, (for he seems now to have lost his father), being accompanied by a countryman and companion of his own College, and both on Vol. IV. 1.

<sup>(</sup> c) Life of Mr. Richard Hooker, tion of Lives published by him in 8vo. by Izaak Walton, in the small collec- P. 158---162. edit. 1675.

They took Salisbury in their way, in order to wait upon Bishop Jewel, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table. At their departure, the Bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money: which, when the Bishop had considered, he sent a servant to call him back; and at his return faid to him, " Ri-" chard, I fent for you back to lend you a horse, which hath " carried me many a mile, and I thank GOD with much eafe." And then he delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany: and he added, "Richard, I do not give, but lend you my "horse; be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to " me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give " you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is " ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mo-" ther, and tell her, I fend her a Bishop's benediction with it, " and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more to " carry you on foot to the College, and fo GOD bless you,

" good Richard ( d )."

Soon after his return to Oxford, Mr. Hooker had the misfortune to lose his patron, Bishop Jewel, together with his pension. However, Providence raised him up two other patrons, in Dr. Cole, then President of the College, and Dr. Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of York. To the latter of these Bishop Jewel had recommended him so effectually a little before his death, that though a Cambridge man himself, he immediately resolved to send his son Edwin to Oxford, to be pupil to Mr. Hooker, who yet was not much older: for, said he, "I will have a tutor for my son, that shall teach him learning by instruction, and virtue by example." Mr. Hooker had also at the same time another considerable pupil, namely, George Cranmer, grand nephew to Archbishop Cranmer; with whom, as well as with Mr. Sandys, he cultivated a first and lasting friendship.

Mr. Hooker was at this time not quite twenty years of age, five of which he had spent in the University. And by his unwearied diligence and application to his studies, he had attained a great proficiency in all the learned languages, and a very extensive acquaintance with the most valuable sciences, together with an happy method of instructing, and communicating his knowledge to the pupils who were committed to his care. He was also distinguished in the College for the innocence of his manners, and the piety and regularity of his life. "In sour years," says Mr. Walton, "he was but twice absent from the chapel prayers; and his behaviour there was such as shewed an awful reverence of that GOD which he then worshipped

" and

"" and prayed to, giving all outward testimonies that his affec"tions were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour
"towards GOD; and for that to man, it is observable that he
"was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in
"any of his desires; never heard to repine or dispute with
"Providence, but by a quiet gentle submission and resignation
of his will to the wissom of his Creator, bore the burthen
of the day with patiènce; being never heard to utter an uncomely word. And by this, and a grave behaviour, which is
a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his person,
even from those that at other times, and in other companies,
took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse, that is required in a collegiate life. And when he
took any liberty to be pleasant, his wit was never blemished
with scossing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered
upon, or might beget a thought of looseness in his hearers.

Thus mild, thus innocent and exemplary, was his behaviour

" in his College (e)."

In 1577, Mr. Hooker took the degree of Master of Arts, and was admitted Fellow of his College; and about two years after, being well skilled in the oriental languages, he was appointed Deputy-Professor of the Hebrew tongue, in the room of Mr. Kingsmill, who, in consequence of too close an application to his studies, was become disordered in his senses. In 1581, he entered into holy orders; and foon after he was appointed to preach at St. Paul's cross in London; but this unhappily proved the means of his being drawn into a most unfortunate marriage. There was, we are told, then belonging to St. Paul's church, a house called the Shunamite's House, set apart for the reception and entertainment of the preachers at St. Paul's cross, two days before, and one day after, the fermon. That house was then kept by Mr. John Churchman, formerly a substantial draper in Watling-street, but now reduced to poverty. Mr. Walton fays, that Mr. Churchman was a person of virtue, but he cannot say fo much of his wife. To this house Mr. Hooker came from Oxford, so wet and weary, that he was afraid he should not be able to perform his duty the Sunday following: however, Mrs. Churchman nursed him so well, that he presently recovered from the ill effects of his journey. For this he was very thankful; fo much indeed, that, as Mr. Walton expresses it, he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all she said. So the good man came to be persuaded by her, "that he had a very tender " conflitution; and that it was best for him to have a wife, that " might prove a nurse to him; such a one as might both pro-46 long his life, and make it more comfortable; and fuch a one " she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to " marry." Mr. Hooker not confidering, "that the children of

<sup>(</sup>e) Life of Hooker, as before, P. 166, 167.

"this world are wifer in their generation than the children of " light," and fearing no guile, because he meant none, gave her a power to chuse a wife for him; promising, upon a fair summons, to return to London, and accept of her choice, which he did in that or the year following. Now, fays Walton, the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion: and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which Solomon compares to a dripping house; that is, says Anthony Wood, " she was a clownish, filly

" woman, and withal a mere Xantippe."

Mr. Hooker, in consequence of his marriage, lost his Fellowship, and was obliged to quit the University. But in December, 1584, he was presented by John Cheney, Esq; to the Rectory of Drayton Beauchamp, in Buckinghamshire, where he led an uncomfortable life with his wife Joan about a year. In this fituation, he received a visit from his two friends and pupils, Sandys and Cranmer, who found him with a Horace in his hand, tend-ing his small allotment of sheep in a common field: which he told them he was forced to do, because his servant was gone home to dine, and affist his wife in some of the household businefs. When the fervant returned and released him, his two pupils attended him to his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for Richard was called to rock the cradle; and the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they staid but till the next morning, which was long enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition. At their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer faid, "Good tutor, I am forry your lot is fallen in no better ground " as to your parsonage; and more sorry that your wise proves into a more comfortable companion, after you have wearied yourself in your restless studies." To which Mr. Hooker replied, " My dear George, if Saints have usually a double " share in the miseries of this life, I that am none, ought not to " repine at what my wife CREATOR hath appointed for me, 66 but labour (as indeed I do daily) to submit mine to his will, " and possess my soul in patience and peace (f)."

At their return to London, Mr. Sandys acquainted his father, the Archbishop of York, with the unhappy situation of Mr. Hocker. And the Archbishop thereupon entered so heartily into his concerns, that he got him to be made Master of the Temple in 1585. But this, though a confiderable preferment, was not accepted by Mr. Hooker without some reluctance. rural retirement would have better fuited his natural disposition; and he rather wished for another country Living, with a revenue that would have supported him comfortably and decently, though it had been of less value than his present preferment; but where he might (as he himself expressed it) " see GOD's

" bleifings

56 bleffings fpring out of the earth, and be free from noise, and 56 eat that bread which he might more properly call his own in

" privacy and quietness."

At the time when Mr. Hooker was made Master of the Temple, Walter Travers was afternoon Lecturer there, who had been ordained by the Presbytery at Antwerp, and was warmly attached to the Geneva discipline. As Mr. Hooker's sentiments of church government, as well as in several points of doctrine, were very different from those of Mr. Travers (g), there was often a great contrariety in their preaching, and they sometimes openly opposed each other in the pulpit. And the doctrine contained in their sermons was frequently so different, that one said pleasantly, "The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon Geneva." Mr. Travers was, however, suspended from preaching; but Mr. Hooker met with so much opposition from those who were of Mr. Travers's sentiments, that his situation became disagreeable to him. He had begun his famous Work "of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity:" but he found the Temple no fit place to finish his design in; and there-

(g) WALTER TRAVERS was fome time Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the de-gree of Bachelor in Divinity; but going abroad, he was ordained at Antwerp, and after his return to England became domestic Chaplain to Secretary Cecil, and Lecturer at the Temple. When Dr. Alvey, Master of the Temple, was upon his deathbed, he recommended Mr. Travers to fucceed him; and the Benchers of the House addressed the Treasurer in his behalf. But Archbishop Whitgist in-terposed, and declared, that unless Travers would be re-ordained according to the usage of the Church of England, and would subscribe to his articles, he would not admit him. Upon which he was fet aside, and Mr. Hooker was preferred. ever, he was continued as Lecturer of the Temple for about two years after, and then was suspended by the Arch-bishop. The reasons assigned for this were. That he was not ordained according to the rites of the Church of England; and that he had broken the orders made in the feventh year of the Queen's reign, "That disputes " fhould not be brought into the pulpit." Mr. Travers hereupon drew up a petition to the Council, in which he complained of being judged and condemned before he was heard ;

and in which he also answered the accufations against him, and made some objections to Mr. Hooker's doctrine. This occasioned the latter to publish an answer to Mr. Travers's petition. They are both published at the end of the Treatife of ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY. The Council did nothing in consequence of Mr. Travers's petition, but left him to the mercy of the Archbishop, who could never be prevailed upon to take off his fuspenfion, or license him to preach in any part of England; upon which he accepted an invitation into Ireland, and became Provoît of Trinity College in the University of Dublin. Here he was tutor to the famous Usher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, who always held him in high esteem. However, being after fome years driven out of Ireland by the wars there, he returned to England, and spent the remainder of his days in obscurity and great poverty.

Mr. Travers was a man of confiderable learning and great piety; his attachment to the Calvinifical doctrines as well as difcipline, appears to have been attended with no inconfiderable share of bigotry; but he was an eloquent and able preacher, and a man of engaging manners, and of an

unexceptionable life.

fore intreated the Archbishop to remove him to some quieter situation in the following letter.

" MY LORD,

"When I loft the freedom of my cell, which was my Col-1 lege, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country Par-" fonage. But I am weary of the noise and oppositions of " this place; and indeed GOD and nature did not intend me of for contentions, but for study and quietness. And, my Lord, my particular contests here with Mr. Travers, have proved " the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions. And to satisfy that, "I have confulted the Holy Scripture, and other laws, both human and divine, whether the conscience of him, and others of his judgment, ought to be fo far complied with by us, as to alter our frame of church government, our manner of " GOD's worship, our praising and praying to him, and our es established ceremonies, as often as their tender consciences et shall require us. And in this examination, I have not only " fatisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in which I intend a justification of the laws of our Ecclesiastical Polity. " In which defign GOD and his holy Angels shall at the last er great day bear me that witness, which my conscience now " does, that my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to " fatisfy all tender consciences. And I shall never be able to do this, but where I may study, and pray for GOD's blessing " upon my endeavours, and keep myself in peace and privacy, " and behold GOD's bleffings fpring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread without oppositions; and therefore, if " your Grace can judge me worthy of such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun (b)." Upon this application, Mr. Hooker was presented, in 1591, to

Upon this application, Mr. Hooker was presented, in 1591, to the Rectory of Boscomb in Wiltshire; and, on the 17th of July the same year, to the Prebend of Nether-Haven, in the church of Sarum, of which he was also made Sub-Dean. At Boscomb he finished four books of his Ecclesiastical Polity, which were entered into the register-book at Stationer's Hall the 9th of March, 1592, but not printed till the year 1594. In 1595, he quitted Boscomb, and was presented by Queen Elizabeth to the Rectory of Bishop's Bourne in Kent, where he spent the remainder of his life, discharging all the duties of his function in the

most regular and exemplary manner.

He used to preach once every Sunday, and he or his Curate catechized after the second lesson in the evening service. "His sermons (says Mr. Walton) were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal, and an humble voice. His eyes always

always fixed on one place, to prevent his imagination from " wandering; infomuch that he feemed to fludy as he spake. "The defign of his fermons, as indeed of all his discourses, " was to shew reasons for what he spake; and with these rea-" fons, fuch a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and per-" fuade, than frighten men into piety: fludying not fo much " for matter, which he never wanted, as for apt illustrations to " inform and teach the unlearned hearers by familiar examples, " and then make them better by convincing applications; ne-" ver labouring by hard words, and then by needless diffinc-" tions and fub-diftinctions, to amuse his hearers, and get glory " to himself; but glory only to GOD. Which intention, he " would often say, was as discernible in a preacher, as natural from an artificial beauty (i)."

Before he had been one year at Bourne, his books of Ecclefiaftical Polity, and the innocency and fanctity of his life, had rendered him fo remarkable, that many turned out of the road, scholars especially, on purpose to see him whose life and learning were fo much admired. In this place he composed the fifth book of his Ecclefiastical Polity, which was published by itself in the year 1597. He finished there also the fixth, seventh, and eighth books of that learned Work: but whether we have them as left by himself, hath been disputed. He did not, however, live to publish these three books; for a cold which he caught in his passage by water between London and Gravesend, brought on him a long and severe illness, which in the end proved fatal to him. He continued, however, his studies to the last. He strove particularly to finish his Ecclefiastical Polity; and said often to a friend who vifited him daily, that " he did not beg a long life " of GOD for any other reason, but to live to finish the three " remaining books of Polity; and then, LORD, let thy fervant " depart in peace;" which was his usual expression. A very few days before his death, his house was robbed; of which having notice, he asked, " Are my books and written papers " fafe?" And being answered, that they were; "Then (said he) it matters not; for no other loss can trouble me." He died on the 2d of November, 1600, when he was only in his 47th year.

Mr. HOOKER was in his person of a low stature, and stooping; he was also somewhat short and dim-sighted. He was a man of very extensive learning, and of great piety, meckness, moderation, and humility. He was modest and bashful to an extreme; fo that we are told, that as in the earlier part of his life his pupils might eafily look him out of countenance, fo neither then, nor in his more advanced age, aid he ever willingly look any man in the face. And he was of fo mild and humble a nature, (fays Mr. Walton) that his poor parish Clerk

and he did never talk, but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same time. He was never addicted to anger or passion, and remarkably temperate and guarded in his expressions.

Mr. Hooker's treatife of ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY procured him a very great and extensive reputation, both at home and abroad. When the first four books of this Work were published, we are told that Cardinal Alan (k), and the learned Dr. Stapleton, though both in Italy, having heard of their fame,

(k) WILLIAM ALAN, or AL-LEN, was the fon of John Allen, and was born at Rossal in Lancashire, in the year 1532. His father was a gentleman of a good family, and some fortune, who took care of his educa-tion till he had reached his fifteenth year, and then fent him to Oxford, where, in 1547, he was entered of Oriel College, and had for his tutor Morgan Philips, or Philip Morgan, a man of note, and a zealous Papist, under whom he studied with confiderable success. In 1550, he took his degrees in Arts, and became Fellow of his College. In 1556, he was made Principal of St. Mary's Hall, and in 1558, Canon of York. But on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, his attachment to Popery made him lose all hopes of preferment; and therefore, in 1560, he withdrew out of England, and retired to Louvain in the Spanish Netherlands, where an English College was erected, of which he became the principal support. Here he began to write in support of the Catholic cause; and his first Piece was against a Work written by Bishop Icwel, on the subject of Purgatory, and prayers for the dead. The Chiefs of the Popish party abroad now began to conceive the greatest hopes of this new disputant, and, as a mark of their confidence, put under his care a young man of an honourable family, (Christopher Blount), who was come to fludy at Louvain. The care he took of this young pupil, and his application to his other studies, had such an effect upon his health, that his phyficians were of opinion, that nothing could restore it, but his native air. Accordingly he came over into Engtand about the year 1565, and con-scaled himself in Laucathire till he

but endeavouring then to make profelytes to the Church of Rome, and to deter people from frequenting the affemblies of Protestants, he was obliged by the Magistrates to leave that part of the country, and went to a place near Oxford, where he continued his former practices, and wrote two books in English, in support of Popery, one ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE PRIESTHOOD, and the other on IN-DULGENCES. From thence he removed to Norfolk, where he lived fometimes in the Duke of Norfolk's house, and sometimes near it, and wrote CERTAIN BRIEF REASONS CONCERNING THE CATHOLIC FAITH. He afterwards went to Oxford again, where he perfuaded one of his former friends to leave the Protestant communion; which being discovered by the parents of the latter, our Author was obliged to leave England, after he had continued there about three years. He retired to a Monastery at Mechlin in Brabant, where he was made Divinity-reader, which office he executed with great applause. He afterwards went to Douay, where an University had been founded about the year 1562. Here he received the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and greatly distinguished himself in the Catholic cause, and was made Canon of the church of Cambray. About the year 1568, he procured a Seminary to be raised at Douay for the reception of the learned English Catholics, who had left their country for the fake of religion, and a yearly pension to be af-figned them. Soon after being made a Canon of Rheims, he procured another Seminary to be erected there by the Guises, who were kinsmen to Mary, Queen of Scots: for the Nehad recovered his former frength; therlands being involved in confusion,

fame, fent to England for them; and having perused them, faid to the then Pope, Clement VIII. that "though he had "lately said he never met with an English book whose Writer deserved the name of Author; yet there now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be so to his Holiness, if it were in Latin. For a poor obscure English Priest had written four Vol. IV. 1.

the English, who had been settled in the College of Douay, were banished from thence by the command of Don Lewis de Requesens. He likewise began a Seminary at Rome, and two others in Spain, for the education of the English youth in the Roman Ca-

tholic religion.

Dr. Alan's services to the Popish cause greatly raised his reputation among the Catholics; but in England he was generally, and justly, considered as an enemy to the State, and any correspondence with him was judged treasonable; and the famous Jesuit, Robert Parsons, was his great friend and Counsellor. He endeavoured to excite, in conjunction with others, King Philip of Spain to undertake the conquest of his native country. To facilitate this, the then Pope, Sextus V. was prevailed upon to renew the excommunication thundered against Queen Elizabeth by his predecessor, Pope Pius V. Whilst this was in agitation, Sir William Stanley, who commanded a very confiderable garrison of English and Irish in the important town of Daventer, basely betrayed it to the Spaniards, and went with his whole regiment of tand York, who had been also intrusted with a strong fort in the same country, acted in the like infamous manner, which not a little aftonithed the States-General of the United Provinces, and brought no fmall fcandal on the English nation; yet Dr. Alan wrote a treatise in defence of this base proceeding, and sent several Priests to Stanley, in order to instruct those that he had drawn over to the King of Spain's fervice. And in recompence for his fervices to the Catholic Church and cause, in July, 1587, Dr. Alan was created a Cardinal, by the title of St. Martin in Montibus; and foon after the King of Spain gave

him an Abbey of great value in the kingdom of Naples, with ftrong affurances of much greater preferment. Shortly after he composed that Work, which rendered him most famous abroad, and infamous at home. The first part of this book, which was entitled, A Declaration of the Sentence of Sixtus V. was an explanation and enforcement of the Pope's Bull for the excommunication and deprivation of Queen Elizabeth: the fecond part was entitled, An Admonition to the Nobility and people of England, and in which they were exhorted to defert Elizabeth, who is stiled the pretended Queen, and the present usurper), and take up arms in favour of the Spanish Monarch. In the title of this Work, our Author is stiled the Cardinal of England. After the defeat of the Spanish Armada, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, who had been three years in prison under a charge of high treason, was brought to his trial, and the chief crime charged upon him was his correspondence with Cardinal Alan; which being proved, he was found guilty by his Peers. In the fame year, the King of Spain promoted our Cardinal to the Archbifhopric of Mechlin in Flanders, where he would have had him constantly refident, in order to his more effectually promoting the Popish and Spanish interests in England. But the Pope having an high opinion of Cardinal Alan's merit, and finding him of great use in consistories, would not fuffer him to leave Rome; where, however, he laboured as carnelly as ever in the fervice of the Catholic religion.

The remainder of his life he fpent at Rome in great honour and reputation, living in a fplendid manner. In his latter years he is faid to have changed his opinions as to Government, and to have been heartily forry "fuch books of laws, and church polity, and in a style that ex"pressed such a grave, and so humble a Majesty, with such
clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they
had not met with any that exceeded him." This begetting
in his Holiness an earnest desire to be acquainted with the contents of this Work, Dr. Stapleton read to him the first book in
Latin; upon which the Pope said, "There is no learning that
this man hath not searched into; nothing too hard for his
understanding. This man indeed deserves the name of an
Author; his books will get reverence by age; for there is in
them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they
shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

When King James I. came out of Scotland, on his accession to the Throne of England, he enquired of Archbishop Whitgist for his friend Mr. Hooker; and being answered, that he died before Queen Elizabeth, who received the news of his death with great forrow, he replied, "And I receive it with no less, as I shall want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with that man, from whose books of church polity I have received such fatisfaction. Indeed, my Lord, I have received more satisfaction in reading a leaf, or paragraph, in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of churches, or "church-

for the pains he had taken to promote the invalion of England by the Spaniards, and much disgusted with the iniquitous practices and defigns of the Jesuits. This alteration of sentiment drew upon him the indignation of that powerful fociety, and made them labour to injure his character. He is generally faid to have died of a retention of urine; but it was shrewdly fuspected, that he was poisoned by the Jesuits; which suspicion was attended with fuch probable circumstances, that the Reverend Fathers themselves admitted his being poisoned; but then they charged it on the Bishop of Cassana, whom they liked not, and who it was thought, on his demife, would have been made a Cardinal. Cardinal Alan's death happened on the 6th of October, 1594, in the fixty-third year of his age. He was buried with great pomp, in the Chapel of the English College at Rome, where a monument is erected to his memory.

Cardinal ALAN was a man of good parts, and confiderable learning; his person was graceful, and his behaviour affable and infinuating; but his connections with the Sec of

Rome, and bigotted attachment to that religion, occasioned his being concerned in the most unjustifiable and traiterous practices against his country. In the close of his life, he was stiled at Rome, and every where abroad, Cardinal of England; and he was regarded as the protector of the nation, and honoured with extraordinary respect. To maintain his magnificence, he had a revenue of 15,000 crowns per annum. But when it appeared that all this had answered but little purpole, and that there were no hopes of reducing England to the Holy See, either by fraud or force, less care was taken of English Priests, and few of them were raised even to the degree of Bishops. But in the reign of King Charles II. when it was again thought probable at Rome, that fomething might be done for promoting the Catholic cause in England, Philip Thomas Howard, younger brother to the Duke of Norfolk, was created Cardinal, and sometimes called the Cardinal of England, as Cardinal Alan had been before .--- Vid. Biographia Britannica, Vol. I. P. 76 --- 81. and General Dictionary, Folio, Vol. I. P. 516, 517.

"church music, or the like, but especially of the Sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large treatises written but of one of those subjects by others, though very learned men; and I observe there is in Mr. Hooker no affected language, but a grave, comprehensive, clear manifestation of reason, and that backed with the authority of the Scripture, the Fathers, and Schoolmen, and with all law both facred and civil. And though many others write well, yet in the next age they will be forgotten; but doubtless there is in every page of Mr. Hooker's book the picture of a di-

"vine foul, such pictures of truth and reason, and drawn in so facred colours, that they shall never fade, but give an immor-

" tal memory to the Author (1)."

In this famous treatise in defence of Ecclesiastical Establishments, Mr. Hooker has indeed displayed so much fagacity, and fo great an extent of learning, attended with fo much candour, moderation, and piety, that those who are very far from admitting the inferences that he has drawn from the principles laid down by him, yet cannot help entertaining an high esteem for the Author. We have already observed, that it has been disthe Author. puted whether the three last books of the ECCLESIASTICAL Po-LITY were published faithfully from Mr. Hooker's manuscripts. The chief cause of the dispute about the genuineness of these books, is their containing some affertions concerning the original of government, and the true nature of the legislative and regal power, favourable to a popular government; it being supposed, it seems, a dishonour to Mr. Hooker, to imagine that he should have advanced any thing in support of the freedom of his country, and the common rights of mankind. But whatever may have been the fentiments of others, we acknowledge that we should have considered this matter in a very different light. And though we have an high esteem for the abilities and the piety of Hooker, we confess ourselves to be of opinion, that the principles both of civil and religious liberty are of too clear and felf-evident a nature, and of too much importance to the happiness of mankind, to be invalidated by the authority, or to need the support, of any man, however eminent for virtue, or however illustrious for genius or for learning.

Besides the eight books of ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY, and his answer to Mr. Travers's Supplication, there are some fermons of Mr. Hooker's in being, which have of late been collected

and printed in the Volume of his Works in Folio.

(1) Walton, as before, P. 212---214.



## The Life of THOMAS SACKVILLE, Lord Buckhurst, Earl of Dorset, and Lord High Treasurer of England.

HOMAS SACKVILLE was born at Buckhurst, in the parish of Withiam in Sussex, in the year 1536. He was the son of Richard Sackville, Esq; by Winifred, the daughter of Sir John Bruges, Lord-Mayor of London. In his earliest youth he was distinguished by the sprightliness of his wit, and the manliness of his behaviour. He is supposed to have received the first part of his education from a private tutor at home; however, he was fent to the University of Oxford in the latter end of King Edward's reign; and, after some stay there, he removed to Cambridge, where he took the degree of Master of Arts. He afterwards entered himfelf a Student at the Temple, and at an early time of life was called to the bar. But we are told, that he applied himself to the study of the law without any design of practifug it, and only to qualify him more effectually for ferving his country in Parliament, where we find him in the fourth and fifth years of the reign of Queen Mary (m).

Mr. Sackville had early at the Universities acquired the character of a good Poet; and in 1557, he wrote the poetical Piece, entitled, "The Induction," or Introduction to the Mirror of Magistrates. The Work entitled, "The Mirror of Magisfattes," is a feries of poems, formed upon a dramatic plan; and confists of examples of eminent bad men, who had come to miserable ends. It was very much applauded in that age, and passed through several editions. Mr. Warton says, that "Sack-" VILLE'S INDUCTION approaches nearer to the FAIRY QUEEN "in the richness of allegoric description, than any previous or

" fucceeding poem (n)."

It was probably while Mr. Sackville was at the Temple, that his friendship and intimacy commenced with Mr. Thomas Norton, in conjunction with whom he wrote a tragedy, entitled, "Ferrex and Porrex, the two sons of Gorboduc, King of Britain."

<sup>(</sup>m) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. P. 55. Biograph. Britan. and New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo. (n) Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, Vol. II. P. 109.

" tain." But this was afterwards altered by Sackville, and republished under the title of " The Tragedy of Gorboduc." However, this Piece in its original form, of which Mr. Norton wrote the three first acts, and Mr. Sackville the two last, was performed by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple at Whitehall, before Queen Elizabeth, on the 18th of January, 1561, long before Shakespeare appeared on the stage, and when Mr. Sackville was only in his twenty-fixth year ( o ). The tragedy of Gorboduc was greatly admired by the wits of that age. "Gorbo-" duc," fays Sir Philip Sydney, " is full of stately speeches, and well founding phrases, climbing to the height of Se-" neca's ftyle; and as full of notable morality, which it doth " most delightfully teach, and thereby obtains the very end of " poetry." It passed through several editions, but afterwards was little known; however, Mr. Pope took a fancy to retrieve this play from oblivion; and with this view Mr. Spence was employed to fet it off with all possible advantage, and it was printed pompoully in 1736, with a Preface by the Editor.

But Mr. Sackville now left the Muses, to assume the character of the Statesman, in which he became very eminent. In the first Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, he was elected Knight of the Shire for the county of Suffex, at the same time that his father was chosen for Kent; and in the second Parliament of that reign, when his father was returned for Suffex, he was chosen

Member for the county of Bucks.

Shortly after he refolved, though he had been married feveral years, to travel into foreign countries. Accordingly he made the Tour of France and Italy; and was on some account or other in prison at Rome, where he had been confined about a fortnight, when he received the news of the death of his father, Sir Richard Sackville, in 1566. Upon this, he obtained his release, and returned home to take possession of a very large inheritance. The following year he was knighted in the Queen's presence by the Duke of Norfolk, and at the same time created a Peer by the title of Lord Buckhurst. His Lordthip was of so profuse a temper, that though his income was a very large one, yet his fondness for magnificence and expence would not permit him to live within it, and fometimes subjected him to confiderable inconveniencies. The Queen gave him frequent admonitions on this subject, which are said at length to have made some impression on him, and induced him to become more careful of his affairs (p).

house, Edit. 1764.

( o ) Vid. Companion to the Play- " Alderman of London, who had got " very confiderably by the loan of " his money to him, he was obliged different account of the cause of the " to wait his coming down so long, " as made fuch an impression on his " generous humour, that thereupon " he turned a thrifty improver of his we are told the following flory of estate." --- Vid. Cibber's Lives of the

<sup>(</sup>p) There are some who give a alteration in Lord Buckhurft's conduct, with respect to the manage-ment of his affairs. To this purpose him. It is faid, " That calling on an Poets, Vol. I. P. 57.

In 1571, Lord Buckhurst was sent Ambassador to Charles IX. King of France, to congratulate that Monarch on his marriage with the Emperor Maximilian's daughter, and also to negociate a treaty of the same kind between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou. In 1586, being a Member of the Privy Council, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots; and when the Parliament had confirmed the sentence of death passed upon that Princess at Fotheringay-cassle, he was made choice of to acquaint her with it, and

fee it put into execution.

In 1587, he was fent Ambassador to the States-General of the United Provinces, to accommodate differences in regard to some remonstrances they had made against the conduct of the Earl of Leicester. He discharged this nice and hazardous trust with great fidelity and honour, though not to the satisfaction of Leicefter, who prevailed with the Queen to call him home, and confine him to his house for nine or ten months: which command Lord Buckhurst is faid to have submitted to so obsequiously, that in all the time he never would endure, openly or fecretly, by day or by night, to see either his wife or child (q). But upon the death of Leicester, her Majesty's favour returned to him with fironger rays than before. He was made Knight of the Garter in 1590; and Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1591, by the Queen's special interposition. The following year he visited that University, when her Majesty honoured him with her presence, and staid there several days, being agreeably entertained with speeches, plays, and disputations, and received a splendid treat from the Chancellor.

In 1598, he was joined with the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh in negociating a peace with Spain; which so much alarmed the States-General, that they sent over Ambassadors for renewing their treaty with the Crown of England. Whereupon a new treaty was concluded with the Dutch, which, as Lord Burleigh then lay sick, was negociated solely by Lord Buckhurst; whereby the Queen, besides other advantages, was eased of a charge of at least 120,000l. per annum. Upon the death of Burleigh the same year, he was appointed Lord High Treasurer: by virtue of which office he became in a manner Prime Minister, and as such exerted himself vigorously for the public good and the

Queen's safety.

Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, in 1603, her successor, King James I. who had an high opinion of the abilities of Lord Buckhurst, renewed his patent for life as Lord High Treasurer, even before his Majesty's arrival in England, and in the ensuing year created him Earl of Dorset, and appointed him one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal. He

<sup>(?)</sup> This is afferted in his funeral fermon, preached by Dr. Abbot, afserwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

continued to enjoy these additional honours, and lived in great esteem and reputation, till the 19th of April, 1608, when he died suddenly at the Council-table, Whitehall, and on the 26th of May following was interred with great folemnity at West-minster-Abbey. The suddenness of his death occasioned some little grounds for conjecture and suspicion; but these were immediately put a stop to, we are told, when on opening his head, the cause of his decease was found to be a Hydrocephalus, or little bags of water collected about the brain; which, by fuddenly

bursting, occasioned the catastrophe that followed.

It is observed by Mr. Horace Walpole, that few first Ministers have left so fair a character as Lord Buckhurst. His abilities and integrity procured him universal esteem. He had considerable poetical talents, and would undoubtedly have shone with superior brilliance in this respect, had he not been prevented by his application to more important affairs. In his private life he was an affectionate husband, a kind father, and a firm friend. He lived with great magnificence, and was un-commonly hospitable. For the last twenty years of his life, his family always confifted of at least two hundred persons. He was very generous to his tenants, and to the poor in general, especially in times of distress and scarcity. He was succeeded in his honours and estate by his fon Robert, and afterwards fuccessively by his two grandsons, Richard and Edward.

As a specimen of this Nobleman's poetical productions, we shall present our readers with the following description of Age, from the Induction to the Mirror of Magistrates.

" And next in order fad OLD AGE we found, " His beard all hoare, his eyes hollow and blind, " With drooping cheer fill poring on the ground,

" As on the place where nature him assign'd " To rest, when that the fisters had untwin'd " His vital thread, and ended with their knife " The fleeting course of fast declining life.

" There heard we him, with broke and hollow plaint,

" Rue with himfelf his end approaching fast, " And all for nought his wretched mind torment, "With sweet remembrance of his pleasures past,

" And fresh delights of lusty youth forewast. " Recounting which, how would he fob and shriek?

"And to be young again of Jove befeek?

### 32 The Life of SACKVILLE, Earl of DORSET.

" But, and the cruel fates fo fixed be,

" That time forepast cannot return again,

"This one request of Jove yet prayed he:
"That in such wither'd plight, and wretched pain,

" As ELD (accompanied with loathfome train)
" Had brought on him, all were it woe and grief,

" He might a while yet linger forth his life.

" And not fo foon descend into the pit:

Where death, when he the mortal corps hath flain,

" With wretchless hand in grave doth cover it,

" Thereafter never to enjoy again

"In depth of darkness, waste and wear to nought,
"As he had ne'er into the world been brought.

er But who had feen him, fobbing how he stood

" Unto himfelf, and how he would bemoan

" His youth forepast, as though it wrought him good

"To talk of youth, all were his youth foregone,
"He would have mus'd and marvell'd much whereon
"This wretched Age should life desire to fain,

"And knows full well life doth but length his pain.

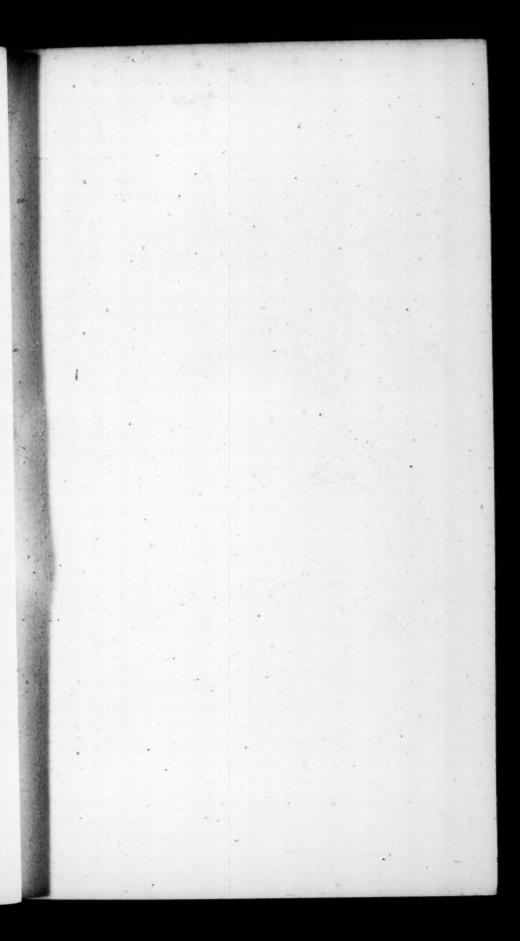
Crook-back'd he was, tooth shaken, and blear-ey'd,
Went on three feet, and sometimes crept on four,

"With old, lame bones, that rattled in his fide,

"His scalp all pil'd, and he with eld forlore:
"His wither'd fift still knocking at Death's door,
"Fumbling and driv'ling as he draws his breath,

" For brief, the shape and messenger of Death !"







S.WALTER RALEIGH.

## The Life of Sir WALTER RALEIGH.

HIS illustrious man, who is equally celebrated for valour, for genius, and for learning, was descended from an antient family in Devonshire. His father was Walter Raleigh, or Ralegh, Esq; of Fardel in that county (a). He was born in the year 1552, at a pleasant farm called Hayes, situated in that part of Devonshire which borders on the sea; and after laying the foundation of literature in his own county, he was sent to Oriel College, Oxford, when very young, and soon distinguished himself there by a proficiency in learning far beyond his age. But though he was fond of letters, his ambition prompted him to pursue the road to same in an active life; he therefore made a short stay only at Oxford. In 1569, Queen Elizabeth sending forces to affish the persecuted Protestants of France, Mr. Raleigh, then only seventeen years of age, went over with them as a gentleman-volunteer.

He ferved in France for somewhat more than five years, and acquired both skill and reputation; but having still an earnest defire to increase his military knowledge, and an eager thirst for glory, he passed next into the Netherlands, where he served likewife some time against the Spaniards. In these transactions he followed the fashion of the times. France and the Netherlands were in those days the schools of Mars; to which all were obliged to go, who addicted themselves to the sword, and were willing to find a way to reputation, by exposing their persons in the service of their country. But whereas numbers were ruined by this course, suffering their minds to be corrupted by the licence of camps, and their behaviour to be infected with that fierce and boifterous humour, which, some take for a soldier-like freedom; Raleigh, on the contrary, made the true use of his service in a foreign country, increased his stock of knowledge in all kinds, improved his skill as a foldier by experience, and so Vol. IV. 2. completely

whom we are treating; as also a daughter, Margaret, who was twice married. Thus it appears, that Sir Walter Raleigh was brother by the mother's fide to Sir John, Sir Humphrey, and Sir Adrian Gilbert.--Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. P. 33. Edit. 1742.

<sup>(</sup>a) Sir Walter's father had three wives, and children by them all. The last was Catherine the daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert of Compton in Devon, Esqr. By this Lady Mr. Raleigh had two sons; Carew, who was afterwards knighted, and Walter, of 1742.

completely polished his manner of address, that at his return he was confidered as one of the best bred and most accomplished

gentlemen in England (b).

In 1576, we find Mr. Raleigh in London, and exercifing his poetical talents; for we have of his a commendatory poem, pre-fixed among others to a fatire, called, "The Steel Glass," published this year by George Gascoigne, a Poet of some eminence in these times, being the Author of several dramatic Pieces, and other poetical productions. In 1578, when his uterine brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, had obtained a patent from the Queen, to plant and inhabit some northern parts of America, Mr. Raleigh engaged in that adventure; but returned foon after, the at-

tempt proving unfuccessful.

Shortly after, he entertained thoughts of serving his Queen and country in Ireland, where his Holiness and the Spaniards had fent men, money, and bleffings, to comfort and affift fuch as in breach of their oaths would take arms against their Sovereign, and cut the throats of the English. It is not clear at what time Mr. Raleigh passed the seas; but it appears that in 1580, he had a Captain's commission under the President of Munster. The next year Captain Raleigh served under the Earl of Ormond, and performed many signal services. The Spanish succours, under the command of an Officer of their own, and affifted by a choice body of their Irish confederates, had raised and fortified a castle, which they called Del Ore, and which they intended should serve them for a place of retreat, whenever they found themselves distressed, and should also prove a key to admit fresh succours from abroad, which they daily expected; and for which it was well situated, as standing upon the bay of Smerwick, in the county of Kerry. The then Deputy of Ireland, Lord Grey, was a person of great courage and industry, but of a severe temper, and particularly prejudiced against the Irish, and who resolved at all hazards to disposses them of this fort; which he accordingly befieged with his small army for fome time. In this dangerous enterprize Captain Raleigh had a principal share, commanding often in the trenches, and contributing greatly to the reduction of the place, which was at last forced to surrender at discretion; and the Lord Deputy directed the greatest part of the garrison to be put to the sword. This was accordingly executed, though with great regret, by the Captains Raleigh and Mackworth. Many other confiderable fervices (c) were performed by Raleigh in Ireland; which fo recommended

(b) Campbell, as before, P. 34, 35. (c) In some accounts which are preferved of feveral of his skirmishes with the Irish rebels, the following parti-

the English camp, to flock in parties thither, and glean away whatever they faw left behind, he lingered, and lay in ambush, to receive them. They came culars are related. Raleigh having accordingly, with their usual diligence; observed it to be the custom of the but in the midst of their prowling. Irish Kerns, upon any disodgment of Raleigh fell upon them so advantage-

recommended him to the notice of the Government, that in 1581, he was honoured with a joint commission to be Governor of Munster. In this character he continued to do the State good service, which was rewarded by the grant of a large estate in Ireland (d). But all his fervices did not prevent his having enemies, and amongst them the Lord-Deputy Grey. putes between Raleigh and this Nobleman, both of whom were now come over into England, were brought to a hearing before the Privy Council. The particulars are not known; but it is certain, that Raleigh defended his cause with so much eloquence and ability, that it greatly recommended him to the notice of

the Queen, and the Lords of the Council (e).

Captain Raleigh is also said to have drawn on himself the attention of the Queen, by the following incident. Her Majesty taking the air in a walk, stopped at a plashy place, in doubt whether to go on; when Raleigh, dreffed in a gay and genteel habit of those times, immediately cast off and spread his new plush cloak on the ground; on which the Queen gently treading, was conducted over clean and dry. Indeed, Raleigh, befides the advantages of wit and eloquence, was a handsome man, and always made a very elegant appearance, as well in the fplendor of attire, as the politeness of address: qualifications which were well fuited to recommend him to a Female Sovereign. Accordingly coming to Court soon after this adventure, and meeting with fuch a reception, as gave him reason to entertain hopes of the Queen's favour, he wrote in a glass window, obvious to her Majesty's eye,

"FAIN WOULD I CLIMB, YET FEAR I TO FALL." Under which the Queen soon after wrote, " IF THY HEART FAIL THEE, CLIMB NOT AT ALL."

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After

oufly, that he enclosed them all with concern that it was to be by the comthe spot, who was not flain in the refistance. Among them, there was one laden with withes; who being asked what he intended them for, boldly anfwered, to hang up the English churls. Well, faid Raleigh, but they shall now serve for an Irish Kern; and thereupon immediately commanded him to be tucked up in one of his own neck-bands. It feems to have been a common custom among the Irish, to hang men up in withes instead of halters. Thus we read of another Irish rebel, but of greater rank, named Brian O'Rourk; who being afterwards to fuffer at the gallows, shewed great State-Worthies, Vol. I. P. 562.

his men, and took every rebel upon mon halter; and earnestly petitioned, not for pardon, or preservation of life, but that they would change the instru-ment of his death; and instead of a rope, let him take his fwing in z withe. And being asked, why he insisted upon fuch an infignificant diffinction? he answered, It was a distinction that had been paid to his countrymen before. Lord Bacon, in his Essays, brings this example to illustrate the force and tyranny of custom .-- Vid. Biograph. Britan.

(d) Campbell, P. 36, 37. (e) Vid. Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. P. 182. and Lloyd's

After Raleigh had once made himself known to the Queen, he grew every day more in her esteem. She frequently confulted him on the most important occasions, and was greatly taken with the vigour and prudence of his counsels. He was one of those who were appointed by the Queen to accompany the Duke of Anjou on his return to the Netherlands; and on his coming back into England, in 1582, he brought over the Prince of Orange's letters to the Queen. Some months after this he refided at Court, and was honoured with the favour and protection even of contending Statesmen, who were proud of shewing the true judgment they made of merit, by becoming

patrons to Raleigh.

In 1583, he was concerned in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition to Newfoundland; and though he did not go in person, yet he built a new ship called the Bark Raleigh, and furnished it completely for the voyage; the unfuccessful end of which it feemed to predict, by its untimely return in less than a week to Plymouth, through a contagious distemper which seized on the ship's crew. Yet neither this accident, nor the unfortunate loss of his brother Sir Humphrey (f), could drive from Raleigh's thoughts a scheme so beneficial to his country, as these northern discoveries seemed to be. He, therefore, digested into writing an account of the advantages which he supposed might attend the profecution of such a design; and having laid his paper before the Council, obtained her Majesty's letters patent in favour of his project, dated the 25th of March, 1584. By this seasonable interposition, he kept alive that generous spirit of searching and planting distant countries, which has been ever fince of fuch infinite service to the trade and navigation of England.

It was not long before Mr. Raleigh carried his patent into execution; for having made choice of two able Commanders, Captain Philip Amadas, and Captain Arthur Barlow, he fitted out their vessels with such expedition, though entirely at his own expence, that on the twenty-seventh of April following, they fet fail from the West of England for the coast of North America, where they fafely arrived in the beginning of the month of July, and took possession of that fine country, which has been fince so famous by the name bestowed on it by Queen Elizabeth, (and not given, as is generally furmised, by Sir Walter Raleigh,) of VIRGINIA (g).

About this time he was chosen Knight of the Shire for the county of Devon, and making a considerable figure in Parliament, he upon some occasion entering the Royal presence in his capacity as a Member, received the honour of Knighthood; but at what time is not exactly known. In 1585, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out a second sleet for Virginia, consisting of seven fail, the command of which he gave to his kinfman, Sir RiRichard Greenville (b); who, after having visited the country, left behind him an hundred and seven persons to settle a colony there;

(b) Sir RICHARD GREEN-VILLE was the fon of Sir Roger Greenville, and is supposed to have been born in the West of England about the year 1540. He was naturally of an active, enterprizing, and martial genius, which induced him as foon as he was his own mafter to procure a licence from Queen Elizabeth, in the eighth year of her reign to go with feveral other persons of distinction into the service of the Emperor against the Turks. He not only gave the highest proofs of his courage as a foldier in Hungary, but adventured his person likewise by sea; and it is faid by some, that he had the honour to share the glory of that celebrated victory obtained over the Mahometans at Lepanto, by the combined Christian fleet, under the command of Don John of Austria. He continued the rest of that war abroad; and having acquired the highest military reputation, returned again to England.

His ardour was fo far from being exhausted by the fatigues he had undergone, or his appetite for glory fatisfied by what he had acquired, that within a very little time after his revifiting his native country, he refolved to embark his person and fortune in that important part of the public fervice, the reduction of Ireland. In this he behaved himself greatly to the fatisfaction of Sir Henry Sydney, the Lord-Deputy; and he was constituted by the Queen, in the eleventh year of her reign, Sheriff of Corke, during Upon his return to her pleasure. England, he was, together with William Mohun, Efq; elected to reprefent the county of Cornwall, in that Partiament which was fummoned to meet at Westminster in 1571. He was also High Sheriff of that county in the 18th of that reign; and was again chosen to represent it in the Parliament assembled in 1584, in which he was a very active Member. He foon after commanded in the expedition to Virginia, which we have mentioned in the text; and he afterwards made another voyage to that

country.

We meet with nothing elfe that is remarkable related of Sir Richard Greenville, till we come to his last fa-mous action, and heroic death. In 1591, the Queen's Ministry being informed that the rich fleet which had remained in the Spanish West-Indies all the year before, through the dread of falling into the hands of Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobisher, must of necessity return home, it was refolved that a strong squadron should be fent to intercept them at the Western Islands. This fleet consisted of feven fail of the Queen's ships, of which the Lord Thomas Howard was Admiral, and Sir Richard Greenville Vice-Admiral. In the mean time, the Spanish Monarch receiving notice of the purpose of the English, fitted out a fleet of fifty-five sail, and fent them to efcort his West-India ships. The Lord Thomas Howard received information that this formidable Spanish armament was approaching him, on the last day of August in the afternoon, when he was riding at anchor under the island of Flores; and before he had well received the intelligence, the enemy's fleet was in fight. English squadron was in no condition to oppose the Spaniards; for besides its very great inferiority, near half the English were disabled by the scurvy and other diseases. The Lord Thomas Howard, therefore, weighed immediately, and put to fea, as the rest of his fquadron did, following his example The Revenge, Sir Richard Greenville's ship, weighed last, Sir Richard staying to receive the men who were on thore, and who would otherwise have been lost, he having no less than ninety sick on board. The Admiral, and the rest, with difficulty, recovered the wind, which Sir Richard Greenville not being able to do, his Mafter and fome others advised him to cut his main-fail and cast about, trusting to the failing of his ship, because the Seville squadron was already on his weather-bow.

there; and in his return to England took a Spanish prize worth fifty thousand pounds. Sir Walter was likewise concerned in Captain Davis's undertaking, for the discovery of the northwest passage; for which reason a promontory in Davis's Streights, was called MOUNT RALEIGH. In confideration of these public-spirited and very expensive projects, the Queen was pleased to make him some very lucrative grants; particularly two, the first of wine-licences, and the other of lands in Ireland, confifting of 12,000 acres, which he planted at his own expence, and many years after fold to Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Corke.

Encouraged by these favours, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out 2 third fleet for Virginia, and two barks, to cruize on the Spaniards near the Azores; which had such success, that they were obliged to leave many of their prizes behind them. This good fortune of his abroad was so improved by his own prudent behaviour at home, that the Queen in the latter part of the year 1586, made him Seneschal of the Dutchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and Lord Warden of the Stannaries in Devonshire and Cornwall. In 1587, he fitted out a fourth fleet for Virginia, at his own expence; and, in 1588, a fifth. But neither had any

great fuccefs, notwithstanding all imaginable care was taken to provide them thoroughly in all respects, and to employ none

Richard peremptorily refused to fly wounded; their masts were beat from the enemy, telling them, "That over-board, their tackle cut in pieces, he would much rather die than and nothing but a hulk lest, unable to he would much rather die than " himfelf, his country, and the Queen's " ship." In consequence of this refolution, he was prejently furrounded by the enemy, and engaged alone with the whole Spanish sleet of fixythree fail, which had ten thousand men on board; and from the time the fight begun, which was about three in the afternoon, to the break of day next morning, he repulfed the enemy fifteen times, though they continually shifted their vessels, and boarded with fresh men. In the beginning of the action he himself received a wound; but he continued above deck till eleven at night, when receiving a fresh wound, he was carried down to be dreifed. During this operation he received a shot in the head, and the Surgeon was killed by his fide. The English began now to want " foldier is in duty bound to do." hundred and three at the beginning, killed, and almost all the rest Vol. V. P. 376.

" leave fuch a mark of dishonour on move one way or other. In this situation Sir Richard proposed to the ship's company, to trust to the mercy of GOD, not to that of the Spaniards, and to destroy the ship with themselves, rather than yield to the enemy. The mafter - gunner, and many of the feamen, agreed to this desperate resolution; but others opposed it, and obliged Sir Richard to furrender. He died in three days after; and his last words were, " Here die I, RICHARD GREEN-" VILLE, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my " life as a true foldier ought to do. " fighting for his country, Queen, re-" ligion, and honour: my foul wil-" lingly departing from this body. " leaving behind the lasting same of " having behaved as every valiant powder; all their fmall arms were The Spaniards lost in this sharp, tho' broken or become useless, forty of unequal action, four ships, and about their best men, which were but one a thousand men .-- Vid. Biograph. Britan. and Hume's Hitt. of England,

in this fervice but men of courage and reputation. These disappointments, however, served only to shew the constancy of our hero's temper, and the sirmness with which he pursued whatever appeared to him conducive to the public good, how

little foever it turned to his private advantage.

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When the nation was alarmed with the news of the King of Spain's famous Armada, Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the Council appointed to consider of ways and means for repulsing those invaders; and his application of his thoughts to this important question, at that time, produced an excellent scheme for the defence of this island (i). He did not, however, confine himself to this province of giving advice; but as he had often fitted out ships for his country's honour, and his own, fo he now did the like for its defence; and not fatisfied even with that, he exposed also his person among the many Noble volunteers who went to fea on that occasion, and performed such signal fervices in the attack and destruction of that formidable fleet, as recommended him further to the Queen's favour, who granted him some additional advantages in his wine-patent, which he enjoyed throughout her whole reign, and was the principal fource of that wealth which he employed fo much to his

honour in all public services ( k ).

About this time he made an affignment of all his right, title, and interest in the colony of Virginia, to certain gentlemen and merchants of London, in hopes they might be able to carry on a fettlement there, more successfully than he had done. He had already spent upwards of forty thousand pounds, in his several attempts for that purpose; and yet it does not appear that he parted with his property, either out of a prospect of gain, or through an unwillingness to run any farther hazard; for instead of taking a confideration, he gave them at the time of making the affignment, an hundred pounds towards their first expences; neither did he make any referve, except the fifths of all gold and filver mines. All his view was to engage fuch a number of joint-adventurers, as by their concurring interests, and industry. might strengthen his infant colony, and enable it to reach the end which he had defigned. With the same view, he continued to affift the company with his advice and protection, whenever they defired it; and the difficulties they struggled with for twenty years after, fufficiently shewed, that it was not through any fault of the original proprietor that Virginia did not fooner flourish, and that his wildom and prudence were no less to be admired in this disposal of his concern therein, than his courage and conduct deserved applause, in first fixing upon so advantage-

<sup>(</sup>i) An extract from this Piece may be feen in Mr. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, P. 39. ( k ) Campbell, P. 41.

ous a spot, which has fince proved itself worthy of all the care

and expence employed in the support of it (1).

Sir Walter Raleigh was now grown such a favourite of the Queen, that some of those who had at first been his friends at Court, began to be alarmed, and to be desirous of preventing an increase of his influence. It appears also that Sir Walter had now rendered himself, by some means or other, rather unpopular; and that aspersions were publicly cast upon him even on the To this purpose we are told that Tarleton, a famous comedian of those times, acting his part in a play made by himfelf, pointed at Sir Walter Raleigh; and faid, alluding to a pack of cards, " See, the Knave commands the Queen." And though the Queen, who was present, corrected him with a frown, he ventured to add that he, Sir Walter, was of too much, and too intolerable a Power. However, it seems Leicester fell under the same lash; for the comedian proceeding in the same liberty, reflected on the over-grown power, and riches, of that Earl; and was so universally applauded, by the whole house, that her Majesty thought fit to pass it over, with a seeming unconcernedness; but yet was so offended, that she forbad Tarleton, and all her jesters, from approaching her table ( m ).

In April, 1589, Sir Walter Raleigh accompanied Don Antonio, the expelled King of Portugal, then in London, to his dominions, when an armament was fent to restore him; and in his return to England touched upon Ireland, where he visited the famous Edmund Spenser, whom he brought with him to England. Soon after, he formed a grand design of attacking the Spaniards in the West-Indies, taking the Plate-sleet, and sacking Panama. This enterprize was partly at the Queen's charge, and partly at that of private persons, among whom the principal were Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir John Hawkins; the former intending to go in person as Commander in chief of the sleet, which consisted of two of the Queen's ships, and thirteen sail besides. Many accidents happened, which detained these ships on the English coast for twelve weeks; but at last Sir Walter Raleigh sailed on the 6th of May, 1592. The very next day Sir Martin Frobisher followed, and overtook him with the Queen's letter to recall

him;

(/) Campbell, P. 42.--"We must not forget that it was Sir Walter's colony in Virginia, who on their return first brought Tobacco to England; and that it was Sir Walter himself who first brought this herb in request among us, and thereby laid the foundation of that great traffic therewith, which has been of such considerable benefit to his country. Whether Queen Elizabeth, by her own example, did ever recommend the use of this herb, we are not certain; but it

is evident, that it foon became of such vogue in her Court, that some of the great Ladies, as well as Noblemen therein, would not scruple sometimes to blow a pipe very sociably; not-withstanding it was such an abomination to the refined palate of her Scotch successor. Biograph. Brit.--K. James I. endeavoured to discountenance the use of this herb, by writing against it himself that polite treatise, entitled, "A Counterblast to Tobacco."

( m-) Biograph. Britan,

him; but he, thinking his honour too deeply engaged, continued at fea, till all hopes of fuccess, according to their intended scheme, was lost; and then returned, leaving the command of the sleet to Sir Martin Frobisher, and Sir John Burgh, with orders to cruize on the coast of Spain and the islands. In pursuance of these orders, Sir John Burgh had the good fortune to make himself master of the Madre de Dios, or Mother of God, one of the greatest ships belonging to the Crown of Portugal, which he brought safely into Dartmouth, on the 7th of September, in the same year. This was an exceeding rich prize, being valued at an hundred and sifty thousand pounds sterling: but as this expedition was partly at the Queen's expence, she thought proper to appropriate to herself the greatest part of the profits of this capture, greatly to the disadvantage of the other proprietors (n).

About this time Sir Walter Raleigh had an amour with a beautiful young Lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and one of the Queen's maids of honour, whose heart he so far won, that she granted him even the last favour. This drew upon him the indignation of the Queen, so that he was confined for several months; and when set at liberty, forbidden the Court; from whence the Lady was likewise dismissed from her attendance. However, Sir Walter afterwards made the most honourable reparation he could, by marrying the object of his affection; and he always lived with her

in the strictest conjugal harmony.

While he lay under this difgrace at Court, he meditated in his retirement a greater enterprize than he had hitherto undertaken; and this was, the discovery of the rich and spacious Empire of Guiana, a fine country in the fouth of America, which the Spaniards had then only visited. From the time he first entertained this notion, he made it his business to collect whatever informations might be had relating to this place, and the means of entering it When he thought himself as much master of the subject, as books could make him, he drew up instructions for Captain Whiddon, an old experienced Officer, whom he fent to take a view of the coast, and who returned with a fair report of the riches of the country, the possibility of discovering and subduing it, and the treachery and cruelty of the Spaniards settled in its neighbourhood. This determined Sir Walter in the profecution of his scheme; and therefore, having provided a squadron of ships at his own expence, and those of his friends the Lord High Admiral Howard, and Sir Robert Cecil, he prepared for this expedition.

On the 6th of February, 1595, he fet fail from Plymouth, and arrived at the isle of Trinidado on the 22d of March. He there easily made himself master of St. Joseph's, a small city, and Vol. IV. 2.

took the Spanish Governor, Antonio Boreo, prisoner, who gave him a large description of the neighbouring continent, and the trade of those parts, unknown before to the English. On this information, he left his ship at Trinidado, and with an hundred men, in several little barks, made up the river Oronoque, 400 miles high, in fearch of Guiana. Carrapana, one of the petty Kings of the country, and feveral others of them, refigned their Sovereignties into his hand, for the Queen's use. But the weather was fo hot, and the rains fo violent, that he was forced to retire in as much danger of being borne down by the rapid torrents of water, as of his enemies. The inhabitants of Cumana, refusing to bring in the contribution he affigned them to pay, to fave the town, he fired it, as also part of St. Mary's, and Rio de la Hacha; which done, he returned home, having acquired both riches and reputation ( o ).

While Sir Walter Raleigh remained at home, he frequently made a very diftinguished figure in the House of Commons, as appears from such of his speeches as are yet preserved. He was also a patron and protector of learned men; a great encourager of all public undertakings; and much in the favour of the Queen, who was now reconciled to him. He was, however, somewhat obnoxious to the Clergy, not only on account of his principles, which were not thought very orthodox, but because

( o ) Campbell, P. 48. The same judicious writer observes, that " of the whole of his proceedings, the manner of his entering this hidden country, and making a further progress therein in a month, than the Spaniards had done in half a century; of the nature of the foil, and the certainty of finding many and rich mines of gold, Sir Walter has left us fo fair, lo copious, and fo well-written a relation, that if his subsequent unfortunate voyage had not thrown a shade over fo bright a prospect, we could scarce render a reason why Guiana should not at this time have been as thoroughly known to, and as compleatly fettled by, the English, as Virginia.

"Whatever (proceeds Dr. Campbell) might be pretended by the deep and cunning Statefmen of that age, as that many things fabulous, and more, uncertain, were related in Sir Walter's Account, and that it was hazarding too much, to fend a large fleet, well manned, into fo fickly a climate; whatever, I fay, of this kind, was pretended (as wife men will never want pretences, even when their paf-

fions incline them to do weak things) yet envy was certainly the true cause why his proposals were postponed at first, and afterwards, notwithstanding all his preffing folicitations, rejected. Sir Walter, however, to shew his own entire confidence in this scheme, and perhaps with a view to make things To plain that even his detractors should have nothing to object, fitted out two ships at his own expence, the Delight and the Discoverer, and sent them under Captain Kemeys, who had ferved in the former enterprize to Guiana, as well to make farther inquiries, as in some measure to keep his word with the Indians, to whom he had promised, in the name of the Queen his mistress, such assistance as might enable them to drive away the Spaniards, who were continually attempting rather to extirpate than subdue them. This voyage Kemeys successfully performed, and at his return published such an account of his expedition, as might have converted to Sir Walter Raleigh's opinion of Guiana, all whom invincible ignorance, or over-weening prejudice, had not he possessed some lands, which had been taken from the Church; particularly the manor of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, which had belonged to the See of Salisbury (p). Sir Walter built in his park at Sherborne, adjoining to the castle, a noble house, which is still remaining, and is now one of the seats of the Lord Digby,

whose family have long been in possession of it.

Sir Walter Raleigh's being obnoxious to the Clergy, is supposed to have been one reason that his enemies ventured to attack him, by a charge of Atheism. Thus in a libel against several English Ministers of State, printed at Lyons, the Author, who was the Jesuit Parsons, inveighs against Sir Walter Ra-leigh's "School of Atheism;" infinuating, that he was not content with being a Disciple, but had set up for a Doctor in his faculty. Francis Osborne (q) accounts for this aspersion

(p) Vid Biograph. Britan.
(g) FRANCIS OSBORNE was the younger Son of Sir John Olborne of Chickfand near Shefford in Bedfordshire, and brother to Sir Peter Osborne of the same place. He was born about the year 1589, and never had the benefit of a free school or Univerfity education, but was privately instructed at home, When grown up, he frequented the Court, became a retainer to the Pembroke family, and at length master of the horse to William, Earl of Pembroke. Upon the breaking out of the civil wars, he fided with the Parliament, and had public employments conferred upon him by them, as also by Cromwell afterwards. And having married a fister of William Draper, Esq; one of Oliver's Colonels, he procured his Son John a fellowship in All Souls College, Oxford, by the favour of the Parliamentary visitors of that Univerfity, in 1648.

In the latter part of his life, he refided at Oxford, in order to have an eye over his fon John, and also to print fome books of his own composition, that were then ready for the press. Accordingly, among others, he published there his "Advice to a Son;" the first part in 1656, which going thro' five editions within two years, he added a fecond in 1658, in 8vo; and though this was not liked fo well as the first, yet both were eagerly bought and admired at Oxford, especially by the young students; which being observed by the Godly Minis-

ters, as Anthony Wood expresses it, they presented a public complaint against the faid books, as instilling Atheistical principles into the minds of the youth, and proposed to have them publicly burnt. And though this did not take effect, yet an order was made, on the 27th of July, 1658, forbidding all Booksellers, or any other persons, to sell them; but this step, as is usual in such cases, made them fell the better. But our Author did not long survive this order; for he died on the 11th of February following, when he was about feventy years of age, at the house of his brother-in-law, at Nether-Wotton, near Dedington, in Oxfordshire, and was buried in that parish-church, where a monument was erected to his me-

Mr. Osborne was a sensible and ingenious writer; his pieces were much read by his cotemporaries; and all of them passed through several editions. As to the charge brought against him, that his writings were calculated to instil Atheistical principles, it appears to be entirely destitute of the least folid foundation. But the truth is, that Osborne chose to think freely, and for himself; and was not inclined to be confined within the limits of ecclefiaftical fystems. And it has been a frequent practice among Bigots of all fects, to stigmatize those as Atheists or infidels, who have not affented to every article of their theological

creeds.

thus: "Sir Walter Raleigh was the first, as I have heard, that "ventured to tack about, and sail aloof from the beaten tract" of the schools; and who, upon the discovery of sapparent an error as a torrid tone, intended to proceed in an inquisition after more solid truths: till the mediation of some, whose livelihood lay in hammering shrines for this superannuated shudy, possessed Queen Elizabeth, that such Doctrine was against GOD, no less than her sather's honour, whose faith, if he owned any, was grounded upon school divinity. Where-upon she chid him, who was, by his own confession, ever after branded with the title of Atheist, though a known asser-

" tor of GOD and PROVIDENCE (r)."

In 1596, Sir Walter was engaged in the famous expedition to Cadiz, of which some account has been given in the Life of the Earl of Essex (5), who, together with the Lord High Admiral Howard, were joint Commanders; and Sir Walter Raleigh, with many other persons of great military skill and prudence, were appointed of their Council. It appears also that Raleigh was constituted an Admiral in this expedition. The sleet sailed in the beginning of June, and on the 20th of that month they arrived before Cadiz. It being resolved, that before the town was attacked, the sleet should fall on the Spanish galleons and gallies in the port, in the night-time the whole plan was fettled. Sir Walter, in the Warspight, was to lead the attack, and to be seconded by Sir George Carew in the Mary Rose; Sir Robert Southwell in the Lion; Sir Francis Vere in the Rainbow;

Mr. Ofborne published the following pieces:

1. Historical Memoirs on the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James,

2. A feafonable exposulation with the Netherlands, declaring their ingratitude to, and the necessity of their agreement with, the common-wealth of England, Oxford, 1652. 4to.

3. Perfualive to mutual compliance under the prefent government,

Oxon, 1652, 4to.

avel.

4. Plea for a free flate compared with Monarchy, 4to.

5. Advice to a fon, in two parts.

Political reflexions upon the government of the Turks.
 A Difcourfe upon Nich. Machi-

8. Observations upon the King of Sweden's descent into Germany.

 Difcourfe upon Pifo and Vindex, who both confpired the death of Pero. 10. The greatness and corruption of the Court of Rome.

11. Political occasions of the defec-

12. Discourse in vindication of Martin Luther.

13. A Mifcellany of fundry Effays, Paradoxes, &c. and fome other fmall pieces.

A Collection of his Works was published in 1689, in one volume, 8vo. and another edition appeared in 1722, in two volumes, 12mo.

Anthony Wood fays, the following piece was also strongly reported to be his: "The private Christian's non ultra; or a plea for the layman's interpreting the Scriptures." Oxon. 1656. 410.----Vid. Biograph. Britan. New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo. and Wood's Athen. Oxon.

(r) Preface to a Mifcellany of fundry Effays, Paradoxes, &c. Edit. 1659, 12mo.

(s ) See Vol. III. P. 377--- 284.

Vice-Admiral Cross in the Swiftsure; Sir Conyers Clifford in the Dreadnought; and by Dudley in the Nonpariel, on board

of which went the Lord Thomas Howard.

The Spaniards made preparations for a very vigorous defence. They ranged feventeen of their gallies under the walls of their city, so as to flank the English ships as they entered. Some culverins were planted so as to scour the channel of the harbour; and the guns and the artillery, both of Fort Philip and of the curtain of the town, were brought to bear upon the English sleet. Besides the gallies before-mentioned, the Spaniards had put artillery on board all their large galleons, and the whole reached from shore to shore, being covered by Fort

Puntal, which lay in the entrance of the harbour (1).

At break of day, on the 22d of June, the attack began. Spaniards thundered upon Raleigh from all their forts, and from all their gallies; but still he advanced as if his ship had been impenetrable, and himself invulnerable. He took, but did not vouchfafe to return, the fire of the enemy. For his own ship, without discharging a gun, bore directly upon the Spanish Admiral, while Sir Francis Vere, and the other ships, which formed the van-guard, plied the gallies fo warmly, that the fire, the fmoke, the confusion, and the dying groans, which were heard in the intervals of the roaring artillery, greatly difmayed the Spaniards; but the fleady appearance of the English, who could fo calmly advance through danger to death, drove them to despair of defending themselves, and to endeavour to seek safety in flight. Notwithstanding their almost unaffailable fituation, the strength of their walls, the disposition of their guns, the largeness of their vessels, the superiority of their numbers, the experience of their Commanders, and the value of the prizes they had to defend, the English at once beat them from their courage and their conduct. The hearts of the brave, and the heads of the wife, were equally confounded, when Raleigh, who had hitherto, with amazing intrepidity, kept up his fire, poured it all at once into two of the largest Spanish ships, the St. Philip and the St. Andrew. The impatience of the English seemed to grow, as peril presented. Each Commander envied his companion the glory of a dangerous post; and in an instant the Nonpariel, the Lion, the Dreadnought, and the Mary Rose, were fighting nearly in the same line with Raleigh. Earl of Essex also, with the utmost ardour, though contrary to the resolution of the council of war, pushed in with his division for a share of the danger; and the Lord-Admiral, with his young fon, stretched into the thickest of the fight. However, Raleigh kept always closest to the enemy, and slood single in the head of all. The Spaniards were now encumbered by their numbers, and their compacted fituation. They durft not fight; they

could not fly. Their Admiral ship and the St. Thomas were burned; the Matthew and the St. Andrew were taken. This thinned the Spanish line, and they made all the sail they could from the English, who, about two in the afternoon, saw themselves in possession of a compleat victory (u). The English were merciful to the conquered enemy; but the Dutch, who had done little or nothing in the fight, now put all to the sword, till they were checked by the Lord-Admiral and Sir Walter Raleigh. The most remarkable circumstance in this whole affair, seems to be the disproportion between the English and Spanish force, there being but seven ships of the former engaged against

feventy-one of the latter ( w ).

Thus was the victory obtained by fea, which rendered the taking of the city, which followed it, the more easy (x). But in the naval action, Sir Walter Raleigh received a grievous wound in his leg, which was much torn and deformed with a fplinter shot. However, the next morning after the city surrendered, Sir Walter fent to the Lord-Admiral for orders to follow the Spanish West-India fleet outward bound, lying then in Puerto-Real, where they could not escape him; but in the hurry and confusion every one was in on taking the town, this opportunity was flipt, and no answer sent to his defire. In the afternoon the merchants of Seville and Cadiz offered two millions to fave those ships; and while the bargain was in agitation, the Duke of Medina Sidonia caused all that rich fleet to be burnt; and thus were the galleons, gallies, frigates, argofies, and the fleets of New Spain, Royal and trading, confumed, except the St. Matthew and the St. Andrew, in possession of the English (y). The town was very rich in merchandize and plate. Many wealthy prisoners were given to the land Commanders; " fo as that fort were very rich, (fays Raleigh); " some had for their prisoners fixteen or twenty thousand, some " ten thousand ducats, besides great houses of merchandize. "What the Generals have gotten, I know least, (concludes he); "they protest it is little: for my own part, I have gotten a lame " leg, and a deformed; for the rest, either I spoke too late, or " it was otherwise resolved. I have not been wanting in good " words,

(u ( Guthrie, as before. Vid. also Lives of the Admirals,

(w) Campbell, P. 54.
(x) After the furrender of Cadiz, orders were given to transport the religious men and women, merchants wives, &c. to port St. Mary, that no violence might be offered them. They had also liberty to take as many of their clothes or goods as they could carry with them; which produced a remarkable example in a beautiful young Spanish Lady, who leaving all

that was precious and valuable, bore away her old and decrepit husband upon her back, whom before she had hidden from the danger of the enemy; herein imitating the piety of the Bavarian women, after the conquest of their country by the Emperor Conrade III.— Life of Sir Walter Raleigh by Mr. Oldys, prefixed to his Hist. of the World, Edit. 1736. P. 103.

(y) Campbell, P. 54, 55.

" words, or exceeding kind and regardful usage; but have pos-

Immediately after his return, Sir Walter Raleigh bethought himself of his favourite project, the settling Guiana. In order to surther discoveries, which might effectually lead thereto, he sent a stout pinnace, well freighted with every thing necessary, under the command of Captain Leonard Berrie, which safely arrived there in March, 1597; and having entered into a friendly commerce with the inhabitants of the coast, and learned from them very particular accounts of the present state and riches of the higher country, they returned again into England, arriving safely at the port of Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of June sollowing (a).

In 1597, Sir Walter Raleigh was employed in the expedition to the Azores, commonly called the Island Voyage. He was appointed Rear-Admiral, the Earl of Effex having the chief command, and the Lord Thomas Howard the post of Vice-Admiral. They failed from Plymouth, with the English fleet, together with a few Dutch men of war, on the 9th of July; but a ftorm arifing, they were forced back thither again, and did not fail the second time till the 7th of August. They used their best endeavours to perform the first part of their instructions, which was to burn fuch Spanish ships as were in the harbours of the Groyne and Ferrol; but finding this impracticable, they thought it best to steer for the islands, which they accordingly did. In this voyage Sir Walter Raleigh's ship sprung a mast; which, however, did not hinder him, when he had repaired his loss, from proceeding to the place of rendezvous, which was the island of Flores. He had scarcely begun to wood and water there, before the Earl of Effex fent him orders to follow him to Fayal, which island the Earl himself intended to attempt. Raleigh obeyed these orders; but when he came to Fayal, he found Effex not yet arrived there.

When Sir Walter had entered the road of Fayal, he beheld before him a very fine town, pleasantly situated along the shore; from whence the people, upon sight of their ships, began to pack away both bag and baggage; their Friars, Nuns, and other women and children, they also sent away in carts and carriages; and so continued transporting all up into the country

( z) Vid. Sir Walter Raleigh's Relation of the Action at Cadiz, published by his grandson, Philip Raleigh, Esq; at the end of an Abridgment of the Hist. of the World, 1700.

(a) Campbell, P. 56. The fame judicious writer observes, that "this expedition seems to be an indubitable proof of two things. First, that Sir Walter himself was in earnest in this

discovery, otherwise there can be no cause assigned why, having so many matters of importance upon his hands, he should yet busy himself in an undertaking of this kind. Secondly, it proves that Sir Walter's hopes were as well sounded as it was possible for a man's to be, in a thing of this nature, since the account given us of this voyage is such a one as is liable to no just objections."

for two days together. There was a strong fort at one end or the town, and another on the top of a very high mountain near adjoining, by nature very inaccessible, and artificially senced with slankers, rampiers, and a ditch; and also six pieces of artillery, and two hundred Spaniards in garrison, exclusive of others quartered about the island. They fired upon Raleigh's ships as he anchored in the road, though without much damage, and set a great red slandard up in desiance before his eyes. They sent moreover six companies with their colours to intrench upon the shore, in order to oppose his landing. However, Raleigh in his barge, accompanied with Sir Arthur Gorges, and Captain William Morgan, rowed close along the shore-side, and by the high fort towards the town, to acquaint himself with the most proper place for making a descent when the Earl of Essex should arrive, from whence they were saluted with some musket shot,

but which did them no damage ( 6 ).

Upon these provocations, and the want they grew in of neceffaries, Raleigh called a Council of the Captains and Officers, to confult about taking of the town, if Effex arrived not; thinking it a shame to forbear so fair a prize, so near at hand, till they had carried all off; especially since the enemy had begun the war upon them, and dared them to their own defence. Further, these bravadoes, together with the hopes of plunder in the town, and the ranfom of houses and prisoners, made all the mariners and foldiers ready to mutiny that they were fo long restrained. In this state of affairs, on the fourth day of their arrival before Fayal, Raleigh determined to attempt a descent upon the island. Accordingly having a party of two hundred and threescore men, which was not half the number of the enemy, he made forward; and while some ordnance, that he had judiciously placed before him in pinnaces, as close along the shore as they could lie, were beating upon their trenches, he rushed through or under them as fast as his oars could ply to the landing-place; which was guarded first with a mighty ledge of rocks, forty paces long into the fea, and afterwards trenched and flanked with earth and flone, having only a narrow lane between two walls left for their entrance. But now, as they approached still nearer to the shore, the enemies shot flew down so thick among them, that not only feveral of the common men, but of those who would before have passed for very forward and valiant leaders, were much difmayed; infomuch that Raleigh, who most gloriously approved himself no less their Chief in courage, than he was in command, did not spare to reproach them openly and sharply. At last, when he saw them still linger, through consternation, as much to their danger as their disgrace, he commanded, with a loud voice, his watermen to row his own barge full upon the rocks, and bade as many as were not afraid,

were landed Mr. Garret, afterwards Earl of Kildare, Sir W. Brooke, Sir W. Harvey, Sir John Scott, the Captains Thynne, White, Radford, and Morgan, and several other gentlemen. And now Raleigh, clambering over the rocks, and wading through the water, made his way through all the fire of the enemy, with shot, pike, and sword, up to the narrow entrance; where he so resolutely pursued his affault, that the Spaniards, after a short resistance, gave ground; and when they saw his forces press faster and thicker upon them, suddenly retiring, they cast away their weapons, and betook themselves to the hills and woods. The like also did those who were intrenched higher; and thus did he gain this difficult and dangerous landing, together with the trenches of the enemy. A sew of his men, indeed, were drowned and slain, more hurt, and a couple of long boats sunk; however, he soon received a reinforcement, several companies of soot, and some Officers, arriving

upon the island to his assistance (c).

Sir Walter, thus recruited, and being now near five hundred firong, appointed Captain Brett to the office of Serjeant-Major, and directed the other Captains to advance their colours, and marshal the companies; and so, in order, marched to the town, which was about four miles distant from the landing-place. In their passage several of the enemy, who had before braved them with the greatest insolence, came with white napkins at the end of staves, and voluntarily abased themselves to offices of the greatest servility. There was indeed a way, two miles about, by which they might have passed to the town, and avoided the high fort where the Spaniards lay in garrison. But Raleigh, considering the trouble of their march, the sultry heat of the weather, the hazards of delay, and, above all, the necessity they were under of immediate supplies, took the shortest course; resolving to bring fort and town all into one day's work. Thus, at the head of about forty gentlemen of the best rank, Raleigh led on the companies in a gentle, regular manner, full in the face of the fort, having only his leading-staff in his hand, and no other armour on but his collar, for which he was somewhat censured by his friends; for when they came within reach of the fort, they were encountered with feveral fierce storms of great and fmall fhot, which came thundering down upon them from all parts of it, wounding feveral, killing fome, and putting most of his men into disorder; insomuch that Raleigh himself, with his little van-guard, was no fooner paffed, and entered under the covert of their trenches and barricadoes at the declivity of a little hill, but the rest, composing the main body of his forces, which, till now that they found themselves under the enemy's fire, advanced in good order, began to break their ranks, and, instead Vol. IV. 2.

of marching, fell to running on in a straggling and confused manner, till they were under the walls and trenches almost as foon as their leader, who had proceeded somewhat more than two hundred yards before them, in a steady and deliberate march. The troops who on this occasion behaved so ill, had lately come out of the Low Countries: and Raleigh, being fomewhat moved to fee this tumultuous and timorous courfe, called out to Brett, Berry, and other of their Officers, demanding, " If this was the manner of their Low Country troops, to " shew such base cowardice at the first fight of an enemy, and at the musket-shot so far off from a fort?" The Captains, who were themselves sufficiently brave, knowing the truth would be the best apology, answered, " That these companies, who " had behaved themselves with such irresolution, were indeed " men taken out of Flushing and Brill, the cautionary towns; " and so were raw soldiers, who had ever lived in a safe garri-" fon, and feldom or never feen an enemy, or encountered with

" fhot in the field ( d )."

Being thus get under covert of the trenches and walls which the Spaniards had abandoned, they having now retired to their fortifications on the top of the hill, Raleigh commanded Captain Brett to appoint a Serjeant or two, with a few shot, to go to view and discover the way to the town, which, in many places, lay open, as well to the high fort in the way towards it, as to the other fort at the end thereof: and where the ways were fenced, they were still more dangerous; it being with low-piled walls of loofe ragged stones, which Raleigh justly suspected would increase, rather than obstruct the mischiess of their enemies artillery. But Brett brought word of a general unwillingness in the Lieutenants and Serjeants to undertake this discovery, so much under the command of the fort and hill; and that the troops were rather defirous of flipping by, in the most hasty, dispersed, and unobserved manner they could; which Raleigh would by no means suffer, through consideration of their safety, as well as from the regard he had to their credit in this enterprize. For being by this time well informed, that the island could raise a thousand armed men, and reasonably believing they would gather their greatest strength for the defence of their best town, towards which he was now marching, he concluded they would have it more in their power to defeat him, advancing in little disorderly and scattered parties, than in a regular, united body. Brett made some offer himself to go and survey these passages, if he should be expressly commanded; though it was said he could not be wanted, or spared from his own raw and unexperienced troops.

When Raleigh, therefore, faw all men fo fcrupulous of this undertaking, and especially those garrison-foldiers, he told

them,

them, " That he would not offer that to any man, which he " would himself refuse : that though it were not the duty and " office of a chief Commander to undergo fo ordinary a service, " but what duly appertained to the inferior Officers and fol-" diers; and notwithstanding (faid he) that I could therefore " enforce others to do it, they shall well perceive that I myself " will do that which they dare not attempt." He then called for his CUIRASS and his CASK, and faid, " he would both go " view the way for them, which they made so nice of, as also " the passages and ascents to the hill-top; and, as well as he " could, observe the strength and fortifications thereof." He was accompanied by Sir Arthur Gorges, who offered to attend him, and about eight or ten more. Gorges, who afterwards wrote an account of this expedition, which was published in Purchas's Collection of Voyages, fays, "I accompanied him, and fo " did some eight or ten more of our servants and followers. But " I fay truly, and fo afterwards it was much spoken of, that " there was not any one more of Quality that did accompany " him in that bufinefs."

In this manner, and with this number, did Raleigh in person go; the only one, it feems, who despaired not of success, to discover the ascents to the hill; the cannon-shot of the enemy, and thereby the stones of the battered walls, slying on every side thick about him all the while. He still proceeded, with an undaunted pace, in order to procure this knowledge of the fafest way by which he was to lead the reft, though he perceived wounds and death dealt on either hand, and his own danger at every step more unavoidable. Some of his company, in the march, were hurt, and two had their heads taken from their shoulders; and Sir Arthur Gorges had his left leg shot through with a musket-ball. This gentleman, in the account written by him, and before referred to, fays, " I was then hard by the " the Rear-Admiral, (Raleigh), who also was shot through the " breeches and doublet-sleeves in two or three places. And " still they plyed us so fast with small-shot, that, as I well re"member, he wished me to put off a large red scarf which I " then wore; being, as he faid, a very fair mark for them. " But I, not willing to do the Spaniards fo much honour at that " time, though I could have wished it had not been on, an-" fwered the Rear Admiral again, That his white fcarf was as " eminent as my red; and therefore I would now follow his

Having, by this time, made a sufficient discovery, both of the way for his troops to pass, as also of the avenues to the high fort on the mountain, which he intended to attempt, after he had secured the town; Captain Berry, and some others, advanced to him. Hereupon he sent some guides to Captain Brett, with orders for him also to march up with the companies, that they might unite before they came to the town, because he there ex-

pected an engagement. The companies marched accordingly; but immediately upon Raleigh's approach with the body of his troops, the Spaniards abandoned both the fortifications and the town; for when he entered it, he found they were newly departed. Thus, with much danger indeed, but with the loss of only half a score men, and about double that number wounded, Raleigh made himself master in effect of the whole Island (e).

The next day the Earl of Essex, with the rest of the sleet, arrived at Fayal; and was not a little chagrined to find that Raleigh had taken the place before his arrival, and without waiting for his orders; which he construed as proceeding from an intention to rob him, the General, of the glory which attended that action. Accordingly this occasioned a great misunderstanding between them; but the affair was at length accommodated, at least in appearance. And from thence they failed together to Graciosa, which immediately submitted; and they afterwards surprized and plundered the town of Villa Franca, and then returned home; but before they arrived thither, Raleigh

had the good fortune to take some valuable prizes.

The next year we find Sir Walter very active in Parliament; he procured some griping projects to be discountenanced, and obtained some indulgences for the tinners in Cornwall; and shewed himself, upon many occasions, a ready advocate for the poor. In 1599, when the Queen fitted out, in the space of a fortnight, so great a navy as struck her neighbours with awe, Sir Walter was appointed Vice-Admiral. And in 1600, her Majesty sent Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh to the Dutch; and after conferring with Prince Maurice of Nassau, Sir Walter returned again about the middle of the year. Shortly after, he was appointed by the Queen Governor of the island of Jersey; but she reserved 300 pounds a year out of that Govern-

ment, to be disposed of as she thought fit (f).

Raleigh was next concerned in some of the transactions against Essex. The latter, and some of his friends, pretended that Sir Walter and Lord Cobham had formed a design against his life; but this charge appears to have been without soundation. Some, indeed, have reported, that, after the Earl of Essex was condemned, Raleigh pressed the Queen to sign a warrant for his execution; and that he shewed a particular pleasure in beholding his death: which, however, appears not to be true. For though he had placed himself near the scassod, before the Earl appeared, yet he removed from thence before his death, because the people seemed to take his appearance there in a wrong light. But this he afterwards repented; because when the Earl came to die, he expressed a great desire to have seen and spoke to him; from a foresight of which, Sir Walter Raleigh had taken that post. When Sir Christopher Blount came

to die, he actually begged Sir Walter's pardon, and confessed that wrong had been done him, in reports spread against him to inflame the populace. Yet it is certain, that even this confession did not quash such reports; but from this time forward Raleigh had more enemies than ever (g); and, which was worse, the Queen's fucceffor was prejudiced against him, by fuch accounts as were transmitted to him in Scotland .-- Besides the Earl of Essex himself, and Sir Christopher Blount, several of the Earl's accomplices were also put to death, particularly Sir Charles Davers, Sir Gilly Merrick, and his Secretary, Mr. Henry Cuff (b).

(g) Sir Walter Raleigh was him-felf fenfible, that the death of the Earl of Effex was disadvantageous to him. And Ofborne fays, ' Nor did this blow (the death of Effex) ter-minate only in the ruin of the Earl's friends, but extended to the difad-\* vantage of his maligners themselves, apparent in Sir Walter Raleigh, 4 who wanting strength, though not wit, to be the Treasurer's (Sir Robert Cecil) corrival, perified because not thought to own humility enough to be his fervant: it being " more fafe at Court to have many " enemies of equal power, than one 66 false ambitious friend, that hath at-" tained to the absoluteness of com-" mand." The agitations and tem-· pefts, arifing from confiderable fac-· tions in the houses of Princes, (refembling fome winds at fea, by " which men are driven, though by contrary means, to one and the fame end), would of necessity have · miscarried, or perished, had any fingle party prevailed. The one 4 ftill thinking it honourable to pre-· ferve and advance, what the other · efteems fafe to suppress and dettroy. And this Raleigh was often heard ' to fay, he did not apprehend, before · his genius had dictated it to him, as he came in a boat from the execution of the Earl of Effex, which was done at the Tower.' --- Political Deductions from Effex's death, P. 228, 229. in Ofborne's Miscellanies, Edit. 12mo. 1659.

( b ) HENRY CUFF was descended from a good family, and born at Hinton St. George, in Somersetshire, about the year 1560. He gave early evidences of genius and application,

College in Oxford; where he foon diftinguished himself by his skill in the Greek tongue, and an admirable faculty in difputing. He became in due time Fellow of his College; but he had the misfortune to lofe his Fellowship for a bon mor, which, in the gaiety of his heart, he happened to fay upon Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of his College. Sir Thomas, it is faid, had a very extraordinary way with him, when he went a visiting, of feizing whatever he could lay his hands on, and carrying it off under his gown, or in his pocket; which, however, was not imputed to dishonesty, but to humour. In allufion to this, Mr. Cuff, at a time of merriment with his Fellows, faid in a jesting manner, " A pox! this is a "poor beggarly College, indeed; " the plate that our founder stole " would build fuch another." But the Prefident, hearing of this, ejected Cuff from his Fellowship. Mr. Cuff's merit, however, was fo great, and his reputation for learning fo extraordinary, that he was, in 1586, elected Probationer of Merton College by Sir Henry Savile, then Warden of it; and two years after was made Fellow. He was looked upon as a man capable of making a thining figure in life; and how dear he was to Sir Henry Savile, appears not only from the instance of kindness just mentioned, but also from a letter of his to the learned Camden, in which he gives him the highest character, and itiles him his own and Camden's intimate friend. He wrote a Greek epigram, in commendation of Camden's Britannia, which is prefixed to all the Latin editions, and to the two last and in 1576, was admitted of Trinity English translations of it, and which

In the summer of the year 1601, Sir Walter Raleigh attended the Queen in her progress; and on the arrival of the Duke of Biron, as Ambaffador from France, he received him, by her Majesty's appointment, and conferred with him on the subject of his Embaffy. In the last Parliament of Elizabeth, Sir Walter was a very active Member, and diftinguished himself by opposing fuch bills as, under colour of deep policy, were contrived for the oppression of the meaner fort of people. Nor was he less ready to countenance such laws as bore hard upon the rich, and even upon traders, in those cases in which it was evident, that private interest clashed with public benefit, and there was a neceffity of hurting some for the take of doing good to all. inflance of this appeared in his promoting a law for the restraining the exportation of ordnance, which at that time was of very great advantage to fuch as were concerned in the commerce, but of inexpressible detriment to the nation, because it was the source of the enemy's power at fea, the Spanish navy making use of none but English cannon. In the point of monopolies, indeed, he was not altogether fo clear; but he shewed that he made a moderate use of the grants he had obtained from the Crown, and offered, if others were cancelled, to furrender his freely (i).

has been much admired. He was afterwards promoted to the Greek Professorihip, and chosen Proctor of

the University in 1594.

At what time he left the Univerfity, or upon what occasion, does not appear; but there is fome reason to believe, that it was for the fake of travelling in order to improve himfelf. For he was always inclined rather to a bufy, than to a retired life; and held, that learning was of little fervice to any man, if it did not render him fitter to be employed in matters of importance. This disposition of his recommended him greatly to the favour of the Earl of Effex, who was himfelf much of the fame temper, equally fond of knowledge and business. Cuff became his Secre-tary; but it had been happier for him, if he could have contented himfelf with that cafy and honourable fituation, which his own learning, and the affillance of his friends in the University, had procured him. For he was involved in all the misfortunes of Effex; and, as one of the Earl's accomplices, was tried for high treafon. He made a noble and spirited defence; but was, however, convicted, and, with Sir Gilly Merrick,

was executed at Tyburn on the 30th of March, 1601, dying with great

steadiness and courage.

Mr. Cuff's character has been harshly treated by Lord Bacon, Sir Henry Wotton, and some other Writers. Camden also, who was personally acquainted with him, fays, that he was " and penetrating wit, but of a most " feditious and crooked disposition." Others are milder in their centures; and all allow him to have been a very able and learned man. Speed fays, that " for his excellent learning he was " much bewailed of all men." --- He wrote a treatife in English, a short time before his death, which was printed about fix years after, under this title: " The differences of the " ages of man's life, together with "the original causes, progress, and end thereof." Lond. 1607. 8vo. It has been printed more than once fince, and commended as a very curious and philosophical performance. Mr. Wood fays, that he left behind him many other things ready for the Prefs, which were never published .--- Vid. Biograph. Britan. and New and Gen. Biog. Dict. (1) Campbell, P. 61.

Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Walter was not without hopes of coming into favour with her fuccessor, whose countenance he had fought by various prefents, and other testimonies of respect, which he sent into Scotland; and from the reception they met with, had no reason to suspect that he stood upon ill terms with King James. He was not ignorant, however, that pains had been taken by Essex to infuse into the King's mind prejudices against him; but which he hoped to wear out by affiduous fervice. On the King's coming to England, he had, it is faid, frequent access to him; and thereby an opportunity of discovering both his desire and his capacity of serving his Majesty. But he quickly found himself coolly treated, nor was he long at a loss for the reason. Sir Robert Cecil, who had been his friend and affociate, as long as they were both engaged in opposition to Essex, foreseeing that, if ever Raleigh came into King James's confidence, his Administration would not last long, drew such a character of him to that Prince, as he thought most likely to difgust him; and dwelt particularly upon this, that Raleigh was a martial man, and would be continually forming projects to embarrass him with his neighbours (k). Walter, in return for this good office, did him another; for he drew up a memorial, wherein he shewed, that the affection of the Cecils for his Majesty, was not the effect of choice, but of force; and he also endeavoured to make it appear, that it was chiefly through the intrigues of that family, that the King's mother loft her head, and that they never thought of promoting his fuccession, till they faw it would take place in spite of them. This memorial was far from having the effects he expected; nor indeed would he have expected them, if he had known King James thoroughly. That timorous Prince faw the power of Cecil at that time, and thought he had need of it; forgetting that it was the effect of his own favour, and so became dependent upon him, as he afterwards was upon Buckingham, whom, for many years before his death, he trusted, but did not love. This, with his aversion to all martial enterprizes, engaged him to discountenance Sir Walter Raleigh, who had the mortification to fee himfelf, notwithstanding the pains he had taken, flighted

( k ) Other reasons are assigned by fome Writers for the King's diflike to Raleigh. Thus we are told, that "Sir John Fortescue, the Lord Cob-" ham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and " would make it their business to renothers, would have obliged the " King by articles before his coming to the Crown, that his countrymen's " number should be limited. But " this was stopt by the prudent Trea-" furer, and the bold Northumber-" land. Sir Walter feared that the 8vo. 1677. P. 60. 61. " Scots, like locusts, would quickly

" devour this kingdom; it being " probable that (like the Goths and Vandals) they would fettle in any " country, rather than their own, and " der our nation as poor as their own. " For this he, with the rest of them, " was afterwards frowned on by the " King, and loft his command of the " guards "--- Life of the valiant and learned Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight,

flighted and ill used at Court : and this might probably determine him to keep company with some who were in the same situation, and who were his intimate acquaintance before; which,

however, proved his ruin (1).

Among these companions of his was the Lord Cobham, a man of a weak head, but a large fortune, over whom Raleigh had a great ascendancy, and with whom he lived in constant correspondence. This man, who was naturally vain, and now much discontented, had an intercourse with various forts of people, and talked to each in such a stile as he thought would be most agreeable to them. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth he had conferred with the Duke of Aremberg, a Flemish Nobleman in the King of Spain's fervice, and who was now in England as Ambassador from the Arch-Duke; but in reality, with a view to negociate a peace with Spain. With him Cobham renewed his acquaintance; and in his name proposed giving Sir Walter a fum of money, if instead of opposing, as he had hitherto done, he would forward that peace. In the mean time, some Popish Priefts, and other discontented persons, had framed a plot against the King and Royal Family, which was to be executed by feizing, if not deftroying, the King and his children; and with fome of these people Cobham had also an intercourse, by the means of his brother, Mr. Brooke. This last treason being difcovered, and traced to the person just now mentioned, there grew a suspicion of Cobham; and in consequence of his intimacy with Raleigh, some doubts also as to him. Upon this they were all apprehended; and Cobham, who was a timorous man, was drawn into charge Sir Walter with feveral things in a confession. The enemies of Raleigh contrived to blend the charge of Cobham against Raleigh, and the accusation against the other conspirators, together; though they, or at least Sir Robert Cecil, knew them to be distinct things; and so he states them in a letter to Mr. Winwood, wherein he shews his dislike to Sir Walter Raleigh, and his fense at the same time of the want of any real evidence which might affect him; however, what was deficient in proof, was made up in force and fraud (m).

The Priests, Watson and Clerk, were first tried and convicted; fo was Mr. George Brooke, who had been their affociate. And on the seventeenth of November, 1603, Sir Walter Raleigh was tried at Winchester, and convicted of high-treason, by the influence of the Court, and the illiberal and over-bearing behaviour of the Attorney-General Coke (n), without any colour

(1) Campbell, P. 62, 63.

threw out on Raleigh fuch grofs abuse, as may be deemed a great re-(m) Campbell, P. 64.

(n) "Sir Edward Coke the fa
flection, not only on his own memory, mous Lawyer, then Attorney-General, but even, in some degree, on the manmanaged the cause for the Crown, and ners of that age. Traitor, Monster, Viper,

of law, or of justice. The only evidence that was produced against him, was the written testimony of Lord Cobham, who had made this confession in hopes of faving his own life. But Cobham, whilst he was in the Tower, being attacked by a violent fit of fickness, was seized with remorse, which drew from him the following remarkable letter to Raleigh. " Seeing myfelf fo near my end " for the discharge of my own conscience, and freeing myself " from your blood, which elfe will cry vengeance against me, I procurement. GOD so comfort me in this my affliction, as you are a true subject for any thing I be a su are a true subject for any thing I know. I will say as Pilate, " Purus sum a sanguine hujus. So GOD have mercy on " my foul, as I know no treason by you." This letter from Cobham, Sir Walter produced at his trial, but it had no effect. And when he preffed, that two witnesses should be brought as the law required, he was told by the Attorney-General and the Court, that the flatute which required that was repealed; and the Attorney-General affirmed, that the Crown would not stand a year on the King's head, if a traitor could not be condemned by circumstances. One Dyer was brought to prove, that he heard a gentleman at Lisbon say, that Don Raleigh and Don Cobham would cut the King's throat before his coronation, and stress was laid even upon this ridiculous evidence. Raleigh defended himself with great eloquence and spirit; but it availed nothing, the Jury found him guilty, and fentence of death was passed on him as a traitor (0).

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terms which he employs against one of the most illustrious men of the kingdom, who was under trial for life and fortune, and who defended himself with surprizing temper, elo-quence, and courage." Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. V. P. 519. 8vo. edit.

(0) " That there was really no truth in what was alledged against Sir Walter, (fays Dr. Campbell) may be proved to a demonstration, if we confider, that all the evidence that was ever pretended, in relation to his knowledge of the furprizing treason, or plot to seize the King and his family, was the hearfay testimony of George Brooke, that his brother Cobham should say, That it would never be well until the Fox and Cubs were taken off; and afterwards, speaking to this Brooke, that he, Lord Grey and others, were only on the bye, but Raleigh and himself were on the main; intimating, that they were only trusted

Viper, and Spider of Hell, are the with leffer matters, but that the capital scheme, before-mentioned, was concerted between him and Sir Walter. Yet when Brooke came to die, as he did defervedly, upon his own confession, he recalled and retracted this circumstance, owning, that he never heard his brother make use of that phrase about the Fox and Cubs, which takes away confequently the other story grounded upon it: and this we have upon the best authority that can be, that of Lord Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salifbury, himfelf, who commends Brooke for thewing this remorfe in his last moments. Thus, out of his capital enemy's mouth, I have proved the innocence of Sir Walter Raleigh, who constantly and judiciously at his trial, distinguished between the furprizing treafon and the conferences with Aremberg. The former he denied the least knowledge of; but as to the latter, owned that Cobham had talked to him of a large prefent,

Though Raleigh was in this manner condemned, the King did not fign any warrant for his execution; but, on the contrary, projected that strange tragi comedy of bringing the two Lords Cobham and Grey, with Sir Griffin Markham, (all of whom had been condemned) to the block; and then granting them a reprieve, purely to discover the truth of what Cobham had alledged against Raleigh, and what might be drawn by the fear of death from the other two. But all this brought forth nothing (p).

But though no orders were given for the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh, it appears that he was in daily expectation of it. This is evident from a letter written by him to his wife, fome time after his condemnation,, and while he continued at Winchester.

The letter is as follows:

"You shall receive, my dear wife, my last words in these my last lines. My love I send you, that you may keep it when I am dead; and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not with my will present you forrows; dear Bess, let them go to the grave with me; and be buried in the dust. And seeing that it is not the will of GOD that I should see you any more, bear my destruction patiently, and with an heart like yourself.

"First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words express, for your many travels and care

ec' for

present, in case he would be for a peace with Spain, and complained of the hardship of dying for having once heard a vain man say a few idle things."—Lives of the Admirals,

Vol. II. P. 65, 66.
(p) The Lord Cobham, though he received a pardon, died in a very indigent and miserable manner. Thus Sir Anthony Weldon tells us, that " as Lord Grey died pitied, Cobham " died fcorned, and his death as bale; " for he died loufy for want of ap-" parel and linen; and had flarved, " had not a trencher-scraper, some " time his fervant in Court, relieved " him with feraps, in whose house he " died, being so poor a house, that he was forced to creep up a ladder " into a little hole to his chamber; " which was a strange judgment, and " unprecedented for a man of feven " thousand pounds per annum, & of " aperfonal effate of thirty thousand " pounds; of all which the King " was fo cheated, (or of what should " have escheated to him) that he could " not give him any maintenance, as

"in all cases the King does, unless out of his own revenue of the "Crown; which was the occasion of this Lord's want, (his wife being very rich, and would not give him the crumbs that fell trom her table) and this was a just judgment of GOD on him."—Court and character of King James, P. 37, &c.

Ofborne also, much to the same purpose, tells us from the authority of William, Earl of Pembroke, " that Cobham died in a room alcend-" ed by a ladder, at a poor woman's " house in the Minories, formerly his " laundress, rather of hunger than " any more natural disease. Thus miserable was his fate, in meeting with a Prince fo inconfiderately profuse to strangers, that he forgot the owner, not leaving him wherewithal to buy bread: an impiety " not found among infidels, who ever " deemed it less injustice to take away " LIFE, than the MEANS to main-" tain it."-Vid. Life of Raleigh by Oldys, P. 161, 162.

for me; which, though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the less; but pay it I never shall in this world.

"Secondly, I befeech you, for the love you bear me living, that you do not hide yourfelf many days; but by your travels feek to help my miferable fortunes, and the right of my poor child;

your mourning cannot avail me that am but dust.

"Thirdly, you shall understand, that my lands were conveyed, BONA FIDE, to my child; the writings were drawn at Midfum-" mer was twelve-month, as divers can witness; and I trust my blood will quench their malice who defired my flaughter, that "they will not feek also to kill you and your's with extreme po-" verty. To what friend to direct you I know not; for all mine " have left me in the true time of trial. Most forry am I, that " being thus surprized by death, I can leave you no better estate. "GOD hath prevented all my determinations; that GREAT GOD, " who worketh all in all! If you can live free from want, care " for no more, for the rest is but vanity. Love GOD, and begin " betimes; in him you shall find true, everlasting, and endless " comfort. When you have travelled and wearied yourfelf with " all forts of worldly cogitations, you shall fit down by forrow in " the end. Teach your fon also to serve and fear GOD whilst he " is young, that the fear of GOD may grow up in him; then " will GOD be an husband to you, and a father to him; an hus-

" band and a father that can never be taken from you. "Bailie oweth me a thousand pounds, and Adrian six hundred; " in Jersey and Guernsey also I have much owing me. Dear wife, "I befeech you, for my foul's fake, pay all poor men. When I am dead, no doubt, you shall be much fought unto; for the world " thinks I am very rich. Have a care of the fair pretences of " men, for no greater mifery can befal you in this life, than to be-" come a prey unto the world, and after to be despised. I speak " (GOD knows) not to diffuade you from marriage; for it will " be best for you, both in respect of GOD, and the world. As " for me, I am no more your's, nor you mine; death hath cut us " afunder, and GOD hath divided me from the world, and you " from me. Remember your poor child for his father's fake, who " loved you in his happiest estate. I sued for my life, but (GOD) " knows) it was for you and your's that I defired it. For you " know, my dear wife, that your child is the child of a true man, " who, in his own respect, despiseth death, and his misshapen and of ugly forms. I cannot write much: GOD knows, how hardly I " steal this time when all sleep; and it is also time for me to separate " my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which living was denied you, and either lay it in Sherborne, or in Exeter church, by my father and mother. I can fay no more: time " and death calleth me away. The everlasting GOD, poweree ful, infinite, and inscrutable GOD ALMIGHTY, who is good-" nessitself, the true light and life, keep you and your's; and " have mercy upon me, and forgive my perfecutors and false ac-" cufers, and fend us to meet in his glorious kingdom. My dear " wife farewell. Bless my boy, pray for me, and let my true " GOD hold you both in his arms.

"Your's that was, but now not my own,

## WALTER RALEIGH (9)."

Sir Walter had good reason to conclude, from the unjust manner in which the profecution had been carried on against him, that now he was condemned he should meet with no favour. His affairs, however, began to wear a more favourable aspect. For after having been kept about a month at Winchester, in daily expectation of death, he was removed to the Tower of London. Soon after which, his Lady petitioned the King, that she might be a prisoner with her husband, and live with him in his confinement; and her request was granted. By degrees Sir Walter obtained still greater favours: for the King was pleased to grant all the goods and chattels, forfeited to him by Raleigh's conviction, to trustees of his appointing, for the benefit of his creditors, and of his Lady and children. Some time after, his estate followed his goods; and now he began to conceive himself in a fair way of being restored to that flate from which he had fallen. In this, however, he was greatly mistaken: for a new Court favourite arising, Robert Car, a Scotsman, and afterwards Earl of Somerset, but who had no fortune of his own, it was contrived by those who had gaped in vain for Raleigh's estate themselves, to lay the foundation of this favourite's future greatness upon the ruin of Sir Walter and his family. For being thus frustrated of the effects of Sir Walter's conviction, they pretended to find a flaw in his last conveyance of the fee and inheritance of Sherborne unto his fon; which being prior to Raleigh's conviction, gave the Crown a title paramount to that which was understood to be therein, when the forfeiture was given back to Raleigh. Upon an information in the Court of Exchequer, judgment was given for the Crown, and the effect of that judgment was turned to the benefit of the favourite, who in 1609 had a complete grant of all that Raleigh had forfeited (r). However, Sir Walter wrote an excellent letter to Sir Robert Car, in which he stated the hardship of his own case without bitterness, expostulated freely, and yet inoffensively, about the wrong done him, and entreated the favourite's compassion, without any unbe-

(9) Biograph. Britan. King for compassion; but could obbut that he MUN have the land, he

MUN have it for Car. And she, a (r) The Lady Raleigh, and her woman of high spirit, on her knees, children, earnestly petitioned the prayed to GOD, that he would punish those who had thus wrongfully tain no other answer from his Majesty, exposed her and her children to ruin. -Oldys, P. 164.

coming condescension. All this, however, signified nothing; Sir

Walter loft his estate, but not his hopes.

He spent a great part of his confinement in writing that noble and immortal monument of his parts and learning, THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. He likewise devoted a part of his time to rational and ufeful chemistry, wherein he was no less successful, difcovering an excellent medicine in malignant fevers, which bears the name of his CORDIAL, though it has been doubted whether the true recipe of it be still preserved. Besides these, he turned his thoughts on various other subjects, all beneficial to mankind, and in that light worthy of Sir Walter Raleigh. The patron of his ftudies was Henry, Prince of Wales, the glory of the House of Stuart, the darling of the British nation while he lived, and the object of its fincere and universal lamentation, by his untimely death (1). We are told, that Prince Henry once faid, speaking of Raleigh, " That no King but his father would keep fuch a " bird in a cage." As King James himself affected to be a man of learning, and a patron of men of letters, it might have been expected, that Raleigh's literary labours would have recommended him to his Majesty. But it appears that this was not the case. And some Authors affure us, that Raleigh's excellent talents were fo far from ingratiating him with the King, "that though his " Majesty had been intemperately praised by flatterers for some of " the weakest of his own compositions, yet he could not forbear, " out of an impertinent emulation, to affect Sir Walter Raleigh "the less, because of the great repute which followed him for his excellent pen (1)." And we are elsewhere told, that Sir Wal-" ter's History of the World gave James so much displeasure, that " at its first publication it was forbid; and particularly, for some " passages in it which affected the Spaniards; as also for being " too plain with the faults of Princes in his preface (u)."

When Sir Walter Raleigh had been somewhat more than twelve years a prisoner in the Tower, he at length obtained his enlargement. And now he could not content himself with leading an indolent life in retirement; for which, though cruelly spoiled by his enemies, he yet wanted not a reasonable provision; but was desirous of spending the latter part of his days, as he had spent the first, in the pursuit of honour, and in the service of his country; or, as he himself with great dignity expressed it, in a letter to Secretary Winwood, "To die for the King, and not by the King,

" is all the ambition I have in the world."

The scheme he had now at heart was his old one, of settling Guiana. We have seen the voyages thither which he engaged in and patronized in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; when, considering

<sup>(\*)</sup> Campbell, P. 68, 69. (t) Osborne's Works, Vol. II. P. 111, 112, (u) Life of Raleigh by Oldys, P. 189.

fidering the many great employments he had enjoyed, it might have been thought his mind would have been otherwise occupied; and indeed so it must have been, if he had not been thoroughly perfuaded, that it was an exceeding rich country, and well worthy of being fettled, for the benefit of Britain. This perfuation was fo frong upon him, that during his confinement he held a conflant intercourse with Guiana, sending at his own expence every year, or every second year, a ship, to keep the Indians in hopes of his performing the promise he had made them, of coming to their asfistance, and delivering them from the tyranny and cruelty of the Spaniards. In these ships were brought over several natives of that country, with whom Sir Walter converfed in the Tower, and from whom he is faid to have received clear and distinct intelligence of the situation and the richness of the mines of Guiana. Upon these informations, he offered the scheme for prosecuting his discovery to the Court, three years before he undertook it in person; nor were there then any doubts, either as to the probability of the thing, or as to its lawfulness, notwithstanding the peace made with Spain; otherwise the King would not have made such grants as he did, even at that time: which shews that he was then convinced Sir Walter had in his first voyage discovered, and taken possession of that country for the Crown of England; and that confequently his subjects were justly entitled to any benefits which might accrue from this discovery, without the least respect had to the pretensions of the Spaniards (w).

Sir Walter having at length obtained leave to execute his defign, was empowered by a Royal commission to settle Guiana; but this was to be done at the expence of himself and his friends. It has been much disputed what fort of a commission it was, which was now granted to Raleigh. It has been said, that it should have been under the Great Seal of England, and directed "To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight;" but it appears from Rymer, that it was under the Privy Seal, and without those expressions of trust or grace. However, the commission was certainly a legal commission; and though the formal expressions of grace and trust were omitted, yet the powers granted him were very extensive in themselves, and as strongly put as words could express; so that Sir Walter had all the reason imaginable to con-

ceive that this patent implied a pardon.

Sir Walter was by his commission constituted General and Commander in chief of this expedition; and he was also appointed Governor of the new country which he was to settle. The sleet assembled by himself and his friends for this purpose, amounted to sourteen sail; with which he sailed from Plymouth in July, 1617; but he was forced by stress of weather to put

into Corke, and remained there till the 19th of August. On the 6th of September, he made the Canaries, where he obtained fome refreshments, and an ample certificate from the Governor, that he had behaved with great justice and equity. From thence he proceeded to Guiana, where he arrived in the beginning of November. He was received there with the utmost joy by the Indians, who not only rendered him all the fervices in their power, but would have perfuaded him to end all his labours by remaining there, and taking upon him the Sovereignty of the country; which, however, he refused. He was prevented by extreme fickness (f) from undertaking the discovery of the mine in person, and obliged to trust that important service to Captain Keymis. For this purpose, he ordered, on the 4th of December, five small ships to fail into the river Oronoque. On board these five vessels, were five companies of fifty men each; the first commanded by Captain Parker, the fecond by Captain North, the third by Mr. Raleigh, fon to Sir Walter, the fourth by Captain Prideaux, and the fifth by Captain Chidley. Keymis, who was to conduct them, intended to have gone to the mine with only eight persons, which Sir Walter thought too great a hazard, and therefore wrote him the following letter.

"KEYMIS, whereas you were resolved, after your arrival into the Oronoque, to pass to the mine with my cousin Herbert and fix musqueteers, and to that end desired to have Sir John Ferne's shallop; I do not allow of that course, because you cannot land so secretly, but that some Indians on the riverside may discover you, who giving knowledge thereof to the Spaniards, you may be cut off before you recover your boat. I therefore advise you to suffer the Captains and companies of the English to pass up westward of the mountain Aio, from whence you have no less than three miles to the mine, and to encamp between the Spanish town and you, if there is any town near it; that being so secured, you may make trial what depth and breadth the mine holds, and whether or no it

will

(f) In a letter to his Lady, sent by a Dutch vessel, and dated the 14th of November, Sir Walter writes thus:

"I cannot write to you (says he) but with a weak hand, for I have suffered the most violent calenture for fifteen days that ever man did, and lived; but GOD that gave me a strong heart in all my adversities, has allo now strengthened me in the hell-fire of heat. We have had two most grievous sicknesses in our ship, of which forty-two have died, and there are yet many sick; but having recovered the land of Guiant this 12th of November, I hope we shall recover them. We are

"yet two hundred men, and the reft
of our fleet are reasonably strong,
throng enough I hope to perform
what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at London to make our
strength known to the Spanish King
by his Ambassador, has not taught
the Spanish King to fortify all the
entrances against us. Howsoever,
we must make the adventure, and
if we perish, it shall be no honour
for England, nor gain for his Majesty, to lofe, among many others,
an hundred as valiant gentlemen
as England hath in it."—Oldys
P. 201.

" will answer our hopes. And if you find it royal, and the Spa-" niards begin to war upon you, then let the Serjeant-Major repel them, if it is in his power, and drive them as far as he can. But if you find the mine is not fo rich as to persuade the holding of it, and it requires a fecond supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two, to satisfy his Majesty that my design was " not imaginary, but true, though not answerable to his Majesty's expectation; for the quantity of which I never gave affurance, " nor could. On the other fide, if you shall find any great num-" ber of foldiers are newly fent into the Oronoque, as the Cassique of Caliana told us there were, and that the passages are already er enforced, fo that without manifest peril of my fon, yourself, and the other Captains, you cannot pass towards the mine; " then be well advised how you land, for I know (that a few gen-" tlemen excepted) what a fcum of men you have; and I would " not, for all the world, receive a blow from the Spaniard, to the " dishonour of the nation. I myself, for my weakness, cannot " be present, neither will the company land except I abide by the " ships, the galleons of Spain being daily expected. Piggot, the " Serjeant-Major, is dead; Sir Warham St. Leger, my Lieute-" nant, without hope of life; and my nephew, George Raleigh, " your Serjeant-Major, now but a young man: it is therefore on " your judgment that I rely; who, I trutt, GOD will direct for " the best. Let me hear from you as soon as you can. You shall " find me at Punta de Gallo, dead or alive; and if you find not " my ships there, yet there you shall find their ashes; for I will er fire with the galleons, if it come to extremity, but run away I " will never (x)."

In obedience to Sir Walter's orders, Captain Keymis landed his men in the night, somewhat nearer the mine than he intended. They soon found that the Spaniards had notice of their coming, and were prepared to receive them. They fired at the English both with their great and small shot; and the Spaniards being the aggressors, the English landed, drove them to the town, entered it with them, and plundered it. Mr. Raleigh, the General's son, was killed in the action (y). Captain Keymis made up the river with his vessels; but in most places near the mine,

(x) Oldys, P. 202.

(y) "Captain WALTER RA-LEIGH, a brave and sprightly young man, now twenty-three years of age, but fonder of glory than safety, not tarrying for the musqueteers, rushed foremost, at the head of a company of pikes, and having killed one of the Spanish Captains, was himself shot by another; but pressing still forward, with his sword upon Erinetta, probably the Captain who had fhot him, this Spaniard with the buttend of his musket felled him to the ground; and after these words, Lord have mercy upon me, and prosper your enterprize, young Raleigh spoke no more. Hereupon John Plessington, his Serjeant, thrust the said Spanish Captain through the body with his halbert."—Oldys, P. 203.

he could not get within a mile of the shore, the river was so shallow; and where they could have made a descent, vollies of musket-shot came from the woods on their boats, and Keymis did not proceed to the mine; alledging by way of excuse, that the English could not defend St. Thomas, the town they had taken; that the passages to the mine were thick and unpassable woods; and that supposing they had discovered the mine, they had no men to work it. For these reasons he concluded it was best not to open it all. And it is said, the Spaniards themselves had several gold and filver mines near the town, which were useless for want of Negroes. At Keymis's return, Raleigh told him, he had undone him, and wounded his credit with the King, past recovery; which reproach affected Keymis fo deeply, that he went into his cabin; from whence, foon after, the report of a pistol was heard. Upon a boy's going in, and asking whether he knew whence it proceeded, he faid, he fired it himfelf, because it had been long charged. About two hours after, he was found dead, with a great deal of blood under him; and upon fearch, it was discovered, that he had first shot himself, and the wound not proving mortal, he had thrust a knife after the ball. Sir Walter, when he heard his son was slain, said, he mattered not the losing an hundred men, so his reputation had been faved. He was apprehensive of the King's displeasure, and with grief and fickness brought very low in his health. He was blamed for not going up the river himself; but this his indifposition would not suffer him to do. Nine weeks was Keymis fearching the river, during which time Raleigh staid at Punta de Gallo, nearer death than life (z).

Sir Walter would have had little reason to expect success in this expedition, if he had known how basely he was betrayed to the Spaniards. But he was fufficiently convinced of this, when Keymis returned from his attempt to discover the mine. For among the spoils taken at the town of St. Thomas, Keymis brought with him a large quantity of papers, letters, memorials, schemes, plans, and maps, found in the Governor's study; which gave some singular lights into the state and condition of Spain, with respect to many of the American plantations. Among these papers were found four letters, which plainly difcovered, not only that Raleigh's whole enterprize was betrayed, but his life thereby put into the power of the Spaniards them-Raleigh justly thought this fuch black and cruel usage, that he forbore not, in a letter which he wrote from the ifle of St. Christopher's, to Sir Ralph Winwood, Secretary of State, to thew his sense of it in these words. " It pleased his Majesty to " value us at so little, as to command me, upon my allegiance, " to fet down under my hand, the country and the very river by " which I was to enter it; to fet down the number of my men, Vol. IV. 2.

" and burden of my ships, and what ordnance every ship car-" ried; which being made known to the Spanish Ambassador, " and by him fent to the King of Spain, a dispatch was made, " and letters fent from Madrid before my departure out of the "Thames." By the contents of those Spanish letters it farther appeared, that three hundred Spanish soldiers, and ten pieces of ordnance, were commissioned to be sent from their respective garrisons against the English adventurers up the Oronoque; that is, an hundred and fifty men from Nuevo Reyno de Granada, under the command of Captain Antonio Musica; and another hundred and fifty from Puerto Rico, to be conducted under Francisco Zanchio. There was also prepared an armada by sea, to set upon Raleigh himself, and the ships with him; " by which (fays he) we had not only been torn to pieces, but " all those in the river had also perished, they being of no force " for the fea-fight; for we had resolved to have burnt by their " fides, and to have died there, had the armada arrived; but, 66 belike, they stayed for us at Margarita, by which they knew " we must pass through the Indies ( a )."

Sir Walter's schemes being thus frustrated, he resolved to return home, though several of his men were for landing and settling themselves at Newsoundland; others were for going to Holland; but the major part of his company were of his own opinion, to come back to England. And so, rather like a prisoner than a General, he arrived with his leaky ships, first at

Kinfale in Ireland, and then at Plymouth (b).

Immediately after his coming to England, a proclamation was published, setting forth the King's disapprobation of Sir Walter's conduct, and requiring that such as were acquainted with any of the particulars, relating either to his scheme, or to his practices, should give information of them to the Council. This proclamation

( a ) Oldys, P. 206.

(a) Oldys, F. 200.

(b) Campbell, P. 79. Mr. Hume, in his Hiftory of England, has taken great pains to blacken the character of Sir Walter Raleigh, particularly with respect to his deligns and views in his voyage to Guiana. But most of his arguments for this purpose, which are too many to be here enumerated, tho' at first fight they appear specious and plausible, are very far from being solid. Some of them have been animadverted upon in the Biographia Britannica, Vol. V. Art. Raleigh, Note [ce]. Indeed, Mr. Hume seems to have taken almost every thing for granted, which is advanced in the "Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir Walter Rauleigh;" which was published as a justification of King James's conduct;

though that publication appears to have obtained very little credit, even at the time of its first appearance. Those who are desirous of seeing the subject of Sir Walter's voyages to Guiana, and the particulars relative thereto, treated of in a more copious manner than the limits of our Work will admit, may refer to Dr. Campbell, who appears to have taken great pains to inform himself on the subject, and has written concerning it with much candeur. See particularly P. 47, 48, 49, 56, 70, 71, 80. of the second Volume of his Lives of the Admirals, and Naval History, Edit. 1742. See also Life of Raleigh by Mr. Oldys, P. 90, 91, 92, 93. and 192---202. and Guthrie's Hittory of England, Vol. III. P. 726---736.

what

proclamation was dated the 11th of June; and in the beginning of the month of July, Sir Walter landed at Plymouth, and hearing of this proclamation, refolved to furrender himfelf; but as he was on the road to London, he was met by Sir Lewis Stucley, Vice-Admiral of Devonshire, and his own kinsman, whom the Court had made choice of to bring him up a prisoner. This man appears to have acted very deceitfully; for he either suggested, or at least encouraged, a design Sir Walter had framed for making his escape, and when he had so done, he basely betrayed him. It was then objected to Sir Walter, that he had meant to convey himself to France, and had actually entered into some unjustifiable correspondence with the French King; but it is supposed that Sir Walter's real intention was to have gone again to Guiana, in order to efface the memory of his late miscarriage by an happier undertaking. But however this might be, on his fecond apprehension he was carried to the Tower, from whence it was already determined that he should

never be released but by death.

This determination of proceeding to extremities against Raleigh, was owing to the complaints of the Count de Gondemar, Ambassador from Spain, who remonstrated loudly against the late expedition to Guiana. And as Raleigh had greatly diffinguished himself against the Spaniards in the reign of Elizabeth, and fince the accession of James had endeavoured to prevent a peace with Spain, Gondemar exerted all his influence for the destruction of such an enemy to his nation. And James was the more disposed to oblige Gondemar and the Spanish Court, because a negociation was now on foot for a marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and the Infanta of Spain. His Majesty was, indeed, so extremely desirous of this alliance, that he could not help manifesting the utmost eagerness to see it brought to perfection; and Gondemar, who was well acquainted with the King's character and disposition, flattered and cajoled him in fuch a manner, that for a very confiderable time James acted in almost every thing according to his direction, rather than run the risque of seeing the match frustrated, by giving offence to the Court of Spain. But notwithstanding all the King's caution, and his mean compliances, the negociation, though it was long in agitation, came at length to nothing.

Though Sir Walter Raleigh's death was already determined, it was not easy to find a method to take away his life. For his conduct in his late expedition, how criminal soever in the eyes of the Court, was far from being so in the fight of the nation; and though Judges might be found who would pronounce it selony or treason, yet it was not easy to meet with a Jury who, taking this upon trust, would find him guilty. The Commissioners, therefore, who had been appointed to enquire into the matter, and who had over and over examined him, finally reported, that no ground of legal judgment could be drawn from

what had paffed in this late expedition. Upon this, it was refolved to call him down to judgment upon his former fentence, which was accordingly done, with all the circumstances of ini-

quity and brutality that can well be conceived (c).

He was taken out of his bed in the hot fit of an ague, and so brought to the bar of the Court of King's Bench, where Sir Henry Montague, then chief Justice, ordered the record of his conviction to be read, and then demanded, what he had to offer why execution should not be awarded? To this Sir Walter pleaded his commission (d); but this plea was immediately over ruled. He would then have justified his conduct in Guiana, but that the Court would not hear; and so execution was awarded, and the King's warrant for it produced, which had been signed and sealed before-hand, that no time might be lost in the affair.

As the method of briaging him to his death was violent and unjust, so the manner was hasty and inhuman. The very next day, being Thursday the 29th of October, 1618, and the Lord Mayor's day, Sir Walter was conducted by the Sherists of Middlesex, to the scassfold which was erected in Old Palace Yard, Westminster. He had eat his breakfast, and smoked his pipe that morning, with great chearfulness; and made no more of death, than if he had been to take a journey. Dr. Robert Tounson, then Dean of Westminster, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, attended him in his last moments; and being surprized at the Hero's contempt of death, expostulated with him upon it. But Sir Walter told him plainly, that he never feared death, and much less then, for which he blessed GOD; and as to the manner of it, though to others it might seem grievous, yet for himself he had rather die so than in a burning sever. He con-

(c) Campbell. P. 82.

(d) It has already been observed, that Sir Walter had the greatest reason to imagine that his late commission implied a pardon. For by one clause of it he was constituted General and Commander in chief of the enterprize. By another he was appointed Governor of the new country he was to fettle, and this with ample authority. And by a third, he had a power rarely intrusted with our Admirals now, that of exercifing martial law, in such a manner as the King's Lieutenant-General by sea or land, or any of the Lieutenants of the counties of England had. It is impossible therefore to conceive, that when this commission was granted, Sir Walter Raleigh was looked upon as a condemned man, or that the Lords of the

Privy Council, or Lord Privy-Scal, could think it reasonable for the King to grant fuchfull power over the lives of others, to one who had but a precarious title to his own. And accordingly we are told, that Sir Walter confulted Sir Francis Bacon, whether it would not be adviseable for him to give a round fum of money for a pardon in common form; to which Bacon replied, " Sir, the knee-timber of " your voyage is money: fpare your " purse, in this particular, for upon " my life you have a sufficient pardon " for all that is past already, the King having under his Broad-Scal made " you an Admiral of your fleet, and " given you power of the martial " law over your Officers and fol-" diers."

versed freely on the scaffold with the Earl of Arundel, and others of the Nobility, and vindicated himself from several aspersions; particularly the charge of having entered into a correspondence with France, and spoken disloyally of the King. He endeavoured likewise to clear himself from the suspicion of having persecuted the Earl of Essex, or insulted him at his " I will borrow (faid he) but a little time more of " Mr. Sheriff, that I may not detain him too long; and herein " I shall speak of the imputation laid upon me, through the " jealoufy of the people, that I had been a perfecutor of my " Lord of Essex; that I rejoiced in his death, and stood in a " window over-against him, when he suffered, and puffed out " tobacco in defiance of him; whereas GOD is my witness, that I shed tears for him when he died; and as I hope to look "GOD in the face hereafter, my Lord of Essex did not see my " face at the time of his death; for I was far off, in the ar-" moury, where I faw him, but he faw not me. 'Tis true, I " was of a contrary faction; but I take the same GOD to wit-" ness, that I had no hand in his death, nor bare him any ill " affection, but always believed that it would be better for me " that his life had been preserved. For after his fall, I got the " hatred of those who wished me well before; and those who " fet me against him, set themselves afterwards against me, and " were my greatest enemies. And my foul hath many times " been grieved, that I was not nearer to him when he died; " because, as I understood afterwards, he asked for me at his " death, and defired to have been reconciled to me."

Sir Walter concluded with defiring the spectators to join with him in prayer to GOD, " whom (faid he) I have grievously of-" fended, being a man full of vanity, who has lived a finful " life, in such callings as have been most inducing to it. For I " have been a foldier, a failor, and a Courtier; which are all " courses of wickedness and vice." Proclamation being then made, that all men should depart the scaffold, he prepared himfelf for death, giving away his hat, and cap, and money, to fome attendants who flood near him. When he took leave of the Lords, and other gentlemen who were on the scaffold, he entreated the Lord Arundel to use his endeavours with the King, that no fcandalous writings to defame him should be published after his death; concluding, "I have a long journey to go, and " therefore will take my leave." Then having put off his gown and doublet, he called to the executioner to shew him the axe; which not being prefently done, i.e faid, " I pray thee let " me fee it; doft thou think I am afraid of it ?" And having it in his hands, he felt along the edge of it, and fmiling faid to the Sheriff, "This is a sharp medicine, but it is a found cure for all " diseases." The executioner kneeling down and asking him forgiveness, Sir Walter laying his hand upon his shoulder, granted it; and being asked which way he would lay himself upon the block, he answered, "So the heart be right, it is no "matter which way the head lies." His head was struck off at two blows, his body never shrinking nor moving. His head was shewn on each side of the scassfold, and then put into a red leather bag, and with his velvet night-gown thrown over, was afterwards conveyed away in a mourning coach of his Lady's. His body was interred in the chancel of St. Margaret's church, Westminster; but his head was long preserved in a case by his widow, who survived him twenty-nine years.

Thus fell Sir WALTER RALEIGH, in the fixty-fixth year of his age. His death was greatly lamented by the English nation, though it gave the utmost fatisfaction to the Spanish Court. He was undoubtedly a man of very great abilities, and of uncommon courage. It has been observed, that his character was a combination of almost every eminent quality; he was the foldier, Statesman, and scholar united; and had he lived with the heroes of antiquity, he would have made a just parallel to Cæfar and Xenophon, being, like them, equally mafter of the fword and of the pen. Both at sea and land, he was remarkably indefatigable and industrious. It is is said, that whether he was engaged in important and arduous expeditions, busy in court transactions, or pursuing schemes of pleasure, he never failed to dedicate at least four hours every day to study, by which he became master of so great an extent of knowledge, and was enabled, as Thomson (y) expresses it, to enrich the world with his prison-hours. When engaged in the public fervice, he underwent all the labours that attend a foldier, and fared as the meanest; and no common mariner took more pains, or hazarded more in the most difficult attempts. Indeed, King James himfelf bore testimony to the great worth of Sir Walter Raleigh, though in a manner that reflects everlasting dishonour on himself. For this pufilanimous Prince, foon after Sir Walter's execution, beginning to fee how he was like to be deluded by the Spanish Ministry,

(y) This elegant and pleasing Poet has celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh in the following lines.

"Who can fpeak
"The numerous worthies of the Maiden Reign?

"In Raleigh mark their every glory mix'd;
Raleigh, the fcourge of Spain! whose breast with all

"The Sage, the Patriot, and the Hero burn'd.
"Nor funk his vigour, when a coward-reign
"The warrior fetter'd, and at last refign'd,
"To glut the vengeance of a vanquish'd foe.
"Then, active still and unrestrain'd, his mind

"Explor'd the vast extent of ages past,
And with his prison-hours enrich'd the world;
Yet found no times, in all the long research,
So glorious, or so base, as those he prov'd,

" In which he conquer'd, and in which he bled."

Ministry, made one of his own Ministers write to his agent in Spain, to let that court know, they should be looked upon as the most unworthy people in the world, if they did not now act with sincerity, since his Majesty had given so many testimonies of his; and now of late, "by causing Sir Walter Raleigh to be put to death, chiefly for the giving them satisfaction. Further to let them see how, in many actions of late, his Majesty had strained upon the affections of his people, and especially in this last concerning Sir Walter Raleigh, who died with a great deal of courage and constancy. Lastly, that he should let them know, how able a man Sir Walter Raleigh was, to have done his Majesty service. Yet, to give them content, he hath not spared him; when, by preserving him, he might have given great satisfaction to his subjects, and had at command, upon all occasions, as useful a man as served any Prince in Christendom (e)."

Sir Walter was in his person tall, to the height of six feet, and well shaped. His taste in dress, both civil and military, was magnificent. Of the latter sort, his armour was so rare, that we are told part of it was for its curiosity preserved in the Tower: and his civil wardrobe was richer, his clothes being adorned with jewels of great value. The truth is, the richness and splendor of his apparel was made matter of reproach to him; but though he was undoubtedly pleased with the distinction, he was far from making it the end of his ambition; for how much he excelled in arms abroad, counsel at home, and letters in general, history and his own writings have made sufficiently notorious (f).

Sir Walter's principal literary performance, is his "History" of the World;" which was first published in 1614, in solio (g). It has been many times re-printed; but the best edition is that published by Mr. Oldys, in 1736, in two volumes, solio. Many and great encomiums have been passed upon this elaborate work; and, among others, Felton, in his Dissertation on the Classics, gives the following character of it: "Sir Walter Ra-"leigh's History of the World is a work of so vast a compass, fuch endless variety, that no genius, but one adventurous as his own, durst have undertaken that grand design. I do not apprehend

(e) Oldys, P. 232.

(f) New and Gen. Biographical Dict. 8vo.

(g) The story of the second volume of this History, which, it is said, Sir Walter burned, because the first had fold so slowly, that it had ruined his Bookseller, appears to be entirely without foundation; since it does not appear true, that the first part did sell so slowly, there being a second edition of it printed by that very Bookseller,

within three years after the first. Befides, Sir Walter himfelf has told us, that though he intended, and had hewn out a fecond and third volume, yet he was induced to lay them afide by the death of Prince Henry, to whom they were directed: and if he fhould allow that his mind might change, yet the course of his life afterwards left no room for any such performance. " apprehend any great difficulty in collecting, and common-44 placing, an universal history from the whole body of historians; that is nothing but mechanic labour: but to digest the " feveral authors in his mind, to take in all their majefty, 44 strength, and beauty, to raise the spirit of meaner historians, and to equal all the exellencies of the best, is Sir Walter's pe-" culiar praise. His stile is the most perfect, the happiest, and " most beautiful of the age he wrote in, majestic, clear, and manly; and he appears every where so superior, rather than " unequal, to his subject, that the spirit of Rome and Athens " feems to be breathed into his work .---- To conclude, his ad-" mirable performance in fuch a prodigious undertaking, shew-" eth, that had he attempted the history of his own country, or " his own times, he would have equalled even Livy and Thucy-" dides: and the annals of Queen Elizabeth by his pen had " been the brightest glory of her reign, and would have trans-" mitted his history as the standard of our language even to the " present age."

Sir Walter also wrote many small tracts, and several poems, which have been printed in different forms, and were collected together and published in two volumes, 8vo. in 1748. Among these pieces are the following. A Discourse on the Invention of Shipping. Observations concerning the causes of the magnistrence and opulence of cities. The Prince; or maxims of State. A Dialogue between a Counsellor of State, and a Justice of Peace, concerning the prerogative of Parliaments. Observations and notes concerning the Royal Navy and Sea-service. Instructions

to his fon, and posterity.

Sir Walter had two fons by his lady, the eldest of whom was killed in his last expedition, as hath been already related. In the Register Book of Lillington, in the county of Dorset, stands the following under the year 1593: GUALTERUS FILIUS ET HÆRES DOMINI GUALTERI RALEIGH MILITIS, ET DOMINÆ ELIZA-BETHÆ UXORIS EJUS BAPTIZATUS PRIMO DIE NOVEMBRIS. His fecond fon, CAREW RALEIGH, was born in the Tower of London; and was about thirteen years of age at the time of his father's death. He was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner at Wadham-College in Oxford, in 1620; and after he had spent five years at the University, he went to Court, in hopes of obtaining some redress in his misfortunes, by the interest of the Earl of Pembroke, to whom he was related. But the King, not liking his countenance, faid, he appeared to him like the ghost of his father; whom his Majesty was probably conscious he had ill-treated. However, the Earl hereupon advised young Mr. Raleigh to travel, as he did, till the death of King James, which happened about a year after. At his return, he petitioned the Parliament to be restored in blood, that he might be enabled to inheric whatever lands might fall to him, as his father's heir, or any other way. But after his petition had been twice read in the House of Lords, King Charles sent Sir James Fullerton, then of the bed-chamber, for Mr. Raleigh; who being brought into the King's bed-chamber by Sir James, his Majesty, though he treated him with great civility, told him plainly, that he had formerly promised Sir John Digby, now Earl of Bristol, to secure his title to Sherborne ( b ), it being conferred on him against the heirs of Sir Walter Raleigh; whereupon Digby had given him, being then Prince, ten thousand pounds (i); so that now he was bound to make good his promise, being King; and therefore, unless he, Mr. Raleigh, would quit all his right and title to Sherborne, he neither could not would pass his bill of refloration. Mr. Raleigh urged the justice of his cause; that he defired only the liberty of a subject, and to be left to the law, which was never denied any freeman; but the King was positive, and fo left him. After this, Sir James Fullerton used many arguments to persuade Mr. Raleigh to submission, as the impossibility of contesting with success against kingly power, and the many inconveniencies of not being restored in blood; all which considered, together with splendid promises of great prefer-ment at Court, and particular favours from the King, wrought much upon the mind of young Mr. Raleigh; who being not then full twenty years of age, and left almost friendless and fortuneless, was so far prevailed upon, that he submitted to the King's will: whereupon there was an act passed for his restoration, and, together with it, a fettlement of Sherborne to the Earl of Bristol. However, in shew of some kind of recompence, a pension of four hundred pounds a year was granted to Mr. Raleigh, after the death of his mother, who had that fum paid, during her life, in lieu of her jointure. About a year after this, he married the Lady Philippa, reliet of Sir Anthony Ashley, a rich young widow, by whom he had two fons and three daughters; and not long after his marriage, he was made one of the gentlemen of the King's privy chamber. In 1651, there was a committee for the fale of delinquents estates; and about that time, the Earl of Bristol having fled to France, Mr. Raleigh had a fair prospect of recovering his estate; and thereupon drew up his case, and delivered it to the faid committee; and it was ordered that the case should be reported to the house, the committee giving it as their opinion, that Mr. Raleigh was a fit Vol. IV. 2. object

Car, Earl of Somerset, the Manor of tion of returning them to Sir Walter Sherborne was granted to Sir John Digby by King James, (by the Prince of Wales's interest) who created him, in 1618, Lord Digby of Sherborne.

Wales, a few months before his death, obtained a grant of the lands and

(b) Some time after the difgrace of castle of Sherborne, with an inten-Raleigh. But this defign was fruf-trated by Prince Henry's death, and Sherborne went to his brother Prince Charles; who being, it feems, lefs ge-(1) It is faid that Henry, Prince of nerously disposed, made a considerable pecuniary advantage of it.

object of their mercy. About the same time he drew up "A "brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's troubles," and addressed it to the Parliament. Yet his case and petition were laid aside; but for what reason is not certainly known. In 1659, he was made Governor of the Isle of Jersey, by the interest of General Monk. At the Restoration of King Charles II. that Monarch would have conferred some personal honour upon Mr. Raleigh: but he declined it, in hopes, as it is said, of something better. However, the King knighted his eldest son Walter; who died soon after, at West-Horsley, in Surrey, his sather's seat. Mr. Raleigh had another seat, at Kenton-Park, near Hampton-Court. He died in 1666. Anthony Wood says, he had seen some sonnets of Mr. Raleigh's composition, and certain ingenious discourses in manuscript; and Sir Henry Wotton gives him the character of "a gentleman of dexterous abilities (k)."

(k) Vid. Biograph. Brita.



### The Life of Sir HENRY SAVILE.

ENRY SAVILE was descended from a reputable family, and born at Bradley, near Halifax in Yorkshire, on the 30th of November, 1549. He was entered of Merton-College in Oxford in 1561, where he took the degrees in Arts, and was chosen Fellow. When he proceeded Master of Arts in 1570, he read for that degree on the Almagest of Ptolemy, which procured him the reputation of great skill in the mathematics and the Greek language: in the former of which, he voluntarily read a public lecture in the Uni-

verfity for fome time.

In 1578, he travelled into France and other countries; where he diligently improved himself in all the branches of useful learning, in languages, and the knowledge of the world, and in every polite and liberal accomplishment. At his return, he was made tutor in the Greek tongue to Queen Elizabeth, who had a great esteem for him. And about this time he favoured the public with a translation of the four first books of Tacitus, and the Life of Agricola. This version was published at London, in Folio, in 1581, and was, in that age, much admired for its accuracy and elegance. He dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth (1).

In 1585, he was made Warden of Merton-College, which he governed fix and thirty years, with great diligence, integrity, and reputation. " He made it his principal endeavours, (fays " Anthony Wood), though troubled with the cumbrances of " marriage, to improve his College with riches and literature." And in 1596, he was chosen Provost of Eton College; which fociety he made it his business to fill with the most considerable and learned men, among whom was the ever-memorable John

Hales.

K 2

King

(1) Vid. Biograph. Britan. New and Gen. Biograph. Dict. and Wood's Athen. Oxon. - Mr. Savile accompanied the above translation of Tacitus with excellent notes, which were translated into Latin by Isaac Gruter, and published at Amsterdam in 1649, 12mo. And to them Mr. Gruter fub-

Militia Romana, published in 1598, folio, under the following title, " A view of certain military matters, or commentaries concerning Roman warfare." Which treatife foon after its first appearance, had been translated into Latin by Mar. Freherus, and printed at Heidelburg in 1601, 8vo. joined a treatife of our author, De but was now grown extremely scarce.

King James I. upon his accession to the Crown of England, expressed a particular regard for Mr. Savile, and would have promoted him either in Church or State; but he declined it, and only accepted the honour of Knighthood from his Majesty at Windsor in 1604. About that time he lost his only son, and thenceforwards devoted his whole time and fortune to the service and interests of learning. Indeed, Sir Henry Savile applied himself so closely to his studies, that his Lady was somewhat displeased at it. She one day came into his study, and said to him, "Sir Henry, I wish I were a book; for then I think you would pay more attention to me." He employed much time and expence in a fine edition of the Works of St. Chrysoftom (m); and he happening to be sick a little before the publication was sinished, Lady Savile said, that "if Sir Henry died, "she would burn Chrysostom for killing her husband (n)."

In 1619, Sir Henry Savile founded two lectures, or professorships, one in geometry, the other in astronomy, in the Univerfity of Oxford; which he endowed with a salary of one hundred and fixty pounds a year each; besides a legacy of 6001. for purchasing more lands for the same use. He also surnished a library with mathematical books, near the mathematical school, for the use of his professors; and gave 1001. to the mathematical chest of his own appointing; adding afterwards a legacy of 401. a year to the same chest, and to the University, and his professors jointly. He likewise gave 1201. towards the new building of the schools; several curious manuscripts and printed books to the Bodleian library; and a large quantity of Greek

types to the printing-press at Oxford.

This

(m) This edition of Chrysostom, in the original Greek, was published in 1613, in eight volumes, solio. In the preface Sir Henry informed the reader, that having visited himself, about twelve years before, all the public and private libraries in Britain, and copied out from thence whatever he thought useful for his design; he then sent some learned men into France, Germany, Italy, and the East, to transcribe such parts as he had not already, and to collate the others with the best manuscripts. At the same time he made his acknowledgments to several great men for their affistance; particularly Thuanus, Velserus, Andreas Schottus, Isaac Casaubon, Fronto Ducœus, Janus Gruterus, David Hoeschelius, &c. In the Eighth Volume are inserted Sir

Henry Savile's own notes, with those of other learned men. The whole charge of this edition is faid to have Rood Sir Henry in no less than eight thousand pounds, including the paper and printing, and the several sums he paid to learned men, at home and abroad, employed in finding out, transcribing, and collating the best manuscripts. But as soon as it was sinished, the Bishops and Clergy of France employed Fronto Ducæus, before-mentioned, a learned Jesuit, to reprint it at Paris with a Latin translation; which greatly lessend the price of Sir Henry's own edition, and made it much less valuable than it would otherwise have been. Vid. Biograh, Britan.

(n) Harleian MSS, in the British Museum, No. 7037, P. 436. This learned man died at Eton-College on the 19th of February, 1621-2, and was buried in the chapel there. The University of Oxford paid him the greatest honours; and the highest encomiums were bestowed on him by the most learned men of that age; particularly Isaac Casaubon, Josias Mercerus, Isaac Gruter, Marc Meibomius, and Joseph Scaliger. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of George Dacres of Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, he left one only daughter, who was married to Sir John Sedley of Kent, Bart. son of Sir William, who bequeathed, in 1618, two thousand pounds for founding and endowing a natural

ral-philosophy lecture in Oxford.

Besides the Works already mentioned, Sir Henry Savile published a Collection of the best antient Writers of our English History, under the following title: "Rerum Anglicarum Scrip-"tores post Bedam præcipui, ex vetusissimis Codicibus manu-"fcriptis nunc primum in lucem editi." This publication contained, 1. The History of the Kings of England, in seven books, by William of Malmsbury; and the Lives of the English Bishops, by the same, in sour books. 2. The Histories of Henry, Arch-Deacon of Huntingdon, in eight books. 3. The Annals of Roger de Hoveden. 4. The Chronicle of Ethelwerd, in sour books. 5. The History of Ingulph, Abbot of Croyland. Sir Henry added at the end, Chronological Tables from Julius Cæsar to the coming in of William the Conqueror. This Volume of antient Historians was published in 1596; and it was re-printed at Frankfortin 1601, with the addition of an Index; but this edition was somewhat incorrect.

He also published, in 1618, a Latin Work, written by Thomas Bradwardin, Archbishop of Canterbury, against Pelagius, intitled, " De causa Dei contra Pelagium, et de virtute causa-"rum:" to which he prefixed the Life of Bradwardin. And in 1621, a Collection of his own mathematical lectures, intitled, " Prælectiones tredecim in principium Elementorum Euclidis "Oxoniæ habitæ," 4to. He likewise published an edition of Xenophon's Institution of Cyrus; and translated into Latin King James's Apology for the oath of Allegiance. He left feveral manuscripts behind him, written at the command of King James; all which are in the Bodleian Library. He wrote notes likewise upon the margin of many books in his library, particularly of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History; which were afterwards used, and thankfully acknowledged by Valesius, in his edition of that Work in 1659. There are four of his letters to Camden, published by Dr. Thomas Smith among Camden's letters, printed in 1691, in 4to.

Sir Henry Savile had a younger brother, Thomas Savile, who was admitted Probationer-Fellow of Merton-College, Oxford, in 1580. He afterwards travelled abroad into foreign countries; and upon his return was chosen Fellow of Eton-College. He

died at London on the 12th of January, 1592-3. This gentleman was a man of great learning, and an intimate friend of Camden; among whose letters, just mentioned, there are fifteen of Mr. Savile's to him (0).

( . ) Vid. New and Gen. Biog. Dict.



## The Life of FULKE GREVILLE, Lord BROOKE.

HIS Nobleman was fon to Sir Fulke Greville, of Beauchamp Court in Warwickshire, and born in 1554. When he had been instructed in grammar-learning, he was fent to the University of Cambridge, and admitted a Fellow-Commoner at Trinity-College; and some time after making a visit to Oxford, he became a member of that University in the same rank, but of what College is not certain. Having completed his academical studies, he travelled abroad for further improvement; and, upon his return, was introduced to the Court of Queen Elizabeth, by his uncle Robert Greville, "where (says Anthony Wood) he was "esteemed a most ingenious person, and had in savour by all

" fuch as were lovers of arts and sciences ( p)."

When he was about two and twenty years of age, he was nominated to a beneficial employment in the Court of the Marches of Wales, by his kinfman Sir Henry Sydney, then Lord Prefident of that Court and Principality. But the nature of his post did not please him; his ambition prompted him to another course of life. He was the intimate friend of Sir Philip Sydney; and, like him, was equally fond of letters and of arms. He had already made fome advances in the Queen's favour; and, besides his expertness in the martial exercises of those times, he had attained a competent skill in the modern European languages. These were qualifications for a foreign employment, which was more agreeable to the activity of his temper, and would open a quicker way of raising him to some of the first posts in the State. Indeed, his heart was so eagerly set upon pushing his fortune this way, that, to gratify it, he ventured to incur the Queen's displeasure; and made several attempts in it, not only with, but even without her Majesty's consent. Out of many of these, we have an account of the following from his own pen.

When the two great armies of Don John and Prince Casimire were to meet in the Low Countries, he applied for and obtained her Majesty's leave, under her own hand, to go thither; but after his horses and baggage were shipped at Dover, the Queen,

who

who always discouraged these excursions, sent Sir Edward Dyer with her mandate to stop him. He was so much chagrined at this disappointment, that afterwards, in 1578, when Secretary Walfingham was fent Ambaffador to treat with those two Princes, an opportunity of feeing a transaction of so much importance to Christendom, was so tempting, that he was resolved not to risque a denial; and therefore stole away without leave, and went over with the Secretary incog. But the consequence of this was, that at his return the Queen forbad him her presence for many To the same disposition may also be referred the engagement which he made with Sir Philip Sydney, to accompany Sir Francis Drake in his last expedition but one to the West-Indies in 1585; but they were both prevented from going by the same authority. However, when a battle was expected between the forces of Henry III. and those of Henry IV. then King of Navarre, without acquainting any person, except the Earl of Essex, he shipped himself over for France; but at his return he was refused admittance to the Queen's presence for fix months, and then was received in a very unfavourable manner (q).

It feems to have been in one of these excarsions, that he made a trip to Germany; when, as he himself informed us, he had some political conferences at Delft with William of Naffau, Prince of Orange: and concerning this great man, he relates the following particulars. " His uppermost garment (fays he) " was a gown, yet fuch, as I dare confidently affirm, a mean-" born student in our Inns of Court would not have been well of pleased to walk the streets in. Unbuttoned his doublet was, and of like precious matter and form to the other. His waift-" coat, which shewed itself under it, not unlike the best fort of " those woollen knit ones, which our ordinary watermen row us " in. His company about him, the burgesses of that beer-" brewing town; and he, so fellow-like, encompassed with " them, as had I not known his face, no exterior fign of degree " or deservedness could have discovered the inequality of his worth, or flate from that multitude. Notwithstanding, I no " fooner came to his presence, but it pleased him to take know-" ledge of me. And even upon that, as if it had been a fignal " to make change, his respect of a stranger, instantly begat re-" spect to himself in all about him; an outward presage of in-" ward greatness, which, in a popular flate, I thought worth the " observing: because there, no pedigree but worth, could pos-" fibly make a man Prince, and no Prince, in a moment, at his " own pleasure. The businesses which he then vouchsafed to im-" part with me were, the dangerous fate which the Crown of " England, States of Germany, and the Low Countries, did

" fland threatened with, under an ambitious and conquering

" Monarch's hand, &c. (r)."

When the ardour of his youth was somewhat abated, Mr. Greville was less eager to engage in foreign services, and contented himself with prosecuting his interest at home. The Queen had granted him the reversion of two of the best offices in the Marches Court of Wales, one of which fell to him in the year 1580; but he met with some difficulties about the profits. In this contest, he experienced the friendship of Sir Philip Sydney; who, by a letter wrote to his father's Secretary, Mr. Molyneux, April 10, 1581, prevailed with him not to oppose his cousin Greville's title in any part or construction of his patents; and a letter of Sir Francis Walfingham to the Prefident, the next day, put an end to the opposition that had been made from another quarter. This office appears to have been that of Clerk of the Signet to the Council of Wales, which is faid to have brought him in yearly above 2000 l. arifing chiefly from the processes which went out of that Court. Mr. Greville was also constituted Secretary for South and North Wales by the Queen's

letters patent, bearing date April 25, 1583.

In the midst of these civil employments, he made a conspicuous figure in the martial way, when the French Ambassadors, accompanied by great numbers of their Nobility, were in England to treat a second time of the Queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou. Tilts and tournaments were the courtly entertainments in those days; and they were performed in the most magnificent manner on this occasion by two Noblemen, besides Sir Philip Sydney and Fulke Greville, as chief challengers against all comers. And on this occasion Mr. Greville "be-" haved himself so gallantly, (says Winstanley) that he won the

" reputation of a most valiant Knight."

In 1586, he lost his much-esteemed and beloved friend, Sir Philip Sydney, who in his will bequeathed to him one moiety of his books. In 1588, he attended his kinsman the Earl of Essex to Oxford, and was created Master of Arts in that University. In 1597, he received the honour of Knighthood: in 1598, he obtained the place of Treasurer of marine causes for life; and in 1599, a commission was ordered to be made out for him as Rear-Admiral of the sleet, which was intended to be sent forth against another threatened invasion by the Spaniards. In 1602, having purchased from private hands some claims upon the manor of Wedgnock, he obtained from the Queen a grant of the antient and spacious park thereunto belonging, for himself, his heirs, and assigns.

During the reign of Elizabeth, he frequently represented his county in the House of Commons, together with Sir Thomas Vol. IV. 3.

Lacy.

<sup>(</sup>r) Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sydney, written by Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, Edit, 12mo. 1652. P. 23, 24, 25.

Lacy. He continued a favourite of the Queen's to the end of her reign: and the beginning of the next opened no less in his favour. At the coronation of King James I. in 1603, he was made a Knight of the Bath, and his office of Secretary to the Council of the Court of Marches of Wales, was confirmed to him for life by a patent bearing date the 24th of July, in that year. He foon after obtained a grant from the King of Warwick castle, which was then in a ruinous condition: but "he" bestowed so much cost, (fays Dugdale) at least twenty thou- fand pounds, in the repairs thereof, beautifying it with the most pleasant gardens, plantations, and walks, and adorning it with rich furniture; that, considering its situation, no place in that midland part of England does compare with it

" for stateliness and delight."

Sir Fulke Greville also obtained a grant from the Crown of the manor and lands of Knowle, in the county of Warwick; and appears to have been now more intent upon increasing his private fortune by fuch substantial favours, than ambitious of any high post or preferment. Indeed, he perceived the meafures of Government quite altered, and the State waning from the luftre in which he had feen it shine. Besides, he had little hopes of being preferred to any thing considerable in the Ministry, as he met with some discouragements from Sir Robert Cecil, and the persons in power. In this state of affairs, he feems to have formed fome schemes of retirement, in order to write the History of Queen Elizabeth's reign. In which view he drew up a plan, commencing with the union of the two Roses in the marriage of Henry VII. and had made some progress in the execution of it: but the perusal of the records in the Council-cheft being denied him by Sir Robert Cecil, he dropped his defign (s).

During the life of the Treasurer Cecil, he obtained no preferment in the Court or State; but some time after his death, in 1615, Sir Fulke Greville was made Under-Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer; in consequence of which he was called to the Board of Privy Council. And in 1620, his Majesty created him a Peer of the Realm by the title of Lord Brooke of Beauchamp Court. In September, 1621, he was made one of the Lords of the King's, bed-chamber, and thereupon resigned his post in the Exchequer. After the death of King James, he continued in the Privy Council of King Charles I. in the beginning of whose reign he sounded a History-Lecture in the University of Cambridge, and endowed it

with a falary of 1001. per annum.

We meet with nothing further of importance related concerning this Nobleman, till we come to the fatal event which put a period to his life. The account we have of this unhappy transaction

<sup>(:)</sup> Vid. Biograph. Britan, and New and Gen. Biographical Dict.

transaction, is, that his Lordship neglecting or delaying to reward one Mr. Ralph Haywood, an antient fervant, who had fpent the greatest part of his time in attendance upon him, this person expostulated thereupon with his Lordship in his bedchamber at Brooke-house in Holbourn; and being severely reproved for it, and fome high words arising between them, he gave his Lordship a mortal stab in the back, with a knife as some fay, but according to others with a sword; after which he with. drew into another room, and locking the door, murdered himfelf with the same weapon. It has been said, that there remained no written memorial or tradition in this noble family, of any other cause or reason for Haywood's discontent; but Mr. Collins informs us, that Lord Brooke having fettled the whole of his estate upon his cousin Robert Greville, by his last will and testament, he executed the same on the 18th of February foregoing, which was witnessed by several gentlemen then in his fervice, among whom was this Haywood. And some months after a codicil was added, wherein annuities were granted to those gentlemen; but Haywood was omitted, which made him resent the neglect to such a degree as produced the warm expostulation between them, which ended in the tragical end of them both. His Lordship, before his death, ordered another short codicil to be added to his will; wherein he left handsome legacies to the furgeons who attended him on this occasion.

It was on the 30th of September, 1628, that Lord Brooke's death happened, when he was seventy-four years of age. He was interred in St. Mary's church, Warwick, under a monument of black and white marble, whereon he was stiled, agreeable to his own direction, Servant to Queen Elizabeth, Counsel-

lor to King James, and Friend to Sir Philip Sydney.

As Lord Brooke was himself a man of learning and abilities, so he was also a generous patron of men of genius and letters. In particular, it was by his interest that the learned Camden was made King at Arms; and he was likewise very liberal to our English Historian, John Speed. Finding him to be a man of extensive knowledge, though of mean occupation and circumstances, so that his genius was depressed by poverty, he enabled him to prosecute his studies, and pursue the bent of his genius, without being obliged to follow a manual employment for his support (1). To this purpose Mr. Speed, in his description of Warwickshire, writes thus, speaking of Lord Brooke: "Whose merit towards me (says he) I do acknow-" ledge, in setting my hand free from the daily employments of a manual trade, and giving it full liberty thus to express the inclination of my mind, himself being the procurer of my

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" present estate ( u )." Lord Brooke also shewed great kindness to Sir William Davenant, whom he took into his family when very young, and was fo much delighted with his promifing genius, that as long as he lived, that Poet had his residence with him, and probably formed the plan of some of his first plays under his Lordship's encouragement, fince they were published foon after his death.

Sir Robert Naunton, in his Fragmenta Regalia, gives the following account and character of Lord Brooke. " Sir Fulke " Greville, fince Lord Brooke, had no mean place in Queen " Elizabeth's favour, neither did he hold it for a short term;

" for, if I be not deceived, he had the longest lease and the " fmoothest time, without rub, of any of her favourites. He

( u ) JOHN SPEED was born at Farrington in Cheshire, in the year 1552. He was brought up to the bufiness of a taylor, and free of the company of merchant-taylors in the city of London. But being by the generofity of Lord Brooke enabled to profecute those studies which his inclination led him to, he published, in 1606, in Folio, "The Theatre of " the Empire of Great Britain: pre-" fenting an exact geography of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ifles adjoining; " with the shires, hundreds, cities, " and shire-towns, within the king-" dom of England, divided and de-" fcribed by John Speed." These maps were the best that had till then been made of the British dominions; and were defigned as an Apparatus to his History, which was first published in 1614, under the following title: " The Hiftory of Great Britain under " the conquests of the Romans, Sax-" ons, Danes, and Normans : their " originals, manners, wars, coins, and " feals; with the fuccessions, lives, " acts, and iffues of the English Mo-" narchs, from Julius Cæfar to our " most gracious Sovereign King " James." This was afterwards reprinted; but the first edition, which was printed on large paper, is by much the best. Mr. Speed received some communications and affistances in this Work from fome learned Antiquaries, with whom he was acquainted. There are prefixed to it reccommendatory poems in Latin, French, and English, by Sir Henry

Spelman and others; and many Writers have spoken of it in terms of high commendation. Mr. Speed was also Author of "The Cloud of Wit"nesses, viz. the Genealogies of "Scripture, confirming the truth of "Holy History, and humanity of "Christ." This was prefixed to the new translation of the Bible in 1611, and printed afterwards in most of the subsequent antient editions of the same. It was likewise published by itself in 1616, 8vo. and King James I. granted him a patent for securing the property of this to himfelf

and his heirs.

Mr. Speed died on the 28th of July, 1629, and was buried in the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, where a monument was erected to his memory. Bishop Nicolson fays, that " he was a person of ex-" traordinary industry and attain-"ments in the study of antiquities; " and feems not altogether unworthy " of the name of fummus et eruditus " Antiquarius, given him by one who was certainly fo himfelf." By his wife Sulannah, with whom he lived fifty-feven years, and who died about three quarters of a year before him, he had twelve fons, and fix daughters. One of his fons, named John, was educated at Oxford, and became an eminent physician. Anthony Wood fays, that this " Dr. Speed was by all " persons that knew him accounted an ingenious man." ---- Vid. Biograph. Britan. New and Gen. Biographical Dict, and Athen. Oxon.

came to the Court in his youth and prime, for that is the time or never. He was a brave gentleman, and honourably descended from Willoughby, Lord Brooke, and Admiral to Henry VII. Neither illiterate; for he was, as he would often profess, a friend to Sir Philip Sydney; and there are of his now extant, some fragments of his poems, and of those times, which do interest him in the Muses; and which show the Queen's election had ever a noble conduct, and its motions more of virtue and judgment than of sancy. I find that he neither sought for, or obtained any great place or preferment in Court, during all the time of his attendance; neither did he need it, for he came thither backed with a plentiful fortune; which, as himself was wont to say, was the better held together by a single life, wherein he lived and died a constant courtier of the Ladies."

The ingenious Mrs. Elizabeth Cooper, speaking of Lord Brooke, and his Writings, says, "Perhaps sew men that dealt in "poetry had more learning, or real wisdom, than this Nobleman; and yet his stile is sometimes so dark and mysterious, I mean it appears so to me, that one would imagine he chose rather to conceal, than illustrate his meaning. At other times again, his wit breaks out with an uncommon brighteness, and shines, I had almost said, without an equal. 'Tis the same thing with his poetry; sometimes so harsh and uncouth, as if he had no ear for music; at others, so smooth and harmonious, as if he was master of all its powers (w)."

The Writings which have been published of this Nobleman are the following:

I. "The Tragedy of Alaham." The scene of this play is laid at the mouth of the Persian gulph, and the plot taken from some incidents in Herbert's travels. It is mostly written in rhime, and is adorned with many moral sentences, and political maxims. It appears to be written in imitation of the antients: the prologue is spoken by a ghost, who gives an account of every character; and so strictly has the Author adhered to the rules of the drama, that he has not throughout introduced more than two speakers at a time, excepting in the chorusses between the acts.

II. "The Tragedy of Mustapha." This play appears also to be written after the model of the antients.

III. A Poem intitled, "A Treatife of Human Learning," in 150 stanzas, of fix lines each.

IV. " An Inquisition upon Fame and Honour;" a Poem in eighty-six stanzas.

V. "A Treatise of Wars;" a Poem in sixty-eight stanzas.
VI. "A Letter to an honourable Lady." This letter, which is of considerable length, in prose, contains advice to the Lady

to whom it is written, how to compose herself under the irregularities of her husband, and especially under the affliction of

having a rival.

VII. "A Letter of Travel." This is also written in prose, to his cousin Greville Verney, then in France; and contains directions to him for his conduct and management, during his continuance abroad.

All the above were published together in one Volume, Folio,

in 1633.

VIII. " The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sydney, &c. Lond. 12mo. 1652." This is but an indifferent performance: indeed, the Author does not appear to have intended it for a regular Life of his friend, though the Editor hath affixed this title to it. Lord Brooke seems rather to have drawn it up as part of a general preface, or introduction, to his poetical Works.

IX. " The Remains of Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, Svo. 1670." This Volume contains two poems of our Author's, which had not been before printed. The first poem is a TREA-TISE ON MONARCHY, divided into fifteen fections, containing fix hundred and fixty-four stanzas of fix lines. The other poem, or Treatife of Religion, confifts of an hundred and fourteen stanzas, and is not divided into fections .---- It appears that Lord Brooke also wrote another Tragedy, intitled, ANTHONY AND CLEOPATRA; but this with his own hands he committed to the flames, as he has himself informed us (x).

(x) Vid. Life of Sir Philip Sydney, P. 178, and 235.



# The Life of ROBERT CECIL, Earl of Salisbury.

OBERT CECIL was the fon of that great Statefman, William, Lord Burleigh, by his fecond Lady, Mildred, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke. The exact time of his birth is not known; but it is supposed to have been about the year 1550. He was of a weakly constitution, but was brought up with great care and tenderness; and educated by a diligent and judicious tutor, under whom he very much improved in every branch of learning. However, he was afterwards sent to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took, or at least had conferred upon him, the degree of Master of Arts; and he was incorporated in the same at Oxford in 1605.

He had the advantage of being a Courtier from his cradle, and of being trained under his excellent father, by which means he became well skilled in politics, and a great proficient in all State affairs. He was accordingly employed by Queen Elizabeth in important negociations, and matters of the greatest confequence. Her Majesty having conferred on him the honour of Knighthood, she sent him affistant to the Earl of Derby, Ambaffador to the King of France. At his return, she made him, in 1596, second Secretary of State with Sir Francis Walsingham: and after the death of that great man, he continued principal

Secretary of State as long as he lived (y).

In 1597, he was constituted Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, and was also appointed Lord Privy-Seal. In 1598, he was one of the Commissioners sent into France, to negociate a peace between that Crown and Spain; and he soon after succeeded his father, the Lord Burleigh, in the office of Master of the Wards. He succeeded him also in the character of Prime Minister; for from the time of Lord Burleigh's death, the public affairs were chiefly under the direction of Sir Robert Cecil. He displayed very considerable political abilities, and he maintained an extensive correspondence in most of the countries of Europe. He was very active in the opposition against the Earl of Essex, and appears to have been a principal instrument in bringing that unfortunate Nobleman to the block.

The King of Scots, the prefumptive heir to the Crown, had been much prejudiced against Sir Robert Cecil, and his family: and indeed against all who had been active enemies to Esfex. However, Cecil, who had all the arts of a Courtier, found means to be upon good terms with James; and, unknown to Elizabeth, and all the other Ministers, entered into a secret correspondence with the Scottish Monarch, during the latter years of the Queen's reign. At one time, indeed, he was very near being discovered; but, by uncommon presence of mind, he avoided the danger. For as the Queen was taking the air upon Blackheath, a post riding by, her Majesty enquired from whence it came; and being told, " From Scotland," she stopped her coach to receive the packet. Upon which Sir Robert Cecil, who was in the coach with her, was extremely apprehensive lest his fecret correspondencies should be discovered; however, he put a good face upon the matter, and hastily called for a knife to open the packet, that delays and puts-off might not breed fuspicion. But when he came to cut it open, he told the Queen, that it looked and fmelt very ill, coming out of many unfavoury budgets; so that it was proper to open and air it before the faw what it contained. And the Queen having no suspicion of his defign, and being delicate in the fense of smelling, delayed her curiofity till the packet was aired; by which means Cecil had an opportunity of fecreting the intelligence which he had dreaded might be discovered (z).

Queen Elizabeth dying on the 24th of March, 1603, it was Sir Robert Cecil who first publicly read her will, and proclaimed King James I. And he so much ingratiated himself with that Monarch (a), that on the 13th of May, this year, he was created Baron of Essenden, in Rutlandshire; on the 20th of August, 1604, Viscount Cranborne in Dorsetshire; and on the 4th of May, 1605, Earl of Salisbury. He was also made Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; and on the 20th

of May, 1605, installed Knight of the Garter.

He

(z) Hift of King James the First, by Arthur Wilson, Esq: Edit. 2633. P. 2. and Guthrie's Hift of England, Vol. III. P. 625.

(a) If we may believe Sir Anthony Weldon, Sir Robert Cecil ingratiated himfelf with the King by very base practices. "Who in such dearness and privacy with the King (says he) as Sir Robert Cecil! as if he had been his faithful servant many years before; yet did not cither his friends, wit, or wealth, raise him so much (as some believe)

"the people, and shewing the King
the way how to enhance his prerogative so above the laws, that he
might enslave the nation; which,
though it took well then, yet it
hath been of sad and dangerous
consequence in after-times. For
first, he caused a whole cart-lead of
Parliament-precedents (that spake
the subjects liberty) to be burnt.
Next, raising two hundred thoufand pound for making two hundred Baronets, telling the King he
should find his English subjects
like asses, on whom he might lay
series.

<sup>&</sup>quot; as the ill offices done by him to this " like affes, on whom he might lay " nation, in discovering the nature of " any burthen, and should lay neither

He continued to apply himself to the management of public affairs with great assiduity; but it appears that he was no great friend to the Spanish alliance, of which his master was so fond; for which reason, according to some Writers, attempts were made by Spanish agents to affassinate him. In the Parliament which affembled at Westminster, in 1605, he gained much reputation by the zeal which he then expressed for the Protestant religion. And in the year 1606, he entertained King James, and the King of Denmark, who was then in England, four days to-

gether at his feat at Theobalds.

Upon the death of Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorfet, in 1608, the Earl of Salisbury succeeded that Nobleman in the important post of Lord High Treasurer of England. And finding the Exchequer almost exhausted, he laboured with great diligence to encrease the Royal revenues, and employed every method which he could devise for that purpose. He endeavoured also to restrain the extreme profuseness of the King: particularly once, when James had given a warrant to Sir Robert Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerset, for twenty thousand pounds; the Lord-Treasurer finding that the Exchequer would be insufficient to supply such extravagant grants, and suspecting that his Majesty was in reality ignorant of the value of the gift he had made to his favourite, caused the above-mentioned sum, all in filver, to be laid upon the ground, in a room through which the King was to pass, being invited to dinner at Salisbury-House. James, amazed at the quantity, and probably having never feen the like before, asked the Treasurer, " Whose money it was?" He replied, "Your Majesty's, before you gave it away." Whereupon the King fell into a passion, and protested he was abused, never intending fuch a gift: and cafting himself upon the heap, scrabled out the quantity of two or three hundred pounds, and fwore Carr should have no more. However, as he was the King's minion, Cecil durst not provoke him further, than by permitting him only to have the half of the fum originally in-

But though the Earl of Salisbury studied to promote his master's interest, it appears that he also paid a proper regard to his own. For he obtained a confiderable estate for himself, and Vol. IV. 3. exchanged

" And when the King faid, It would " discontent the generality of the " Gentry; he replied, Tush, Sir, you " want the money, that will do you " good, the honour will do them " very little. And by these courses " he raised himself, friends, and fa-" mily, to offices, honours, and great " possessions." --- Court and character

" bit, nor bridle, but their affes ears.

ever degree of credit may be due to this story, or to any part of it, there is good reason to believe, from some particulars related of Sir Robert Cecil's conduct in the reign of Elizabeth, that he was much more disposed to extend the Royal Prerogative, than to promote the liberties of the fubject .-- Vid. Hume's Hift, of England, Vol. V. P. 461. 8vo. Edit. 176; and of King James, P. 10, 11, -What- Guthrie, Vol. III. P. 566.

ftraining foreigners from fishing upon our coasts.

This eminent Statesman's indefatigable application to public bufiness, threw him at length into a consumption of the lungs. And after having for fome time been in a declining condition, he was attacked, in the beginning of the year 1612, with a tertian ague, which turned to a complication of the dropfy and scurvy. Being advised to go to the Bath, for the recovery of his health, he fet out for that place on the 27th of April, and continued there till the 21st of May following. The King visited him twice, foon after the beginning of his illness, and gave very earnest charge to the physicians to be careful of him; and commanded all men for four days to forbear speaking to him upon any business. And immediately before his departure for Bath, his Majesty visited him again at Salisbury-House; and, with tears, at parting, protested to the Lords attending, his great loss of the wifest Counsellor, and best servant, that any Prince in Christendom could parallel. And when a report came from Bath, of his being likely to recover, the King fent purposely the Lord Hay to him, with a token, which was a fair diamond, fet, or rather hung, square in a gold ring without a foil, and this message, "That the favour and affection he bore him, was, and " should be ever, as the form and matter of that ring, endless, " pure, and most perfect." But all these marks of Royal fayour could not restore him to health; and the Bath not doing him the service that had been expected, he set out again for London on the 21st of May. However, he did not live to reach that city; for he died, in Mr. Daniel's house in Marlborough, on Sunday the 24th of May, 1612. His body being embalmed, was brought to Hatfield in Hertfordshire, where it was magnificently buried; and a fumptuous monument was some time after erected to his memory. By his Lady, Elizabeth, daughter of William Brooke, Lord Cobham, he had a fon named William, who succeeded him in his honours and estates; and a daughter, named Frances, who married Henry, Lord Clifford, fon and heir-apparent to Francis, Earl of Cumberland (b).

ROBERT CECIL, Earl of Salisbury, was of a low stature, and very crooked; but he had a good face, and very sharp and quick eyes. He was a man of considerable abilities, and of great application and industry. He had extraordinary political talents, and was well acquainted with the state and interests of

this nation. He was, indeed, the ablest Minister that King James ever had; and was thoroughly versed in all the arts and intrigues of a Court. Henry, Prince of Wales, is said to have conceived some dislike against him: however, it appears that he took great pains to obtain the considence and good-will of that promising young Prince (c). His behaviour with respect to Sir Walter Raleigh, appears to have been cruel and ungenerous. But it is said, that he was a great lover and rewarder of virtue, and able parts in others, so that they did not appear too high in place, or look too narrowly into his actions.

(c) Vid. Birch's Life of Henry, Prince of Wales, P. 126-128.



### The Life of THOMAS CAVENDISH.

HOMAS CAVENDISH was the fon of William Cavendish, Esq; of Trimley St. Martin, in the county of Suffolk. He was born at Trimley, where he had a fine feat, and large possessions; but having in a few years confumed almost his whole estate, in gallantry, and following the Court, he formed a defign of recovering his finking fortunes by a voyage to the South-Sea (d). And the war with Spain being now begun, it was lawful to make any depredations upon the Spaniards. Accordingly Mr. Cavendish built two ships from the stocks, one of an hundred and twenty, the other of threescore tons; and with these, and a bark of forty tons, he failed from Plymouth on the 21st of July, 1586. On board this little fleet, which was victualled for two years, and fitted out entirely at his own expence, there were one hundred and twenty-three persons. On the 26th of August, they arrived at Sierra Leona; where they landed, and going up to one of the Negroes towns, burnt two or three houses, and took what spoil they would, all the inhabitants being fled into the woods. But a few days after, the Negroes had their revenge, hurting many of the English, and killing one with a poisoned arrow. They departed from Sierra Leona on the 6th of September, and ftaid till the 10th at one of the Cape de Verd islands. On the last of October they arrived on the coast of Brasil; and on the Ist of November, they went in between the island of St. Sebaftian and the main land, where carrying their things ashore, and erecting a forge, they built a pinnace, repaired what was out of order, and took in water; all which detained them till the 23d of that month (e).

Mr. Cavendish entered the Streights of Magellan on the 6th of January, 1587, and passed them very happily. Soon after he had entered the South-Sea, he met with a violent storm, in which

(d) It appears from Hakluyt, that in 1585, Mr. Cavendish fitted out a ship, which he took the command of, and with which he accompanied Sir Richard Grenville, in his voyage to Virginia.--Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English nation, Folio, Edit. 1589. P. 733, 809.

And Mr. Hakluyt observes, that it was immediately from the first out of the folion of the first out of the first out of the folion of the folion of the folion out of

was immediately after Mr. Cavendish's return from this voyage to Virginia, in which he had been "fomewhat slesshed and hardened to the sea," that he "began to take in hand a voyage unto the South-Sea."

(e) Vid. Biograph. Britan. and Lediard's Naval History, Vol. I. P. 229, 230.

he was very near losing one of his ships; and some of his men going ashore at the island of La Mocha, met with a warm reception from the Indians. On the 16th of March, they came to St. Mary's island, and finding there large quantities of wheat and barley, laid up in store-houses for the use of the Spaniards. they took fome of the corn, and likewife hogs, fowls, potatoes, and other provisions. They left this island on the 18th, and on the 30th came into the bay of Quintero. About fifty or fixty of the men landed the next day, well armed, and went up feven or eight miles into the country; but faw no human creature, though there were two hundred Spanish horsemen watching for them, who espied them out, but durst not attack them. But the day following, the 1st of April, they took their opportunity, and came pouring down from the hills upon a few unprepared and unarmed English failors, who were filling water. Some they killed, and took a few prisoners, about twelve being lost in all: the rest were rescued by fifteen foldiers, who obliged the enemy to retire with the loss of twenty-four men.

On the 5th of April they failed from this place, and on the 15th came to an excellent harbour in twenty-three degrees and a half, called Moro Moreno. Whilft they remained here, they took a small bark from Arica, which they kept, and called the George. They took also three other vessels, (one of them laden with wine), two of which they burnt, and sunk the third. On the 13th of May, they made themselves masters of a ship of three hundred tons; and of two others, laden with sugar and provisions, one of which was valued at twenty thousand pounds: they took out what they wanted, and burnt the rest, with the

ships.
On the 20th of the same month, they came to Paita, where having driven the inhabitants up into the mountains, they pillaged the town, in which they found great store of merchandize, houshold-goods, and apparel, and sive and twenty pounds weight of pieces of eight. They afterwards burnt the town, which contained two hundred houses, together with a bark that was riding in the road.

Sailing from thence, on the 25th of May, they arrived at the island of Puna. In the harbour they found a large ship of two hundred and fifty tons, which they sunk, and then went on shore. The Cacique, or Chief of the island, was an Indian, who having married a Spanish woman, was turned Christian, and lived there in great state. He had secured his effects of greatest value in a little island, close by Puna. Thither Mr. Cavendish went, and having discovered the Cacique's treasure, which was valued at an hundred thousand crowns, he took what plunder he thought sit, and conveyed it to his ships (f). The English then burnt the church, and brought away sive bells which were

in it. But on the 2d of June, the Spaniards attacked them, and killed, wounded, or took twelve of the English, with the loss of fix and forty of their own men. The same day, going ashore again, with seventy of their men, the English met a party of an hundred Spaniards, armed with muskets, and two hundred Indians with bows and arrows, whom they entirely defeated. They also burnt four great ships on the stocks, and left the town, which contained three hundred houses, an heap of rubbish. But the loss of men which Mr. Cavendish had by this time sustained, obliged him to sink the bark of forty tons, which he

had brought with him from England.

On the 5th of June they quitted this place, and watered at Rio Dulce. They passed the Equinoctial on the 12th, and continued a northerly course all the rest of that month. On the oth of July, they took a new ship, of one hundred and twenty tons, in which was one Michael Sancius, a skilful coaster in the South-Sea, whom they took out, with all the men, fails, ropes, &c. and then fet fire to the ship; and on the 10th they took another bark. On the 26th they came to an anchor in the river of Copalita; and the fame night rowed with thirty men in the pinnace to Guatulco, where they made a descent, and burnt the town, and the custom-house, in which were goods to a very great amount. On the 24th of August, Mr. Cavendish went, with thirty of his men, in the pinnace, to Puerto de Natividad, where he was informed he should meet with a prize; but he came too late. However, he burnt the town, and two ships, of two hundred tons each, on the stocks.

On the 3d of September, they came into the bay of Malacca, and going up into the country, burnt the town of Acatlan. On the 14th of October, they fell in with the coast of California, near which they lay till the 4th of November. And on that day they met a large and rich Acapulco ship, named the St. Anne. They immediately saluted her with a broad-side, and a volley of small shot. The Spaniards made a stout resistance; but, after an engagement of six hours, they were obliged to surrender. The cargo of this ship was of immense value; but Mr. Cavendish's ships being too small to convey it home, he was obliged to burn a great part of it; however, he took out as much gold as was worth sixty thousand pounds. And after putting the whole Spanish crew, consisting of an hundred and

nincty persons, on shore, he set fire to their ship.

Mr. Cavendish having now ravaged the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, from the middle of February to the middle of November, 1587, began to think of returning back to England by the way of the East-Indies. Accordingly he now steered for the Philippine islands, where he safely arrived, and proceeded from them to Java Major, which he reached on the first of March, 1588. He doubled the Cape of Good Hope the first

of June, and returned fafe to Plymouth the ninth of September in the same year, having sailed completely round the globe in somewhat more than two years, and brought home an immense fortune.

Mr. Cavendish had been so fortunate in this voyage, that he undertook another in 1591, but with very different success. fet fail from Plymouth on the 26th of August, with three large ships, and two barks; and in about a month came within fight of the Canary islands. But, under the Equinoctial line, he had the misfortune to be becalmed for feven and twenty days together, driving to and fro without the least wind; in which time most of his men fell fick of the scurvy. At length a north-west wind brought them, in twenty days, namely, on the 29th of November, to the bay of Salvador, on the coast of Brasil. Here they took a small bark, laden with Negroes, sugar, and other commodities. A few days after they came to Ilha Grande, twelve leagues from Santos, where they landed, and found fome refreshments. But now some feuds and animosities unhappily arose among Mr. Cavendish's men, which induced him to give them a diversion, by attacking the town of Santos. Accordingly it being agreed that their long beat, with one floop, and an hundred men, were sufficient for taking this place, they watched their opportunity, on the morning of the 24th of December, when the chief of the inhabitants were at high mass, and with twenty-three men only seized the town. But there they unhappily continued too long, which proved the ruin of this expedition. Nay, some were for wintering at that place; but Mr. Cavendish would by no means agree to it. So, after having burnt the out-parts of the town, and fet all the ships in the harbour on fire, they marched, on the 22d of January, by land to St. Vincent, which they burnt to the ground. On the 24th of the fame month, they set sail with a fair wind for the Streights of Magellan; but, in about thirty-feven degrees of fouthern latitude, they had a most violent storm, which began the 7th of February, and lasted till the 9th, whereby the ships were separated and much damaged. From this time Mr. Cavendish met with nothing but misfortunes; many of his men died of diseases, and by the severity of the weather; and the rest mutinied, and in a manner compelled him to fet out on his return home. But he died of vexation and fatigue on the coast of Brasil; whether at sea, or on land, has been doubted, and there 15 no certainty concerning it; but the former is the most probable.



### The Life of WILLIAM CAMDEN.

ILLIAM CAMDEN was born in the Old Bailey, London, on the fecond of May, 1551. His father, Sampson Camden, was a native of Litchfield in Staffordshire; but settling at London, became a member of the company of painter-stainers. He was instructed in the rudiments of learning in Christ's Hospital. But when he was about twelve years of age, he was removed to Islington, being infected with the plague, and remained there fome time, which retarded his progress in learning. He was afterwards fent to St. Paul's school, and at fifteen years of age was removed to Oxford, and entered as a fervitor in Magdalen College. He perfected himself in grammar learning in the school adjoining, under Dr. Thomas Cooper, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. Being disappointed of a Demy's place in his College, he went from thence to Broadgate-hall, now Pembroke College, in the same University; where he remained two years and an half, under the tuition of Dr. Thomas Thornton, who being advanced to a Canonry of Christ-church, carried Camden along with him, entertained him in his own lodgings, and treated him with great kindness and generosity (g).

About this time, by the encouragement of his friends, he became a Candidate for a Fellowship in All Soul's College; but he lost it, by the influence, as it is faid, of the party who favoured Popish principles there. In 1570, he made application to be admitted Bachelor of Arts; but in this also he miscarried. During his stay at Oxford, a friendship commenced between him and the two Carews, Richard and George, who were both Antiquarians, and the latter of whom was afterwards raifed by King James to the title of Earl of Totness. And Mr. Camden himfelf informs us, that before he left Oxford, he had a strong inclination to the study of Antiquities. And he could never hear, he fays, any thing mentioned relating to that subject, without more than ordinary attention. And after he quitted the University, before he was settled at Westminster, he made frequent excursions for the fake of informing himself in matters of this

<sup>(</sup>g) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Bio-graph. Britan. New and Gen. Biog. Camden, by Bishop Gibson, prefixed Dict. Life of Mr. Camden, prefixed to his translation of the Britannia. to the Abridgement of his Britannia,

nature, and began very early to form those collections, out of

which he afterwards formed his BRITANNIA.

In 1571, he came up to London to profecute his studies; Dr. Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, and Dr. Godfrey Goodman, his brother, supplying him both with money and books. In 1573, he returned to Oxford, and is supposed now to have taken the degree which had been before refuted him. In 1575, by the interest of his friend Dean Goodman, he was made fecond master of Westminster school, the duties of which office he executed with great diligence and capacity, and with equal fuccess. However, as much of his time as he could spare from his laborious employment, he continued to apply to the fludy of Antiquities, in which he was encouraged by Sir Philip Sydney. He had now acquired a confiderable reputation, and was well known to, and esteemed by, many of the most eminent men in the learned world, both Englishmen and foreigners. Among the latter, were the famous Hotman, Justus Lipsius, Janus Dousa the younger, and Janus Gruter. And Abraham Ortelius, the most able geographer of his age, coming over to England, commenced an acquaintance with Camden, correfponded with him constantly, and earnestly solicited him to publish an History of the antient state of Britain. Accordingly, with extreme care and diligence, he perused all that the antients have left in their Writings concerning this island, with inde-fatigable industry fearched out and examined the historical Writings of our own country, of which very few had at that time been published, and with equal skill and labour visited all the repositories of that kind of learning which suited his purpose.

In 1581, the learned President Brisson, being employed here by the French Court, in a negociation of great importance, he entered into a strict friendship and close correspondence with Mr. Camden, which continued till the unhappy and untimely death of that eminent Magistrate. In 1582, Mr. Camden took a journey through Suffolk into Yorkshire, and returned through Lancashire in the month of April, that he might examine with his own eyes, and upon the spot, some of those antiquities which

he meant to illustrate in his intended Work.

Mr. Camden having now been ten years employed in compiling his BRITANNIA, in 1586 the first edition of it appeared, in Latin, in 8vo. under the following title. "Britannia, sive forentissimorum regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, & infularum adjacentium ex intima, antiquitate chorographica descriptio." i. e. Britain, or a chorographical description of the flourishing kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the adjacent islands, from the most remote antiquity.

He dedicated his performance to the famous Lord Burleigh; and in his dedication acknowledged, that he had received many kindnesses and benefits from that great man, and derived consi-Vol. IV. 3. derable derable helps from his well-chosen library. This publication obtained our Author the titles of the Varro, the Strabo, and the Pausanias of Britain, in the writings and letters of learned men: but he afterwards very much enlarged and improved his Work.

In 1589, he made a journey into Devonshire; and in the month of June was at Isfarcomb, which is a Prebend of the church of Salisbury, and had been bestowed upon him on the 6th of February preceding, by his friend Dr. John Piers, then Bishop of that Diocese. The principal design of this journey was to visit the places most famous for their antiquities in the west of England: and the expence of this, and others for the same purpose, with a view of improving his description of Britain, were desrayed, according to Anthony Wood, by Mr. God-

frey Goodman.

In 1590, Mr. Camden made a journey into Wales, accompanied by the learned Dr. Godwin, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, that he might examine the antiquities of that part of the island. And his Britannia having passed through three editions, a fourth edition was published by him this year, in 4to. much enlarged and improved. In October, 1592, he was seized with a quartan ague, which held him long, and brought him very low: and whilft he was labouring under this diffemper, Dr. Edward Graunt, who for about twenty years had very ably discharged the office of head-master of Westminster school, being worn out with age and fatigue, refigned it in February, 1592-3; and in the month of March following, was succeeded therein by Mr. Camden. But it was not till the middle of fummer, in the succeeding year, that he became perfectly free from his ague. And as foon as he found his health fo well established, as to enable him to undergo the fatigue of a fresh journey, and was able to obtain leifure for another excursion, he next made a tour to Salisbury and Wales, with a view to farther improvements of his Work: and returning by Oxford, he spent there fome time, in which he vifited most, if not all the churches and chapels there, copying the monumental infcriptions and the arms, which he found in them, and reducing them into a book, which Mr. Wood tells us he had feen in his own hand-writing.

In 1597, he published a new Greek grammar, entitled, "Grammatices Græcæ institutio compendiaria in usum Regiæ "Scholæ Westmonasteriensis;" 8vo. which was received in all the public schools in England. And Dr. Smith says, that in 1691, this grammar had run through very near an hundred impressions. But Mr. Camden now quitted his laborious employment at Westminster school, being appointed Clarencieux, King at Arms, by the interest of Sir Fulke Greville. And about this time an attempt was made to lessen his reputation, by Ralph Brooke, or Brookesmouth, York-Herald, who pretended to discover many errors in his Britannia, relating to descents; and ac-

cordingly

cordingly published a Piece, entitled, " A Discovery of cer-" tain errors published in print in the much-commended Bri-" tannia."

In the fifth edition of this Work, Mr. Camden published a defence of himself against the objections of Brooke. And, indeed, this attack appears to have done him but little prejudice. It was apparent to all, that Mr. Camden's Britannia was a very learned and elaborate performance, and a Work of great merit: and every man of letters knew, that a Work of such a nature could not be compiled without some errors. He continued to maintain a very high reputation, both at home and abroad; and in 1600, he made a journey as far as Carlisle, accompanied by Sir Robert Cotton, who had a great friendship for him: and after having surveyed whatever was curious in the North, he returned to London in the month of December. And this year he published, in small 4to. a description of all the monuments of the Kings, Queens, Nobles, and others, in Westminster-Abbey, with their inscriptions; together with an historical account of the foundation of that church.

In 1603, a collection of our antient Historians was published at Frankfort, by Camden's care, under the following title: "Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus de- fcripta; ex quibus Asser Menevensis, Anonymus de vita Gu- lielmi Conquæstoris, Thomas Walsingham, Thomas de la "More, Gulielmus Genuticensis, Giraldus Cambrensis. Ple- rique nunc in lucem editi ex Bibliotheca Gulielmi Camdeni." He had laid aside a design which he had once formed of writing a civil History of England, and was therefore willing, as some compensation to the public for that omission, to add to the small stock of materials already prepared, these original and valuable Authors. He dedicated this publication to Sir Fulke Greville.

In 1605, he published, in 4to. "Remains of a greater Work concerning Britain, the inhabitants thereof, their languages, names, surnames, empreses, wise speeches, poesies, and epitaphs." This contains some curious particulars concerning the languages, money, surnames, and apparel, of our British and Saxon ancestors. He dedicated this to Sir Robert Cotton; but he subscribed it only with the final letters of his name, M. N.

After the discovery of the gunpowder plot, King James, being desirous to put the reformed churches abroad upon their guard against the enemies of the Protestant religion; and to satisfy foreign Princes of the justice of his proceedings, made choice of Mr. Camden to draw up the whole case in Latin; and which was accordingly published in 1607, in 4to. This year he also put the last hand to his Britannia, and published a complete edition of it, in Folio, with large additions, and adorned with maps. It is from this edition that the several English translations

tions have been made (b). About this time our Author had the misfortune to fall from his horse, by which he hurt his leg in such a manner, that he was not able to stir abroad for many months.

In 1612, Mr. Camden went to Oxford, in order to attend the funeral of Sir Thomas Bodley (i); and on this occasion he

(b) The first English translation was that published in Folio, at London, in 1611, by the laborious Dr Philemon Holland, a Physician of Coventry, who is thought to have confulted our Author himself, and therefore great respect has been paid to the editions and explanations which occur therein, on a supposition that they may belong to Camden. But in a later edition of the fame translation, published in 1636, the Doctor has taken very unjustifiable liberties with the original Work. However, a much better translation of the Britannia was published in 1695, by Edmund Gibson, of Queen's College in Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of London; in which, besides the addition of notes, and of all that deserved to be taken notice of in Dr. Holland's first edition, (which, tho' thrown out of the text, is preserved at the bottom of the page), there are many other augmentations and improvements, all properly diftinguished, as they ought to be, from the genuine Work of the Author. Bishop Gib-fon's translation has been fince reprinted.

(i) THOMAS BODLEY was the eldest fon of Mr. John Bodley, of Exeter, and born in that city on the 2d of March, 1544. He was about twelve years of age, when his father, being obliged to leave England on account of religion, fettled with his family at Geneva, where he lived a voluntary exile during the reign of Queen Mary. In that University, then newly creeted, young Mr. Bodley applied himfelf to the study of the learned languages and Divinity. He frequented the public lectures of Chevalerius in the Hebrew tongue, of Be-roaldus in the Greek, and of Calvin and Beza in Divinity; befides his domestic teachers in the house of Philibertus Saracenus, a famous Physician of that city, with whom he boarded, where Robert Constantine, Author of the Greek Lexicon, read Homer to

Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in 1558, he returned to England with his father, who fettled in London; and foon after was fent to Magdalen College in Oxford. 1563, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and the year following was admitted Fellow of Merton College. In 1565, he undertook the reading of a Greek lecture in the hall of that College. In 1566, he took his degree of Master of Arts, and the same year read natural Philosophy in the public schools. In 1569, he was elected one of the Proctors of the University; and, for a confiderable time, fupplied

the place of University Orator. In 1576, Mr. Bodley went abroad, and spent four years in France, Germany, and Italy, with a view of improving himself in the modern European languages; and upon his return he applied himself to the study of history and politics. In 1583, he was made Gentleman-Usher to Queen Elizabeth; and in 1585, married Anne, daughter of Mr. Carew of Bristol, and widow of Mr. Ball; a Lady of a confiderable fortune. About two years afterwards, he was employed in feveral Embassies, to Frederick, King of Denmark, Julius, Duke of Brunswick, William, Landgrave of Hesse, and other German Princes, to engage them in the service of the King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France; and, having discharged that commission, he was fent to King Henry III. at the time when this Prince was forced by the Duke of Guife to quit Paris.

In 1588, he was fent to the Hague, to manage the Queen's affairs in the United Provinces; where, according to an agreement between the Queen

was offered the degree of Master of Arts; but he declined it, as he did afterwards the title of Knight. In 1615, he published, in Latin, in Folio, his Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the following title: "Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernica-" rum regnante Elizabetha ad annum falutis, 1589." This Work was begun in the year 1597, at the desire of the great Lord Burleigh, who communicated to Mr. Camden some materials for this purpose. But that eminent Statesman dying soon after, and the difficulties of the Work sensibly encreasing, our Author did not prosecute it with so much ardour as before. But when the care of his Britannia was over, he began to digest his materials,

and the States, he was admitted one of the Council of State, and took his place next to Count Maurice, giving his vote in every proposition made to that affembly. In this station he behaved entirely to the fatisfaction of Queen Elizabeth; and after about five years refidence in Holland, he obtained leave to return into England, to fettle his private affairs; but was fhortly after remanded back to the Hague. At length, having finished all his negociations, he had his final revocation in 1597. After his return, finding his advancement at Court obstructed by the jealousies and intrigues of the great men, though he was fa-voured by the Earl of Eilex, he retired from the Court, and all public bufiness, and never after would accept of any new employment.

Mr. Bodley having thus quitted public affairs, formed a defign of rettoring, or rather founding, anew, the public library at Oxford. Accordingly he wrote a letter to Dr. Ravis, Dean of Christ-Church, then Vice-Chancellor, to be communicated to the University; offering therein to reflore the fabric of the library, and to fettle an annual income for the purchase of books, and the support of such Officers as might be necessary to take care of it. This letter was received with the greatest satisfaction by the University, and an answer returned, tellifying their most grateful acknowledgment and acceptance of his noble offer. Whereupon Mr. Bodley im-mediately fet about the Work, and in two years time brought it to a good degree of perfection. He furnished it with a large collection of books,

purchased in foreign countries at a great expence; and this collection in a short time became so greatly enlarged by the generous benefactions of feveral Noblemen, Bishops, and others, that neither the shelves nor the room could contain them. Whereupon Mr. Bodley offering to make a confiderable addition to the building, the motion was readily embraced, and, upon the 19th of July, 1610, the first stone of the new foundation was laid with great folemnity, the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Masters of Arts, &c. attending in their proper habits, and a speech being made upon the occa-fion. But Sir Thomas Bodley did not live to see this part of his design completed, though he left sufficient to do it with fome friends in trust; for, as appears by the copy of his will, he bestowed his whole estate (his debts, legacies, and funeral charges defrayed) to the noble purpoles of this foundation. By this means, and the help of other benefactions, in procuring which Sir Thomas was ferviceable, by his great interest with many eminent perfons, the University was enabled to add three other fides to what was already built; whereby was formed a noble quadrangle, and spacious rooms for schools of arts. By Sir Thomas's will, two hundred pounds per annum was fettled on the library for ever; out of which he appointed near forty pounds to the head librarian, ten pounds for the sub-librarian, and eight for the junior. He likewife drew up a body of excellent statutes for the government of the library. King

materials, and now published these Annals as far as he had gone ( k ). Whilst he was compiling this Work, he chiefly re-

fided at his house at Chislehurst in Kent.

This performance was extremely well received by the public. and the greatest encomiums have been passed upon it. The learned Selden fays, that, in his time, Mr. Camden's History of the reign of Elizabeth, and Lord Bacon's History of Henry the Seventh, were the only two Lives of the Kings or Queens of England, which were equal to the dignity of the subject, either in fulnels of matter, or beauty of composition. Mr. Camden's performance is undoubtedly a Work of great merit: it must, however, be acknowledged, that feveral late publications, and particularly Dr. Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, throw a great degree of additional light on this reign. And those who would acquire a thorough knowledge of the transactions of this period, must not content themselves with a perusal of Camden. It may be remarked, that no good English translation of these Annals has ever yet appeared.

Mr. Camden, not contented with having fo long laboured in the fervice of the Republic of letters, refolved also to bestow part of his estate in founding a lecture on History in the Universty of Oxford. Accordingly, by a deed executed in due form, on the 5th of March, 1621-2, he made over all his right in the manor of Bexley in Kent, with all profits, &c. arifing therefrom, to the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars, of the University of Oxford, and their successors; with this proviso, that the profits of the faid manor, which were computed to be of the yearly va-Tue of four hundred pounds, should be enjoyed by Mr. William

King James, upon his accession to Throne, had conferred the honour of Knighthood on Mr. Bodley. He cond on the 28th of January, 1612, and was buried with great folemnity at the upper end of Merton-College choir: over him is crected a monument of black and white marble, on which is placed his effigies, in a scholar's gown, furrounded with books; and at the four corners stand grammer, rhetoric, music, and arithmetic.

The BODLEIAN LIBRARY is justly effectmed one of the noblest libraries in the world. King James the First, we are told, when he came to Oxford, in the year 1605, and, among other edifices, took a view of this famous library, at his departure, in imitation of Alexander, broke out into ahis speech: " If I were not a King, " I would be an University man; and " if it were so that I must be a-pri" foner, if I might have my wish, I " would have no other prison than " that library, and be chained toge-" ther with so many good Authors." A statue was erected in this library, to the memory of Sir Thomas Bodley, by the Earl of Dorfet, Chancellor of the University. And an annual speech in praise of Sir Thomas is still made at Oxford, on the 8th of November, at which time the vilitation of the library was made .--- Vid. Bicgraph. Britan, and New and Gen, Biog. Dict. 8vo.

( k ) The continuation of these annals was finished about the year 1617; but Camden did not chuse to publish it in his life-time. It was first printed at Leyden in 1625, 8vo. at London in 1627, Folio; again at Leyden in 1639, 8vo. and fevera times fince.

Heather, his heirs and executors, for the space of ninety-nine years, from the death of the donor; during which time the faid William Heather was to pay to the professor of History in Oxford, one hundred and forty pounds per annum, by half-yearly payments; and, after the expiration of that term, the whole estate to be vested in that University. He appointed Degory Wheare (1), Master of Arts, and Fellow of Exeter-College, to be his first Professor.

Mr. Camden did not long survive the settlement of his Lectureship. On the 18th of August, 1623, as he was sitting in his chair, in a studious and thoughtful manner, he suddenly lost the use of his hards and feet, and fell down upon the floor, but without receiving any hurt, and foon recovering his strength, got up again. However, this incident was followed by a fevere fit of illness, which continued to the 9th of November, 1623, when he died at his house at Chissehurst in the county of Kent, in the feventy-third year of his age. By his will, he disposed of what little he had left after founding his History Lecture, in

(1) DEGORY WHEARE was born at Jacobstow in Cornwall, in 1573; and admitted of Broadgate Hall in the Univerfity of Oxford, at nineteen years of age. Having taken the degrees in arts, he was in 1602 elected Fellow of Exeter College. But leaving that house in 1608, he travelled into feveral foreign countries. At his return he married, and thereby loft his Fellowship, but found a kind patron in Lord Chandos. Upon the death of this Nobleman, he retired with his wife to Gloucester-Hall in Oxford, where, by the care and friendship of the Principal, he was accommodated with lodgings; and there contracted an intimacy with one Mr. Thomas Allen, by whose recommendation Camden made him the first reader of his Historical Lecture. Accordingly he read his Inauguration Lecture in the public History school, on the 6th of January, 1623. He was also soon after this preferment made Principal of his hall. Both thefe places he lived to enjoy the profits of many years before his death, which did not happen till the first of August, 1647. Anthony Wood tells us, that Mr. Wheare " was esteemed by " fome a learned and genteel man, " and by others a Calvinist." He adds, " He left behind him a widow " and children, who foon after be" came poor; and whether the fe-" males lived honeftly, 'tis not for me " to dispute it."

He published, DERATIONE ET ME-THODO LEGENDI HISTORIAS DIS-SERTATIO, Oxon. 1625. 8vo. This was an ufeful Work, and has paffed through several editions, with the addition of several Pieces on the same subject by other hands. It was translated into English by Edmund Bohun, under the following title: "The method and order of reading " both Civil and Ecclefiastical Histo-" ries, in which the most excellent " Historians are reduced into the or-" der in which they are fuccesfively " to be read, and the judgments of " learned men concerning each of "them subjoined, &c." 1698. 8vo.

Besides this Work, Mr. Wheare published, PARENTATIO HISTORI-CA: SIVE COMMEMORATIO VITA ET MORTIS V. C. GULIEL. CAM-DENI CLARENTII, FACTA OXO-NIE IN SCHOLA HISTORICA, 12 Nov. 1626. Oxon. 1628. DEDICA-TIO IMAGINIS CAMDENIANA IN SCHOLA HISTORICA, 12 Nov. 1626. Oxon. 1628 .--- EUCHARISTICARUM FASCICULUS .-- CHARISTERIA. Vid. Athen. Oxon. New and Gen. Biog.

Dict. and Biograph Britan.

charities to the poor, legacies to his relations, and some small memorials to his friends, particularly Lord Brooke, Mr. Selden, Sir Robert Cotton, and Janus Gruter. To the company of painter-stainers of London, he gave sixteen pounds to buy them a piece of plate, upon which he directed this inscription, "Gul." Camdenus Clarenceux silius Sampsonis, pictoris Londinensis dono dedit." And he also bestowed the sum of twelve pounds on the company of cordwainers or shoe-makers of London, to purchase them a piece of plate, on which the same inscription

was to be engraved.

His body was removed from Chillehurst to his house at London; and, on the 19th of the same month, was carried to Westminster-Abbey in great pomp; the whole College of Heralds attended in their proper habits, and were accompanied by great numbers of the Nobility, and persons of the first distinction. And after a funeral fermon had been preached by Dr. Sutton, he was buried in the fouth-ifle near the learned Cafaubon, and over against Chaucer. Near the place a handsome monument of white marble was erected to his memory, with a half-length representation of him, in the dress of his time, and in his hand a book with Britannia inscribed on the leaves, under which is a Latin inscription, setting forth his indefatigable industry in illustrating the British antiquities, and his candour and sincerity in private life. We are told by Dr. Smith, that a certain young gentleman, who thought the reputation of his mother hurt by fomething that Camden has delivered of her in his Writings, could find no other way to be revenged, than by breaking off a piece from the nose of his statue in Westminster-Abbey. But this monument has been lately repaired and beautified, at the expence of the University of Oxford, and iron rails set before it. And here we cannot help remarking, that it is much to be regretted, that some person is not appointed to keep these venerable monuments of antiquity in better order than they generally are. Surely there could be no impropriety in employing for this purpose, some of the money which is collected from spectators for viewing the monuments that are enclosed.

Mr. Campen was not only illustrious for his learning and his genius, but amiable for his private virtues. In his Writings he was candid and modest, in his conversation easy and innocent, and in his whole life even and exemplary. With these good qualities it is no wonder that, in that age, he had so great a number of illustrious friends in England, and in foreign countries. It has been said, that when he was young, learned men were his patrons: when he grew up, the learned were his intimates; and when he came to be old, he was a patron to the learned. So that learning was his only care, and learned men the only comfort of his life. The Work which he engaged in for the honour of his native country, gained him respect at home, and admiration abroad, so that he was looked upon as a

common

common oracle; and for a foreigner to travel into England, and return without feeing Camden, was thought a very gross omiffion. He was visited by fix German Noblemen at one time, and at their request wrote his lemma in each of their books, as a

testimony that they had feen him.

He corresponded with almost all the Literati of Europe. Several of his learned friends have already been enumerated. Mr. Thomas Savile of Oxford was one of the first of his acquaintance; whose untimely death, in the flower of his age, was a very sensible loss to Mr. Camden. But this was in some meafure repaired, by the friendship of his brother Sir Henry Savile; who was fo great an admirer of Camden's learning and virtues, that he would fain have prevailed with him to spend his latter days at his house in Eaton-College. Archbishop Usher consulted him on many occasions, and in return afforded him affistance with respect to the affairs of Ireland. The famous Peiresc had a high sense of Mr. Camden's friendship. And though our Author's acquaintance with Thuanus was late, yet when it was once begun, their friendship was very intimate, and lasted till the death of that incomparable Historian. Sir Henry Spelman calls himself his antient friend; and in his account of a fociety of Antiquarians, which was about that time fettled in London, makes Mr. Camden one of the chief ornaments.

A large collection of Camden's Latin letters, with some other small Pieces, were collected together by Dr. Smith, and have

been fince published by Mr. Hearne.

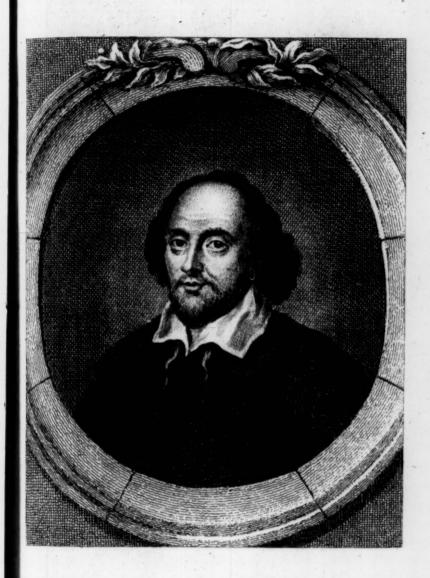


## The Life of WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

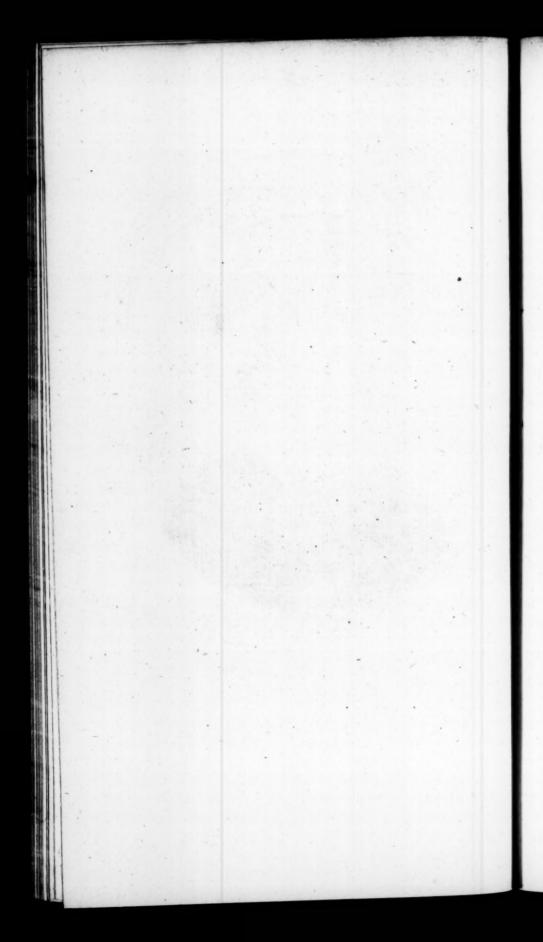
HIS illustrious and immortal Bard, the glory of his age, and of his country, was the fon of Mr. John Shakespeare, and was born at Stratford upon Avon, in the county of Warwick, in April, 1564. His family, as appears by the Register and public Writings of that town, were of good figure and fashion there, and are mentioned as gentlemen. His father, who was, as it is generally faid, a considerable dealer in wool, had so large a family, ten children in all, that though our Poet was his eldeft fon, he could not afford to give him a liberal education, but was obliged to bring him up to his own employment. He had, indeed, fent him for fome time to a free-school, where he probably acquired what Latin he was master of. But the narrowness of his circumstances, and the want of his assistance at home, forced his father to withdraw him from thence, and thereby prevented his receiving any farther advantage from scholastic instruction (a).

Upon his leaving school, he seems to have devoted himself entirely to that way of life, which his father proposed to him; and, in order to fettle in the world after a family manner, he married while he was yet very young, being little more than feventeen years of age. His wife was the daughter of one Hathaway, faid to have been a substantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of Stratford. In this kind of fettlement he continued for fome time, till an extravagance which he was guilty of, forced him to quit that part of the country, and to relinquish the way of life into which he had entered. He had fallen into ill company; and, amongst them, some that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing, engaged him with them more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Cherlecot, near Stratford. For this he was profecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely; and, in order to revenge that rigour, he made a ballad upon him. And though this (which was probably his first poetical essay) be lost, yet it is said to have been fo extremely poignant and severe, that it heightened the profecution against him to such a degree, that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire, and shelter himfelf in London (b). Thus an incident, which at first seemed a misfortune

<sup>(</sup>a) Life of Shakespeare, by Mr. Rowe, as presized to Warburton's edition, P. 46. (b) Rowe, as before, P. 47. It is said that Shakespeare afterwards showed his resentment against Sir Thomas Lucy, by ridiculing him under the well-known character of Justice Shallow.



WILLIAM SHAKE SPEARE.



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misfortune to him, and a reflection upon his character, was the means of bringing into his proper sphere, the greatest dramatic

Writer which this country has produced.

As Shakespeare, during his residence in the country, sometimes kept licentious company, we may probably suppose that his application to business was not very great, and that he was fomewhat deficient in the article of economy. However, it appears that on his arrival at London, or foon after, he was reduced to fuch extreme indigence, as to be obliged to have recourse to offices of a very mean kind for a subsistance. Thus we are told, that, as in the time of Elizabeth, when coaches were not much in use, many persons went on horseback to the play, one of Shakespeare's expedients to support himself, was to wait at the door of the play-house, and hold the horses of those that had no fervants, that they might be ready again after the performance. In this office he became, it is faid, fo conspicuous for his care and readiness, that in a short time every man, as he alighted, called for Will. Shakespeare, and scarcely any other waiter was trusted with a horse, while Will. Shakespeare could be had. This was the first dawn of better fortune. Shakespeare, finding more horses put into his hand than he could hold, hired boys to wait under his inspection, who, when Will. Shakespeare was fummoned, were immediately to present themselves, " I am "Shakespear's boy, Sir." And though Shakespeare afterwards found higher employment, it is faid, that as long as the practice of going on horseback to the play-house continued, the waiters that held the horses retained the appellation of Shakespeare's boys (c).

Shakespeare's wit, and agreeable conversation, soon recommended him to some of the players; by whose means he was introduced into the play-house, where he was at first admitted in a very low station; but his admirable wit, and the natural turn of it to the stage, soon distinguished him, if not as an extraordinary Actor, yet as an excellent Writer. His name is printed, as the custom was in those times, amongst those of the other players, before some old plays, but without any mention of the characters he used to perform: and Mr. Rowe tells us, that he could never meet with any further account of him this way, than that the top of his performance was the Ghost in his own

Hamlet.

Shakespeare having, by practice and observation, in a short time acquainted himself with the mechanical economy of the theatre, his native genius supplied the rest. But the whole view of his first attempts in dramatic-poetry being to procure a sub-sistance, he directed his endeavours solely to hit the taste and brumour that then prevailed amongst the lower fort of people,

<sup>(</sup>c) Johnson's edit. of Shakespeare. See also Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. P. 130.

of whom the audience was generally composed; and therefore his images of life were drawn from those of that rank. In this manner did Shakespeare set out, without the advantage of education, the advice or assistance of the learned, the patronage of the better fort, or any acquaintance among them. But when his performances had merited the protection of his Prince, and the encouragement of the Court had succeeded to that of the town, the Works of his riper years were manifestly raised above

the level of his former productions (x).

He was highly esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, who had several of his plays acted before her, and gave him many marks of her favour. Her Majesty was so well pleased with the admirable character of Falstaff, in the two parts of Henry the Fourth, that she commanded Shakespeare to continue it for one play more, and to shew him in love. And accordingly it is said, that it was to this command we owe "The Merry" Wives of Windsor." We are also told, that the part of Falstaff was written originally under the name of Oldcastle; but that some of that samily being then living, the Queen was pleased to command him to alter it; upon which he made use of Falstaff.

Shakespeare also received many great and uncommon marks of favour from the Earl of Southampton, the friend of the unfortunate Earl of Essex. This generous Nobleman is said to have given our Poet at one time a thousand pounds, to enable him to go through with a purchase, which he heard he had a mind to. A bounty very great, and very rare at any time; and almost equal, says Mr. Rowe, to that profuse generosity which the present age has shewn to French dancers and Italian singers.

What particular friendships Shakespeare contracted with private men, we are not informed. But it seems that every one who had a true taste of merit, and could distinguish men, had a just value and esteem for him. And the uncommon candour and benevolence of his temper, naturally inclined all the gentler part of the world to love him, as the power of his wit obliged those of the most extensive knowledge, and of the greatest skill

in polite learning, to admire him.

His acquaintance with Ben Johnson began with an act of good nature and humanity. Johnson, who was at that time altogether unknown to the world, had offered one of his dramatic Pieces to the players, in order to have it performed. But the person into whose hands it was put, after having turned it carelessly and superciliously over, was just about returning it to him with an ill-natured answer, that it would be of no service to the company; when Shakespeare happening to cast his eye upon the Piece, was so well pleased with it, that he read it through, and afterwards

afterwards recommended Johnson and his Writings to the

public (d).

In 1603, a licence was granted under the Privy Seal by King James I. to Shakespeare, together with Fletcher, Philips, Hemmings, Condel, Burbage (e), and others, authorizing them to act plays not only at their usual house, the Globe, on the Bankfide, Southwark, but in any other part of the kingdom, during

his Majesty's pleasure.

There is no certain account when Shakespeare quitted the stage. But it appears that the latter part of his life was spent in ease, retirement, and the conversation of his friends. He had the good fortune to acquire a decent competency; and he fpent fome years before his death at his native town of Stratford, where he lived in a handsome house of his own purchasing, to which he gave the name of New-Place; and he had the good fortune to fave it from the flames, in the dreadful fire that confumed the greatest part of the town, in 1614. His uncommon wit, and extreme good nature, procured him the acquaintance, and entitled him to the friendship, of all the gentlemen in the neighbourhood. And amongst them, according to a story long remembered in that part of the country, he had a particular intimacy with Mr. Combe, an old gentleman noted thereabouts for his wealth, avarice, and usury. It happened, that in a pleafant conversation among their common friends, Mr. Combe told Shakespeare in a laughing manner, that he fancied he intended to write his epitaph, if he happened to out-live him; and fince he could not know what might be faid of him when he was dead, he defired it might be done immediately. Upon which Shakespeare immediately gave him these four lines.

" Ten in the hundred lies here ingrav'd,

"Tis an hundred to ten his foul is not fav'd:

" If any man ask, Who lies in this tomb?

" Oh! oh! quoth the Devil, 'tis my John-a-Combe."

But

(d) Rowe, as before.

(e) Burbage was a player of confiderable eminence at that time. Thus the Author of the Return from Parnafus, fays, "Who is of more report "than Dick Burbage and Will. Kempe? He is not counted a gen"tleman, that knows not Dick burbage and Will. Kempe. There's not a country wench that can dance "Sellenger's Round, but can talk of Dick Burbage and Will. Kempe." Burbage was the Betterton, and Kempe the Nnokes of that age. Burbage was ke original Richard the Third, and

greatly diffinguished himself in that character. Kempe was inimitable in the part of a clown.

Hemmings and Condel, mentioned also above, were likewise two considerable actors in most of Shakespeare's, Johnson's, and Fletcher's plays; the first in tragedy, the last in comedy. But they are better known for being the first Editors of Shakespeare's Works in Folio, in the year 1623, seven years after his death.—Introduction to the Companion to the Play-house, P. 20, 21.

But the sharpness of this satire is said to have stung the old gen-

tleman fo feverely, that he never forgave it.

In the beginning of the year 1616, Shakespeare made his will, in which he left one hundred and fifty pounds to his eldeft daughter Judith, to be paid her within a year after his decease; and one hundred and fifty pounds more, to be paid her in three years after the date of his will. But he appointed his youngest daughter, Susannah, jointly with her husband, his executors: and bequeathed to them the best part of his estate, which they came into the possession of not long after. He also left legacies to his fifter Joan, and her three fons; ten pounds to the poor of Stratford; his sword to Mr. Thomas Combe; and rings to several persons, particularly his old affociates in the play-house, Hemmings, Burbage, and Condel. He died on the 23d of April following, being the fifty-third year of his age, and was interred on the north-fide of the chancel, in the great church of Stratford, where a handsome monument was erected for him, inscribed with the following Latin distich:

" Judicio Pylium, genio Socratem, arte Maronem, " Terra tegit, populus mœret, Olympus habet."

And on the grave-stone, in the pavement, underneath, are thefe lines :

" Good friend, for Jesus's sake, forbear

". To dig the dust inclosed here.

" Blest be the man that spares these stones, " And curst be he that moves my bones (f)."

Shakespeare's wife survived him seven years, she dying in 1623, at the age of fixty-feven. He had three daughters by her, of which two lived to be married. Judith, the elder, to

(b) In the year 1740, another very noble monument was erected to his memory, at the public expence, in Westminster-Abbey; an ample con-tribution being made for this purpose, upon exhibiting his tragedy of Julius Cæfar, at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-lane, on the 28th of April, 1738. The truffees for the public on this oc-casion, were the Earl of Burlington, Dr. Richard Mead, Mr. Pope, and Charles Fleetwood, Esq. Patentee of the Play-house. The monument was defigned by Kent, and executed by Scheemakers, and is extremely ele-gant. Shakespeare is represented, in the dress of his time, in white marble, at full length, leaning a little on his right arm, which is supported by a pedeftal; at the bottom of which

hangs a fcroll, inscribed with the following lines from THE TEMPEST.

" The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,

" The folemn temples, the great globe himfelf,

" Yea, all which it inhabit shall diffolve,

" And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,

" Leave not a wreck behind."

And above his head behind there is fixed a plate of curious granate marble, on which is the following incription, in raised letters of brass, richly gilt.

"Gulielmo Shakespeare, anno post mortem exxiv. amor publicus pofuit."

one Mr. Thomas Quincy, by whom she had three sons, who all died without children; and Susannah, who was his favourite, to Dr. John Hall, a reputable physician. She left one child only, a daughter, who was twice married, but died without issue.

It is to be regretted, that a more copious account of the Life of this great Poet is not handed down to us. A few particulars concerning him, have been published some time since by the ingenious Mr. Thomas Warton, from one of Aubrey's manuscripts, (in Mus. Ashmol. Oxon.) which contains an account of English Writers, particularly our Poets, with many of whom Aubrey was intimately acquainted. Some of the particulars here related of Shakespeare, do not, indeed, agree with the accounts of him which have been generally given, and may possibly be ill-sounded. However, our readers will not be displeased to see Aubrey's account of our Poet, which is as follows.

" William Shakespeare's father was a butcher; and I have " been told heretofore, by some of the neighbours, that when " he was a boy, he exercised his father's trade; but when he " killed a calf, he would do it in a HIGH STYLE, and make a " fpeech. This William being inclined naturally to poetry and " acting, came to London, I guess about eighteen, and was an " actor at one of the play-houses, and did act exceedingly " well .- He began early to make effays in dramatic poetry, " which at that time was very low; and his plays took well.
" He was an handsome well-shaped man, very good company, " and of a very ready, and pleasant, and smooth wit. The hu-" mour of the Constable, in " A Midsummer-night's Dream," " he happened to take at Crendon in Bucks, (I think it was " Midfummer-night that he happened to be there), which is the " road from London to Stratford: and there was living that " Constable about 1642, when I first came to Oxon. Mr. Jos. " Howe is of the parish, and knew him. Ben Johnson, and " he, did gather humours of men wherever they came. One " time as he was at the tavern at Stratford, he made this extem-" porary epitaph,

## " Ten in the Hundred, &c. &c.

"He was wont to go to his native country once a year. I think I have been told that he left near 300l. to a fifter.--He understood Latin pretty well; for he had been in his younger years a school-master in the country (g)."

The highest commendations have been given to this inimitable Bard by the ablest pens. "If ever any Author (says Mr. Pope)

<sup>(</sup>g) Life of Dr. Ralph Bathurst, by Thomas Warton, M. A. Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, Edic. 1761. P. 154.

Pope) deserved the name of an Original, it was Shakespeare. Homer himself drew not his art so immediately from the sountains of nature, it proceeded through Ægyptian strainers and channels, and came to him not without some tincture of the learning, or some cast of the models, of those before him. The poetry of Shakespeare was inspiration indeed: he is not so much an imitator, as an instrument, of nature; and 'tis not so just to say that he speaks from her, as that she speaks through him.

"His characters are so much nature itself, that 'tis a sort of injury to call them by so distant a name as copies of her. Those of other Poets have a constant resemblance, which shews that they received them from one another, and were but multipliers of the same image: each picture, like a mock-rainbow, is but the reslexion of a reslexion. But every single character in Shake-speare is as much an individual, as those in life itself; it is as impossible to find any two alike; and such as from their relation or affinity in any respect appear most to be twins, will upon

comparison be found remarkably distinct."

"His fentiments are not only in general the most pertinent and judicious upon every subject; but, by a talent very peculiar, something between penetration and felicity, he hits upon that particular point on which the bent of each argument turns, or the force of each motive depends. This is perfectly amazing, from a man of no education or experience in those great and public scenes of life, which are usually the subject of his thoughts: so that he seems to have known the world by intuition, to have looked through human nature at one glance, and to be the only Author that gives ground for a very new opinion, That the Philosopher, and even the man of the world, may be

born, as well as the Poet."

But Mr. Pope was not fo ftruck with Shakespeare's excellencies, as to be insensible to his defects; but observes, that as he has certainly written better, fo he has perhaps written worfe, than any other. He endeavours to account for these defects from the false taste in dramatic composition which prevailed in that age, from the fituation he was in as a player, from the manner in which his plays were published, and from other causes. " I will conclude (fays he) by faying of Shakespeare, that with all his faults, and with all the irregularity of his Drama, one may look upon his Works, in comparison of those that are more finished and regular, as upon an antient majestic piece of Gothic architecture, compared with a neat modern building. latter is more elegant and glaring, but the former is more strong and more folemn. It must be allowed, that in one of these there are materials enough to make many of the other. It has much the greater variety, and much the nobler apartments; though we are often conducted to them by dark, odd, and uncouth passages. Nor does the whole fail to strike us with greater reverence,

reverence, though many of the parts are childish, ill-placed,

and unequal to its grandeur (b)."

" Shakespeare (says Dr. Johnson) is above all Writers, at least above all modern Writers; the Poet of nature; the Poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirrour of manners and of life. His characters are not modified by the customs of particular places, unpractifed by the rest of the world; by the peculiarities of studies or professions, which can operate but upon fmall numbers; or by the accidents of transient fashions, or temporary opinions. They are the genuine progeny of common humanity, fuch as the world will always supply, and observation will always find. His persons act and speak by the influence of those general passions and principles by which all minds are agitated, and the whole system of life is continued in mo-In the Writings of other Poets a character is too often an individual; in those of Shakespeare it is commonly a species. It is from this wide extension of design, that so much instruction is derived. It is this which fills the plays of Shakespeare with practical axioms and domestic wisdom. It was said of Euripides, that every verse was a precept; and it may be said of Shakespeare, that from his Works may be collected a system of civil and ceconomical prudence.

" It will not eafily be imagined how much Shakespeare excells in accommodating his fentiments to real life, but by comparing him with other Authors. It was observed of the antient schools of declamation, that the more diligently they were frequented, the more was the student disqualified for the world, because he found nothing there which he should ever meet in any other place. The fame remark may be applied to every stage but that of Shakespeare. The theatre, when it is under any other direction, is peopled by fuch characters as were never feen, converfing in a language which was never heard, upon topics which will never arise in the commerce of mankind. But the dialogue of this Author is often fo evidently determined by the incident which produces it, and is purfued with fo much eafe and fimpli-Vol. IV. 3.

(b) Mr. Hume, who feems to take a particular pleasure in lessening the characters of the most celebrated Eng-"that great irregularities, and even "the finer arts. And there may fometimes absurdities, should so "even remain a suspicion, that we " frequently disfigure the animated " over-rate, if possible, the greatness " and passionate scenes intermixt with " them; and, at the fame time, we " perhaps admire the more those beau-" ties, on account of their being fur-" rounded with fuch deformities." He adds, " A great and fertile genius " he certainly possessed, and one en-

" riched equally with a tragic and " comic vein; but, he ought to be " cited as a proof, how dangerous it is to rely on these advantages alone lish Writers, fays, that in Shake- "is to rely on these advantages alone speare's compositions, "we regret "for the attaining an excellence in " of his genius; in the fame manner " as bodies appear more gigantic, on " account of their being dispropor-" tioned and milhapen." ---- Hist. of Great Britain, Vol. I. P. 137, 138. Edit. 4to. Edinburgh, 1754.

city, that it scems scarcely to plead the merit of siction, but to have been gleaned by diligent selection out of common conver-

fation, and common occurrences.

"Upon every other stage, the universal Agent is love, by whose power all good and evil is distributed, and every action quickened or retarded. To bring a lover, a Lady, and a rival into the fable; to entangle them in contradictory obligations, perplex them with oppositions of interest, and harrass them with violence of desires, inconsistent with each other; to make them meet in rapture, and part in agony; to fill their mouths with hyperbolical joy and outrageous forrow; to diffress them as nothing human ever was distressed; to deliver them as nothing human ever was delivered, is the business of a modern dramatist. For this probability is violated, life is misrepresented, and language is depraved. But love is only one of many passions, and as it has no great influence upon the fum of life, it has little operation in the dramas of a Poet, who caught his ideas from the living world, and exhibited only what he faw before him. He knew, that any other passion, as it was regular or ex-

orbitant, was a cause of happiness or calamity (i)."

"Other Dramatists can only gain attention by hyperbolical or aggravated characters, by fabulous and unexampled excellence or depravity, as the Writers of barbarous romances invigorated the reader by a giant and a dwarf; and he that should form his expectations of human affairs from the play, or from the tale, would be equally deceived. Shakespeare has no heroes; his scenes are occupied only by men, who act and speak as the reader thinks that he should himself have spoken or acted on the same occasion: even where the agency is supernatural, the dialogue is level with life. Other Writers disguise the most natural passions and most frequent incidents; so that he who contemplates them in the book, will not know them in the world. Shakespeare approximates the remote, and familiarizes the wonderful; the event which he represents will not happen, but if it were possible, its effects would be probably such as he has assigned; and it may be said, that he has not only shewn human nature as it acts in real exigences, but as it would be found in trials, to which it cannot be exposed.

"This therefore is the praise of Shakespeare, that his Drama is the mirrour of life; that he who has mazed his imagination, in following the phantoms which other Writers raise up before him, may here be cured of his delirious extasses, by reading human sentiments in human language; by scenes from which a hermit may estimate the transactions of the world, and a con-

seffor predict the progress of the paffions.

"His adherence to general nature has exposed him to the censure of critics, who form their judgments upon narrower principles.

<sup>(</sup> i ) Preface to Shakespeare, Edit. 1765. P. 8, 9, 10.

principles. Dennis and Rhymer think his Romans not fufficiently Roman; and Voltaire censures his Kings as not completely Royal. Dennis is offended, that Menenius, a Senator of Rome, should play the buffoon; and Voltaire perhaps thinks decency violated, when the Danish usurper is represented as a drunkard. But Shakespeare always makes nature predominate over accident; and if he preserves the essential character, is not very careful of distinctions superinduced and adventitious. flory requires Romans or Kings, but he thinks only on men. He knew that Rome, like every other city, had men of all difpositions; and wanting a buffoon, he went into the Senatehouse for that which the Senate-house would certainly have offered him. He was inclined to shew an usurper and a murderer not only odious, but despicable; he therefore added drunkenness to his other qualities, knowing that Kings love wine like other men, and that wine exerts its natural power upon Kings. These are the petty cavils of petty minds; a Poet overlooks the casual distinction of country and condition, as a painter, fatisfied with the figure, neglects the drapery ( k).

"The censure which he has incurred by mixing comic and tragic scenes, as it extends to all his Works, deserves more consideration. Let the fact be first stated, and then examined. Shakespeare's plays are not in the rigorous or critical sense either tragedies or comedies, but compositions of a distinct kind; exhibiting the real state of sublunary nature, which partakes of good and evil, joy and forrow, mingled with endless variety of proportion and innumerable modes of combination; and expressing the course of the world, in which the loss of one is the gain of another; in which, at the same time, the reveller is hasting to his wine, and the mourner burying his friend; in which the malignity of one is sometimes deseated by the frolic of another; and many mischiefs and many benefits are done

and hindered without defign.

"Out of this chaos of mingled purposes and casualties the antient Poets, according to the laws which custom had prefcribed, selected some the crimes of men, and some their absurdities; some the momentary vicisfitudes of life, and some the lighter occurrences; some the terrors of distress, and some the gaieties of prosperity. Thus rose the two modes of imitation, known by the names of Tragedy and Comedy, compositions intended to promote different ends by contrary means, and considered as so little allied, that I do not recollect among the Greeks or Romans a single Writer who attempted both.

"Shakespeare has united the powers of laughter and forrow not only in one mind, but in one composition. Almost all his plays are divided between serious and ludicrous characters, and,

P 2

in the fuccessive evolutions of the design, sometimes produce feriousness and forrow, and sometimes levity and laughter.

"That this is a practice contrary to the rules of criticism, will be readily allowed; but there is always an appeal open from criticism to nature. The end of writing is to instruct; the end of poetry is to instruct by pleasing. That the mingled drama may convey all the instruction of tragedy or comedy, cannot be denied, because it includes both in its alterations of exhibition, and approaches nearer than either to the appearance of life, by shewing how great machinations and slender designs may promote or obviate one another, and the high and the low co-operate in the general system by unavoidable concatenation.

"It is objected, that by this change of scenes the passions are interrupted in their progression; and that the principal event, being not advanced by a due gradation of preparatory incidents, wants at last the power to move, which constitutes the perfection of dramatic poetry. This reasoning is so specious, that it is received as true even by those who in daily experience feel it to be false. The interchanges of mingled scenes seldom fail to produce the intended vicissitudes of passion. Fiction cannot move so much, but that the attention may be easily transferred; and though it must be allowed that pleasing melancholy be sometimes interrupted by unwelcome levity, yet let it be considered likewise, that melancholy is often not pleasing, and that the disturbance of one man may be the relief of another; that different auditors have different habitudes; and that, upon the whole, all pleasure consists in variety.

"The players, who in their edition divided our Author's Works into Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, feem not to have distinguished the three kinds by any very exact or definite

ideas.

"An action which ended happily to the principal persons, however serious or distressful through its intermediate incidents, in their opinion constituted a Comedy. This idea of a Comedy continued long amongst us, and plays were written, which, by changing the catastrophe, were Tragedies to-day, and Comedies to-morrow.

"Tragedy was not in those times a poem of more general dignity or elevation than Comedy; it required only a calamitous conclusion, with which the common criticism of that age was satisfied, whatever lighter pleasure it afforded in its pro-

gress.

"History was a series of actions, with no other than chronological succession, independent of each other, and without any tendency to introduce or regulate the conclusion. It is not always very nicely distinguished from Tragedy. There is not much nearer approach to unity of action the Tragedy of Anthony and Cleopatra, than in the History of sichard the Second.

But a History might be continued through many plays; as it had no plan, it had no limits.

"Through all these denominations of the Drama, Shakespeare's mode of composition is the same; an interchange of
seriousness and merriment, by which the mind is softened at one
time, and exhilarated at another. But whatever be his purpose, whether to gladden or depress, or to conduct the story,
without vehemence or emotion, through tracts of easy and samiliar dialogue, he never fails to attain his purpose; as he commands us, we laugh or mourn, or sit silent with quiet expectation, in tranquillity without indifference.

"When Shakespeare's plan is understood, most of the criticisms of Rhymer and Voltaire vanish away. The play of Hamlet is opened, without impropriety, by two centinels; Iago bellows at Brabantio's window, without injury to the scheme of the play, though in terms which a modern audience would not easily endure; the character of Polonius is seasonable and useful; and the grave-diggers themselves may be heard with ap-

plause ( k)."

Dr. Johnson has also some curious observations respecting Shakespeare's disregard of the unities of time and place, delivered with his usual energy and eloquence. This learned Writer has endeavoured to shew, that these unities are not essential to a just Drama, and that though they may sometimes conduce to pleasure, they are always to be facrificed to the nobler beauties of variety and instruction. The limits of our Work will not permit us to infert the Doctor's remarks upon this subject : we shall, therefore, only transcribe his following concluding paffage. " As nothing is effential to the fable, but unity of action, and as the unities of time and place arise evidently from false assumptions, and, by circumscribing the extent of the Drama, lessen its variety, I cannot think it much to be lamented that they were not known by Shakespeare, or not observed: nor, if such another Poet could arise, should I very vehemently reproach him, that his first act passed at Venice, and his next in Cyprus. Such violations of rules merely positive, become the comprehensive genius of Shakespeare, and such censures are fuitable to the minute and flender criticism of Voltaire (1)."

Much has been said by different Writers upon the subject of Shakespeare's learning. Dr. Johnson says, "It is most likely that he had learned Latin sufficiently to make him acquainted with construction, but that he never advanced to an easy perusal of the Roman Authors. Concerning his skill in modern languages, I can find no sufficient ground of determination; but as no imitations of French or Italian Authors have been discovered, though the Italian poetry was then high in esteem, I am inclined to believe at he read little more than English, and

chof

chose for his fables only such tales as he found translated. There is however proof enough that he was a very diligent reader, nor was our language then so indigent of books, but that he might very liberally indulge his curiosity without excursion into foreign literature. Many of the Roman Authors were translated, and some of the Greek; the Reformation had filled the kingdom with theological learning; most of the topics of human disquisition had sound English Writers; and poetry had been cultivated, not only with diligence, but success. This was a stock of knowledge sufficient for a mind so capable of appropriating

and improving it (m)."

As to Shakespeare's want of learning, says Mr. Pope, it may be necessary to observe, that, " There is certainly a vast difference between LEARNING and LANGUAGES. How far he was ignorant of the latter, I cannot determine; but 'tis plain he had much Reading at least, if they will not call it Learning. Nor is it any great matter, if a man has knowledge, whether he has it from one language or from another. Nothing is more evident, than that he has a taste of natural philosophy, mechanics, antient and modern History, poetical learning, and mythology. We find him very knowing in the customs, rites, and manners of antiquity. In Coriolanus and Julius Cæfar, not only the spirit, but manners, of the Romans, are exactly drawn; and still a nicer distinction is shown, between the manners of the Romans in the time of the former, and of the latter. His reading in the antient Historians is no less conspicuous, in many references to particular passages: and the speeches copied from Plutarch in Coriolanus, may, I think, as well be made an instance of his learning, as those copied from Cicero in Catiline, of Ben Johnson's. The manners of other nations in general, the Ægyptians, Venetians, French, &c. are drawn with equal propriety. Whatever object of nature, or branch of science, he either speaks of or describes, it is always with competent, if not extensive knowledge: his descriptions are still exact; all his metaphors appropriated, and remarkably drawn from the true nature and inherent qualities of each subject."

But an ingenious Writer, Mr. Richard Farmer, Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, has lately published a tract, entitled, "An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare;" in which he accounts, in a very satisfactory manner, for the frequent allusions to the facts and fables of antiquity, which we meet with in the Writings of Shakespeare, without leaving any grounds for the supposition of his having read the Greek and Roman Writers in their original languages. He particularly specifies the old English translations of various classical Authors, which were then extant, and with which Shakespeare might have been, and more than probably was, conversant: as this sensible Writer

thews

shews, in several remarkable instances, selected from those very passages which have been most especially brought in proof of his acquaintance with the Historians and Poets of antiquity. In short, Mr. Farmer concludes, that the studies of Shakespeare were certainly confined to nature and his own language.---The

plays written by Shakespeare are the following:

I. THE TEMPEST. A Comedy; first acted in Black-Fryars. This is an admirable play; and is one instance, among many, as an ingenious Writer expresses it, of Shakespeare's creative faculty, who fometimes feems wantonly, as if tired with rummaging in nature's store-house for his characters, to prefer the forming of fuch as the never dreamt of, in order to thew his own power of making them act and speak just as she would have done, had she thought proper to have given them existence. One of these characters is CALIBAN in this play, than which nothing can be more outre, and which yet is very naturally supported. His ARIEL is another of these instances, and is a most striking contrast to the heavy earth-born clod just mentioned: all his descriptions, and indeed every word he speaks, appearing to partake of the properties of that light and invisible element which he is the inhabitant of. Nor is his MIRANDA less deferving of notice, her simplicity and natural sensations under the circumstances he has placed her in, being such as no one since, though many Writers have attempted an imitation of the character, has ever been able to arrive at. The scene is at first on board a veffel in a ftorm at fea, and through all the rest of the play a defart island (n).

II. THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA. This is a very fine play; the plot fimple and natural; the characters perfectly marked; and the language poetical and affecting. The scene

is sometimes in Verona, and sometimes in Milan.

III. THE FIRST AND SECOND PARTS OF KING HENRY IV. Both these plays are perfect master-pieces in this kind of writing, the tragic and comic parts of them being so finely connected with each other, as to render the whole regular and complete; and yet contrasted with such boldness and propriety, as to make the various beauties of each the more perfectly conspicuous. The character of Falstaff is one of the greatest originals drawn by the pen, even of this inimitable master; and in the character of the Prince of Wales, the Hero and the Libertine are so finely blended, that the spectator cannot avoid perceiving, even in the greatest levity of the tavern rake, the most lively traces of the asterwards illustrious character of the conqueror of France.

IV. THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR. A Comedy. This is Shakespeare's best performance in the comic way: and there is perhaps

perhaps no Piece in our own, or in any other language, in which fo extensive a groupe of persect and highly finished characters are

fet forth in one view.

V. MEASURE FOR MEASURE. A Comedy. This is a most admirable play, as well with respect to character and conduct, as to the language and sentiment. The plot is built on a novel of Cynthio Giraldi. The scene lies at Vienna.

VI. THE COMEDY OF ERRORS. This play is founded upon the Mænechimi of Plautus, but greatly excels the original.

VII. MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING. A Comedy. This play is a very pleasing one, and has many beauties in it. The scene lies in Messina, and part of the plot is borrowed from the sisth book of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso.

VIII. LOVE'S LABOUR LOST. A Comedy. Dr. Johnson says, that in "this play, which all the editors have concurred to cenfure, and some have rejected as unworthy of our Poet, it must be confessed there are many passages mean, childish, and vulgar; and some which ought not to have been exhibited, as we are told they were, to a maiden Queen. But there are scattered, through the whole, many sparks of genius; nor is there any play that has more evident marks of the hand of Shakespeare."

IX. THE MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM. This play is one of the wild and irregular overflowings of our great Poet's creative imagination. It is now never acted under its original form, yet it contains a vast variety of beauties, and the different parts of it have been made use of separately in the formation of more Pieces than one. The scene is in Athens, and a wood not far.

from it.

X. THE MERCHANT OF VENICE. This story of the play, which has great merit, is said to be sounded on a real sact which happened in some part of Italy; but with this difference indeed, that the intended cruelty was really on the side of the Christian, the Jew being the unhappy delinquent who sell beneath his rigid and barbarous resentment. Popular prejudice, however, vindicates our Poet in the alteration he has made; and the delightful manner in which he has availed himself of the general character of the Jews, with the very quintessence of which he has enriched his Shylock, makes more than amends for his deviation from a matter of sact, which he was not obliged to adhere to. The scene lies partly at Venice, and partly at Belmont, the seat of Portia on the continent.

XI. As YOU LIKE IT. A Comedy. Dr. Johnson says, that "of this play the fable is wild and pleasing.---The comic dialogue is very sprightly, with less mixture of low bussionry than in some other plays; and the graver part is elegant and harmonious." The scene lies partly at the Court of one of the provincial Dukes of France, and partly in the forest of Arden.

XII. THE TAMING OF THE SHREW. A Comedy. This play contains a very humorous representation of a woman of an in-

folent, passionate, and siery temper and behaviour, being brought to the utmost tractableness, submission, and obedience. "Of this play, says Dr. Johnson, the two plots are so well united, that they can hardly be called two, without injury to the art with which they are interwoven. The attention is entertained with all the variety of a double plot, yet is not distracted by unconnected incidents. The part between Catherine and Petruchio is eminently sprightly and diverting. At the marriage of Bianca, the arrival of the real father, perhaps, produces more perplexity than pleasure. The whole play is very popular and diverting."

XII. ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL. Dr. Johnson observes, that this play has many delightful scenes, though not sufficiently probable, and some happy characters, though not new, nor produced by any deep knowledge of human nature. Parolles is a boaster and a coward, such as has always been the sport of the stage, but perhaps never raised more laughter or contempt, than in the hands of Shakespeare. The story is taken from one of

the novels of Boccace.

XIV. THE TWELFTH NIGHT, OR WHAT YOU WILL. This play, fays Dr. Johnson, is in the graver part elegant and easy, and in some of the lighter scenes exquisitely humorous. The scene lies in a city on the coast of Illyria.

XV. THE WINTER'S TALE. This is one of the most irregular of our Poet's performances: it contains, however, many very striking beauties. The plot of the whole is borrowed from Ro-

bert Green's novel of Dorastus and Faunia.

XVI. THE LIFE AND DEATH OF KING JOHN. "The Tragedy of King John, fays Dr. Johnson, though not written with the utmost power of Shakespeare, is varied with a very pleasing interchange of incidents and characters. The Lady's grief is very affecting, and the character of the Bastard contains that mixture of greatness and levity, which this Author delighted to exhibit."

XVII. THE LIFE AND DEATH OF KING RICHARD THE SE-COND. This historical play does not comprehend in it all the events which might be expected from its title. Little more is comprized in it, than the two last years of this Prince. The action of the Drama begins with Bolingbroke's accusing the Duke of Norfolk of high treason, which happened in the year 1398; and it closes with the murder of King Richard at Pomfret castle, towards the end of the year 1400, or the beginning of the following.

XVIII. THE LIFE OF KING HENRY. V. This play, Dr. Johnson observes, has many scenes of high dignity, and many of easy merriment. The character of the King is well supported, except in his courtship, where he has neither the vivacity of Hal, nor the grandeur of Henry. The humour of Pistol is very happily continued; his character has perhaps been the model Vol. IV. 3.

of all the bullies that have yet appeared on the English stage. The fcene in the beginning lies in England, and afterwards

wholly in France.

XIX. THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI. The historical transactions contained in this play, take in the compass of above thirty years.

XX. THE SECOND PART OF KING HENRY VI.

XXI. THE THIRD PART OF KING HENRY VI. The fecond and third parts of King Henry VI. contain that troublesome period of this Prince's reign, which took in the contention be-tween the two Houses of York and Lancaster. Some of the Commentators have suspected, that the three parts of Henry VI. were not written by Shakespeare; but their suspicions on this head appear to be entirely destitute of any solid foundation.

XXII. THE LIFE AND DEATH OF KING RICHARD III. This Tragedy, though it is called the life and death of this Prince, comprizes, at most, but the last eight years of his time. For it opens with George Duke of Clarence being committed to the Tower, which happened in the boginning of the year 1477; and closes with the death of Richard at Bosworth-field, which battle

's fought on the 22d of August, in the year 1485.

XIII. THE LIFE OF KING HENRY VIII. This is the closing Piece of the whole feries of our Poet's historical Dramas. It contains many beauties, the character of Cardinal Wolfey in particular being finely supported; and the meek forrows and virtuous distress of Catherine have furnished some very pathetic

XXIV. TRCILUS AND CRESSIDA. This is perhaps the most irregular of all Shakespeare's plays, being not even divided into acts; but it contains a great variety of beauties. The characters of the feveral Greeks and Trojans are finely drawn, and accurately distinguished; and the heroism of the greatest part of them finely contrasted by the brutishness of Thersites, and the contemptible levity of Pandarus. The plot is taken from Chaucer's poem of Troilus and Cressida, which was itself only a translation of a Latin poem, written by one Lollius, a Lombard. The scene lies in Troy, and the Grecian camp, alter-

nately.

XXV. Coriolanus. A Tragedy. The plot of this play is chiefly taken from Plutarch's Life of Coriolanus. The scene lies partly in Rome, and partly in the territories of the Volscians. Dr. Johnson observes, that the Tragedy of Coriolanus is one of the most amusing of our Author's performances. The old man's merriment in Menenius; the lofty Lady's dignity in Volumnia; the bridal modesty in Virgilia; the patrican and military haughtiness in Coriolanus; the Plebeian malignity, and Tribunitian infolence in Brutus and Sicinius, make a very picafing and interesting variety; and the various revolutions of the Hero's fortune, fill the mind with anxious curiofity.

XXVI. ROMES

XXVI. ROMEO AND JULIET. The fable of this play is built on a real tragedy that happened about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The story, with all its circumstances, is related by Girolame Corte, in his History of Verona. And Breval, in his account of Verona, introducing the story of Romeo and Juliet, has the following remark. "Shakespeare, as I have found upon a strict search into the Histories of Verona, has varied very little either in his names, characters, or other circumstances, from truth, and matter of sact. He observed this rule indeed in most of his Tragedies; which are so much the more moving, as they are not only grounded upon nature, and History, but likewise as he keeps closer to both than any dramatic Writer we ever had besides himself." Romeo and Juliet is a very affecting play. A few years ago it was acted sourteen nights together at both houses at the same time.

XXVII. TIMON OF ATHENS. The plot of this Tragedy is taken from the dialogues of Lucian. Dr Johnson observes, that the play of Timon is a domestic Tragedy, and therefore strongly fastens on the attention of the reader. In the plan there is not much art, but the incidents are natural, and the characters various and exact. The catastrophe affords a very powerful warning against that oftentatious liberality, which scatters bounty, but confers no benefits, and buys flattery, but

not friendship.

XXVIII. JULIUS CESAR. There are innumerable beauties in this Tragedy; in particular, the speeches of Brutus and Anthony over Cæsar's body, are perhaps as fine pieces of oratory as any in the English language; nor can there be a finer scene of resentment and reconciliation between two friends, than that of

Brutus and Cassius in the fourth act.

XXIX. THE TRAGEDY OF MACBETH. This play is extremely irregular, every one of the rules of the Drama being entirely and repeatedly broken in upon. But notwithstanding all its irregularities, it is a most admirable performance. The plot is founded on the Scottish History, and may be traced in the Writings of Hector Boethius, Buchanan, &c. This play (says Dr. Johnson) is deservedly celebrated for the propriety of its sictions, and the solemnity, grandeur, and variety of its action; but it has no nice discriminations of character, the events are too great to admit the influence of particular dispositions, and the course of the action necessarily determines the conduct of the agents. The danger of ambition is well described; and the passions are directed to their true end. Lady Macbeth is merely detested; and though the courage of Macbeth preserves some esteem, yet every reader rejoices at his fall.

XXX. Hamlet, PRINCE OF DENMARK. This inimitable Tragedy has, from its first appearance to the present time, ever been received with the most universal and deserved admiration

and applause.

XXXI. THE LIFE AND DEATH OF KING LEAR. The flory of this play, except the episode of Edmund, is taken originally from Geoffrey of Monmouth; but perhaps immediately from an old historical ballad, of which the greater part is inferted in the fixth Volume of Dr. Johnson's Edition. This learned Writer observes, that the Tragedy of Lear is deservedly celebrated among the Dramas of Shakespeare. There is, says he, perhaps no play which keeps the attention fo strongly fixed; which fo much agitates our passions, and interests our curiosity. I he artful involutions of diftinct interests, the striking opposition of contrary characters, the fudden changes of fortune, and the quick succession of events, fill the mind with a perpetual tumult of indignation, pity, and hope. There is no scene which does not contribute to the aggravation of the diffress or conduct of the action, and scarce a line which does not conduce to the progress of the scene. So powerful is the current of the Poet's imagination, that the mind, which once ventures within it, is hurried irrefiltibly along.

XXXII. OTHELLO, THE MOOR OF VENICE. A Tragedy. This is one of Shakespeare's most admired performances, though it has been much censured by some critics. The jealously of the Moor is most inimitably wrought up by degrees in an open and susceptible heart, influenced by the machinations of a designing and plausible villain; and his character is throughout the whole play closely kept up to the description given of it by himfelf, in his charge to Casho and the rest in the last scene, as to the report they should make of him to the senate. The story is borrowed from Cynthio's Novels. The scene, during the first act, is laid in Venice; but changes after that for the whole re-

mainder of the play to the island of Cyprus.

XXXIII. ANTHONY AND CLEOPATRA. 'The scene of this play is dispersed through many parts of the Roman Empire, and the story taken from Plutarch's life of Anthony, &c. Dr. Johnson observes, that this plays keeps curiosity always busy, and the passions always interested. The continual hurry of the action, the variety of incidents, and the quick succession of one personage to another, call the mind forward without intermission from the first act to the last.

XXXIV. CYMBELINE. A Tragedy. The plot of this play is partly taken from the Decameron of Boccace, and partly from the ancient traditions of the British History. Dr. Johnson observes, that this play has many just sentiments, some natural dialogues, and some pleasing scenes, but they are obtained at the

expence of much incongruity.

The following plays are also attributed to Shakespeare:

TITUS ANDRONICUS. A Tragedy. This is admitted into the feveral editions of our Poet's works, but it is doubtful whether it be his.

PERICLES, PRINCE OF TYRE. A Tragedy.

THE HISTORY OF SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE, THE GOOD LORD

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THOMAS LORD CROMWELL.
THE LONDON PRODIGAL. A Comedy.
THE PURITAN, OR THE WIDOW OF WATLING-STREET. A Comedy.

A YORKSHIRE TRAGEDY.

THE TRAGEDY OF LOCRINE, THE ELDEST SON OF KING BRUTUS.

The feven last plays have been omitted, as spurious, in the latter editions of Shakespeare's Works. And, indeed, though it is probable from some beautiful passages in them, that Shakespeare had some hand in them; yet they are upon the whole too indifferent, to be supposed the genuine and intire work of this inimitable Bard.

It does not appear that more than eleven of Shakespeare's plays were printed in his life-time; and these not revised by himself, or published under his own care: for he seems to have been very regardless of his suture same. "More than has been suffered by any other writer fince the use of types, says Dr. Johnson, has been fuffered by Shakespeare, through his own negligence of fame, or perhaps by that superiority of mind, which despised its own performances, when it compared them with its powers, and judged those works unworthy to be preserved, which the critics of following ages were to contend for the fame of restoring and explaining." The solio edition, in which all the plays we now receive as his were first collected, was published by the two players, Hemmings and Condel, in 1623, seven years after his decease. In 1714, an edition was published in 8vo. by Mr. Nicholas Rowe. But the plays being in the fame incorrect condition as at first, Mr. Pope was prevailed upon to attempt reducing them into a better condition; and accordingly he printed a new edition of them in 1721, in 4to. But Mr. Pope obtained little reputation as a commentator on Shakespeare. In 1733, another edition was published by Mr. Theobald, in 8vo. which was well received by the public; and which was re-printed in ten Volumes, 12mo. in 1757, and again very lately. In 1744, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart. published at Oxford a pompous edition, with emendations, in fix Volumes, 4to. In 1747, Mr. Warburton, now Lord Bishop of Gloucester, published another edition in 8 Vols. 8vo. In 1765, a valuable edition was published by Dr. Samuel Johnson, in 8 Vols. 8vo. And another edition has been published in the present year, by Edward Capell, Esq; in ten Volumes, small 8vo. very elegantly printed.

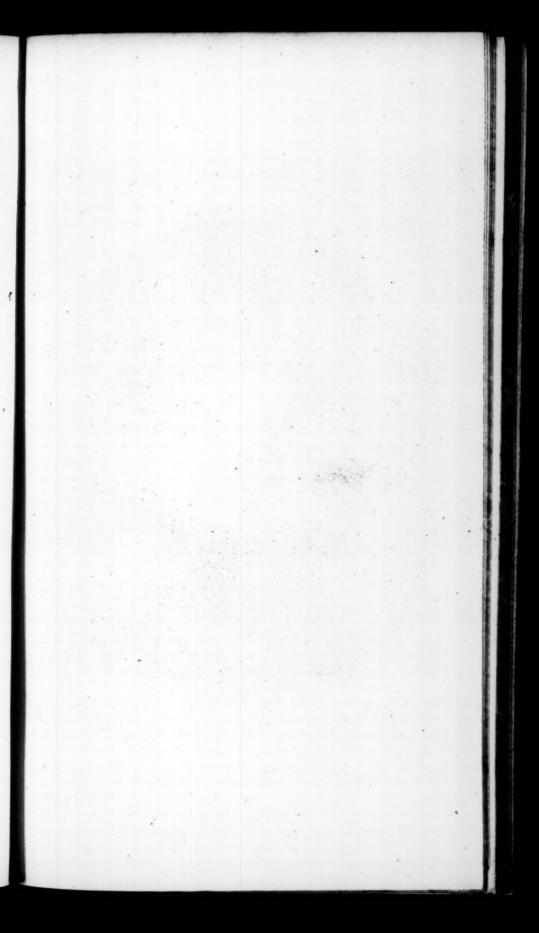
Besides his dramatic performances, Shakespeare also wrote several poems, which have been collected together, and published in one Volume, 8yo. Among these there are two poems of considerable length, one entitled Venus and Adonis, and the other

## 126 The Life of WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Tarquin and Lucrece; which were published separately, by himself, and dedicated to the Earl of Southampton.

It has been faid, that two large chefts, filled with Shakespeare's loose papers and manuscripts, were in the hands of an ignorant baker of Warwick, who married one of our Poet's descendants; and that, to the particular knowledge of the late Sir William Bishop, they were carelessly scattered and thrown about, as garret lumber and litter, till they were all consumed in the general fire and destruction of that town.—A few years ago a mulberry-tree, which had been planted upon Shakespeare's estate by his own hands, was cut down, and the wood, being converted to several domestic uses, was all eagerly bought at an high price, and each fingle piece treasured up by its purchaser, as a precious memorial of this revered Bard.







S. FRANCIS BACON.

## The Life of FRANCIS BACON, Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, and Lord Chancellor of England.

Nicholas Bacon, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, by Anne his fecond wife, who was one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, tutor to King Edward VI. (0) He was born at York-House in the Strand, on the 22d of January, 1561. He gave very early indications of a superiority of genius: and we are told that Queen Elizabeth took a particular delight in trying him with questions; and received so much satisfaction from the good sense and manliness of his answers, that she used to call him, in mirth, her young Lord-Keeper. One saying of his is particularly mentioned. The Queen having asked him his age, while he was yet a boy; he answered readily, that "he was just two years younger than her Majesty's happy

" reign."

Of his education we find no particulars related, till he was fent to study in the University of Cambridge under Dr. Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury: and it appears that he was entered of Trinity College in his twelsth year. The progress he made was rapid and uncommon; for he had run through the whole circle of the liberal arts, as they were then taught, before he was fixteen. But what is far more surprizing, (says Mr. Mallet) he began, even then, to see through the emptiness and futility of the philosophy in vogue: and to conjecture, that useful knowledge must be raised on other foundations, and built up with other materials, than had been employed through a tract of many centuries backward. In this, his own genius, aided by a fingular difcernment, must have been his only preceptor. In matters of reasoning, the authority of Aristole was still acknowledged infallible in the schools; as much as that of the Pope, in affairs of religion, had lately been acknowledged, there and every where elfe. And our author may be justly stiled the first great reformer of philosophy. He had the preposiessions, the voluminous and useless reading, nay he had the vanity of . men grown old in contrary opinions, to struggle with : yet he

<sup>(</sup> c.) See some account of this Lady, Vol. III. P. 68, and 385-387.

lived to fee a confiderable revolution on his fide. Another age brought over the learned of all nations to his party (p).

Bacon was little more than fixteen years of age, when his father called him from the University, in order to go into France, to attend Sir Amias Pawlet, the Queen's Ambassador in that kingdom, and to improve himself in the knowledge of the world under that Minister. It appears that the Ambassador soon conceived a favourable opinion of young Bacon; for he sent him over to the Queen with a commission that required secrecy and dispatch: of which he acquitted himself with applause, and then returned to Paris. From thence he made some excursions into the French provinces, that he might be the better acquainted with the country, residing for some time at Poictiers (q).

The native turn of Bacon's mind, which was strongly turned to reslection and inquiry, led him to make the most accurate observations on the customs and manners of the nations of Europe, on the characters of their Princes, and on the constitution of their several governments. In proof of this, there is still extant among his works, a paper of observations on the general state of Europe, written by him shortly after this time, when he was

nineteen years of age.

As he was the youngest son, so he seems to have been the favourite of his father; who had fet apart a confiderable fum of money, to purchase an estate for him, in his absence. But before that kind intention could take effect, the Lord-Keeper died fuddenly; by which means there remained to his youngest fon only the small proportion of a sum, which was to be divided among five brothers. Soon after his father's death, Mr. Bacon returned to England: and the narrowness of his circumstances obliging him to think of some profession for a subsistance, he applied himself to the study of the common law. For that purpose, he placed himself in the society of Gray's lnn, where his fuperior talents rendered him the ornament of the house; as the gentleness and affability of his deportment won him the affection of all its members. The place itself was so agreeable to him, that he erected there a very elegant structure, which for many years after was known by the name of the Lord Bacon's lodgings, and which he inhabited occasionally through the greatest part of his life.

Mr. Bacon quickly rose to so much eminence and reputation in his profession as a Lawyer, that, at the age of twenty-eight years, he was named by Queen Elizabeth her learned Council extraordinary: a distinction which he needed no assistance from his father's merit with her to deserve. It was, however, next to impossible that so noble a genius, born to embrace the whole compass of science, should confine its researches within the nar-

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<sup>(</sup>p) Life of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England, by Mr. Mallet, edit. 8vo. P. 1740. P. 3, 4, 5, 6. (q) Biograph. Britan.

row and perplexed study of precedents and authorities; a study hedged round with brambles and thorns, dark and barbarous in its beginnings, and rendered in its progress still more obscure, by the learned dulness of commentators and compilers; men, for the most part, of indefatigable industry, and of no spirit or discernment. Accordingly we find that in this interval he often gave full scope to his conceptions; surveying the whole state of learning, observing its defects, and imagining the proper methods to supply them. This he first attempted in a treatise which he entitled, " The greatest Birth of I ime;" as appears from a letter, written after his retirement, to Father Fulgentio the Venetian, in which he passes a kind of censure on the pompous and swelling title prefixed to it. And though the piece itself is supposed to be lost, it appears to have been the first outlines of that amazing defign, which he afterwards filled up and finished in his " Grand Instauration of the Sciences (r).

The famous Father Parsons having published a virulent libel against the Lord-Treasurer and his son Sir Robert Cecil, as well as against the Queen and her government, Mr. Bacon undertook their defence in an excellent discourse, intitled, " Observations " upon a libel published this present year, 1592, &c." In this piece he shews great zeal for the honour of his uncle the Lord Burleigh, whose character he draws in a most amiable light; and describes his cousin Sir Robert as a person of great worth and

abilities (s).

In 1593, Mr. Bacon was chosen Member of Parliament for the county of Middlesex. And he frequently distingushed himself in the house of Commons, where he spoke often, and with great force and eloquence; and though he commonly joined with the Court party, yet he was looked upon as a friend to the people. And it appears that he once drew upon himself the displeasure of the Queen, by opposing the payment of three subsidies in less than fix years; which he strongly argued against, alledging the necessities of the people, the danger of raising public discontents, and of setting an evil precedent against themselves and

their posterity (t).

Mr. Bacon was often admitted to the Queen's presence, who treated him with much regard, and fometimes confulted him on the state of her affairs. But his opposition to the payment of the three subsidies which we have just mentioned, gave so much umbrage to Elizabeth, that he was not permitted to have the iame access to her as before. The Earl of Effex was Mr. Bacon's warm triend, and he strongly and repeatedly solicited the Queen to re-instate him in her favour. Accordingly in a letter from Essex to Bacon on this occasion, that Nobleman expresses himself thus. "Yesterday I had, (says his Lordship) a sull au-Vol. IV. 3.

<sup>(1)</sup> Mallet, as before, P. 7-11. (1) Vid. Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. I. P. 90. (1) Birch's Memoirs, P. 97.

" dience, but with little better success than before. The points " I pressed were an absolute Amnestia, and an access, as in for-" mer times Against the first she pleaded, that you were in " more fault than any of the rest in Parliament; and when she "did forgive it, and manifest her receiving of them into favour, " that offended her then, she will do it to many, that were less " in fault, as well as to yourself. Your access, she faith, is as " much as you can look for. If it had been in the King her fa-" ther's time, a less offence than that would have made a man " be banished his presence for ever. But you did come to the " Court, when you would yourfelf; and she should precipitate " too much from being highly displeased with you, to give you " near access, such as the shews only to those, that she favours extraordinarily. I told her, what I sought for you was not " fo much for your good, tho' it were a thing I would feek ex-" tremely, and please myself in obtaining, as for her own ho-" nour, that those excellent translations of hers might be known " to them, who could best judge of them. Besides, my desire " was, that you should neither be stranger to her person nor to " her service; the one for your own satisfaction, the other for " her Majesty's own fake, who, if she did not employ you, " should lose the use of the ablest gentleman to do her service, " of any of your quality whatsoever. Her humour is yet to de-" lay. I am now going to her again; and what I cannot effect " at once, I will look to do fape cadendo (u)."

Mr. Bacon frequently made applications to his uncle the Lord Burleigh for some place of credit and service in the State. His relationship to that great Statesman, together with the favour shewn him by the Queen, and his own eminent abilities, seemed naturally to place him in the road of preferment. But his success in this respect was not such, during this reign, as might reasonably have been expected: and as his income was not adequate to his manner of living, his private affairs at this time ap-

pear to have been confiderably embarraffed (w).

His connections with the Earl of Essex, and the regard which that Nobleman discovered for him, made him regarded with a less savourable eye by the Cecil samily, than he otherwise probably would have been. The Lord Burleigh, indeed, interested himself so far on his behalf, as to procure for him, against violent opposition, the office of Register to the Star-Chamber, worth about 1600l. a year: but it was only in reversion, and did not fall to him till near twenty years afterwards. Neither did he obtain any other preferment all this reign; though his winning address, his eloquence, and his large and systematical learning, had raised him to the admiration of the greatest men at Court (x).

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<sup>(</sup>u) Birch's Memoirs, P. 120, 121, (w) Vid. Birch, as before, P. , 96. (x) Mallet, as before, P. 23.

As to Sir Robert Cecil, though he pretended much friendship for his cousin Francis Bacon, yet all his professions of this kind were evidently infincere. He feems not only to have difliked him for his connections with Effex, but also to have envied him for his superior abilities. And he was so far from hastening his preferment, that he did what he could to obstruct it: and with this view infinuated to the Queen, that Bacon was a man wholly given up to philosophical enquiries, new indeed, and amusing, but fanciful and unfolid; and therefore more likely to distract her affairs, than to ferve her usefully, and with proper judgment.

When the office of Attorney-General was vacant, the Earl of Effex folicited the Queen for that post for his friend Bacon, with great zeal and earnestness. A conversation on this subject between Effex and Sir Robert Cecil, which is preserved by Dr. Birch, will fufficiently shew how warm the Earl was in the interests of Bacon. Essex and Cecil had been to the Tower, to examine Dr. Lopez, who had been charged with treasonable practices: and as they were returning back together in a coach, Sir Robert began the conversation himself, saying, " My Lord, " the Queen has resolved, e'er five days pass, without any far-" ther delay, to make an Attorney-General. I pray your " Lordship to let me know whom you will favour." The Earl answered, that he wondered that Sir Robert should ask him that question, seeing it could not be unknown to him, that resolutely against all whosoever, he stood for Francis Bacon. "Good " Lord! (replied Sir Robert) I wonder your Lordship should go " about to spend your strength in so unlikely or impossible a " matter;" desiring his Lordship to alledge to him but one only precedent of fo raw a youth being appointed to that place of fuch moment. The Earl answered, that for the Attorneyship, which was but an ordinary office, other than the Prince's favour, he could produce no pattern, because he had not made any fearch for that purpose; but that a younger (y) than Francis Bacon, of less learning, and of no greater experience, was suing and shoving with all his might for an office of far greater importance, greater charge, and greater weight, than the Attorneythip. Such an one, the Earl faid, he could name to him. Robert's answer was, that he well knew that his Lordship meant him; and that admitting that both his years and experience were fmall, yet weighing the school, which he studied in, and the great wisdom and learning of his school-master, and the pains and observations he daily passed in that school, he thought his forces and wisdom to be sufficient to sway that machine; alledging withal, his father's deferts in these his long and painful travels of fo long an administration, to merit a mark of gratitude from her Majesty in the person of his son. And with regard R 2

in Cecil's age, or the common ac- tome years older than Bacon. counts are erroneous; for it is gene-

to the affair of Mr. Francis Bacon, he defired his Lordship to consider of it. "If at least," said he, "your Lordship had "spoken of the Solicitorship, that might be of easier digestion to her Majesty." The Earl upon this answered, "Digest me no digestions; for the Attorneyship for Francis is that I must have; and in that will I spend all my power, might, authority, and amity, and with tooth and nail defend and procure the same for him against whomsoever; and that whosoever getteth this office out of my hands for any other, before he have it, it shall cost him the coming by. And this be you assisted of, Sir Robert; for now do I fully declare myself. And for your own part, Sir Robert, I think strange both of my Lord-Treasurer and you, that can have the mind to seek the preferment of a stranger before so near a kinsman. For if you weigh in a balance the parts every way of his competitor and him, only excepting sive poor years of admitting to a house of Court before Francis, you shall find in all other respects

" whatfoever no comparison between them (2)."

But notwithstanding the Earl of Essex's zeal in behalf of Bacon, he could not obtain for him the office of Attorney-General, nor even that of Solicitor-General, which he also endeavoured to procure for him. And upon this disappointment, the Earl, after having been positively refused the Solicitor's place for Bacon, notwithstanding his long and earnest folicitations for it, came over to him from the Court at Richmond to Twickenham park, and faid to him, " Mr. Bacon, the Queen hath de-" nied me the place for you, and hath placed another. I know " you are the least part of your own matter: But you fare ill, because you have chosen me for your mean and dependance. "You have spent your time and thoughts in my matters; I die, " if I do not somewhat towards your fortune. You shall not "deny to accept a piece of land, which I will bestow upon you." Mr. Bacon's answer was, that for his fortune, it was no great matter; but that his Lordship's offer made him call to mind what used to be faid, when he was in France, of the Duke of Guise, that he was the greatest usurer in that kingdom, because he had turned all his estate into obligations, having left himself nothing, and only bound numbers of people to himfelf. " Now, " my Lord, faid he, I would not have you imitate this course, " nor turn your estate thus by greatest gifts into obligations, for you will find many bad debtors." The Earl bade him take 20 care for that, and pressed his offer; upon which Mr. Bacon faid, " I fee, my Lord, that I must be your homager, and hold 46 land of your gift. But do you know the manner in doing ho-" mage in law? Always it is with a faving of his faith to the " King and his other Lords. And, therefore, my Lord, I can be no more your's than I was, and it must be with the antient " favings

" favings; and if I grow to be a rich man, you will give me " leave to give it back again to some of your unrewarded fol-" lowers." This land, which he afterwards fold to Mr. Rey-

nold Nicholas for eighteen hundred pounds, and thought it worth more, was Twickenham park and garden, which he appears to have been indulged by his Lordship in the use of for several years

before (a).

It appears, from a letter of Bacon's to Essex, that he was so much disgusted with his being refused that perferment which he thought he had a natural right to expect, that he had once entertained a defign of relinguished his profession, and retiring to Can bridge, with a view of dedicating the remainder of his days to science and philosophy (b). It would probably have been advantageous to the character of Bacon, and of the highest benefit to the learned world, if he had really adopted this defign. But his resolutions of this kind were of no long continuance.

Bacon long kept up a friendly correspondence with Esfex, who often asked his advice on affairs of importance, and received such counsel from him, as would undoubtedly have been of the utmost advantage to him, if he had been prudent enough to follow But Bacon's advice, however falutary, not being agreeable to the Earl's temper and views, a coldness ensued between them. And when the Earl was at length brought to a trial for high treason, Bacon appeared against him as one of the Queen's council. In justice to Bacon it should be observed, that though he openly pleaded against Esfex, there is great reason to believe that, in private, he really endeavoured to serve him under his misfortunes (c). But notwithstanding this, his open appearance against the man who had treated him with such uncommon friendship and generosity, justly subjected him to reproach.

After the death of Essex, the reflections of the people on the prevailing party at Court, and even on the Queen herfelf, were fo fevere and fo general, that the administration thought it neceffary to vindicate their conduct in a public appeal to the peo-This task was assigned to Bacon, even then in high esteem for his excellencies as a writer. Some fay it was by his enemies infidiously imposed on him, to divert the national refentment from themselves upon a particular person, who was known to have lived in friendship with Essex, and whom they intended to ruin in the public esteem. If such was their intention, they succeeded but too well in it. For never man incurred more univerfal or more lasting censure than Bacon by this writing. He was every where traduced as one who endeavoured to murder the good name of his benefactor, after the Ministry had destroyed his person. His life was even threatened; and it is said that he went in daily hazard of affaffination. This obliged him to publish, in his own defence, that vindication of himself which we find

among

<sup>(</sup>a) Birch's Memoirs, Vol. I. P. 272, 273. (b) Birch, as before, P. 186. (c) Birch's Memoirs, Vol. II. P. 432, 438, 439, 446. 499, 500.

among his writings. It is intitled, "The Apology of Sir Francis Bacon, in certain imputations concerning the late Earl of " Effex." It is long and elaborate, but far from being quite fatisfactory. For though we should believe him on his own testimony, that he had never done the Earl of Effex any ill offices with the Queen; that, on the other hand, he had always, during the time of their intimacy, given him advice no less useful than fincere; that he had wished, nay endeavoured the Earl's prefervation even at last, purely from affection to him, without any regard to his own interest in that endeavour: Let all this be allowed; some blemish will still remain on his character. He alledged, indeed, that he owed duty and obedience to the Queen, which he thought ought not to be facrificed to his private obligations to the Earl of Effex; and that he did no more than what as a loyal subject he was bound to do, in the way of his profession. But had Bacon refused the invidious office of acting against his friend, there were others, among the herd of aspiring and officious lawyers, ready enough to have performed it. And his very enemies must have thought more advantageously of him for declining a talk, in itself of no effential importance to the state, and in him unjust to friendship, obligation, gratitude, the most

facred regards among men (a).

On the death of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Bacon was very early in his homage and application for favour to the new Sovereign, King James I. And on the 23d of July, 1603, the King conferred on him the honour of Knightwood at Whitehall. In his first applications to the new King, he appeared chiefly as a courtier and fervant to the Crown; but it was not long before he had occasion to approach his Majesty in a different capacity. The country people found themselves greatly oppressed in the proceeding reign by Purveyors, and had complained of their exactions as an intolerable grievance. Queen Elizabeth had been informed of it, and made some attempts to redress it: But still there had been nothing done towards a thorough reformation; which obliged the House of Commons, in the first Parliament of King James, to think of fome method for effectually redreffing this evil. The way they took, was by a folemn representation of this grievance, and its confequences; and the person they made choice of to fet forth the fense of the house on this subject, was Sir Francis Bacon, which shews his credit in Parliament at that juncture. And he discharged the trust reposed in him with so much skill and address, as both fatisfied the house, whose servant he was in this particular, and pleased the King. And on the 25th of August, 1604, Sir Francis Bacon was constituted, by patent, one of his Majesty's Council learned in the Law, with a fee of forty pounds a year. And the King granted him the fame

day, by another patent under the Great Seal, a pension of fixty pounds a year, for special services received from his brother

Anthony Bacon and himself (e).

In 1605, Sir Francis Bacon recommended himself to the King's particular notice, as well as to the general esteem of his cotemporaries, by publishing a work which he had long meditated, and which he dedicated to the King, entitled, "Of the " Proficiency and Advancement of Learning," in two books. The great aim of this treatife, no less original in the design than happy in the execution, was to furvey accurately the whole state and extent of the intellectual world; what parts of it had been unfuccessfully cultivated; what lay still neglected, or unknown: And by what methods these might be discovered, and those improved, to the farther advantage of fociety and human nature. By exposing the errors and imperfections of our knowledge, he led mankind into the only right way of reforming the one, and supplying the other: He taught them to know their wants. He even went farther, and himself pointed out to them general methods of correction and improvement in the whole circle of arts and sciences. This work he first published in English; but to render it of more extensive use, he recommended a translation of it into Latin to Dr. Playfer, Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Playfer, with the scrupulous accuracy of a grammarian, was more attentive to fashion his stile to purity and roundness of periods, made out of the phraselogy he had gleaned from classic writers, than to render his author's meaning in plain and masculine language. After the sight of a specimen or two, Sir Francis did not encourage him to proceed in it. He himself, after his retirement, very much enlarged and corrected the original, and with the affiftance of some friends turned the whole into Latin. This is the edition of 1623; and stands as the first part to his great Instauration of the Sciences (f).

As Sir Robert Cecil, who was now Earl of Salisbury, had opposed the progress of Bacon's fortune under Elizabeth; so he appears to have observed the same conduct towards him in the present reign, till he had fixed himself in the King's confidence so firmly, as to be above all fear of a rival; and then he seems to have been somewhat disposed to savour his kinsman. But Sir Francis Bacon found a formidable enemy in a man of great eminence in his own profession, the samous Sir Edward Coke, now Attorney-General. The quarrel between them seems to have been personal; and it lasted to the end of their lives. Coke was jealous of Bacon's reputation in many parts of knowledge: By whom, again, he was envied for the high reputation he had acquired in one; each aiming to be admired, particularly for that in which the other excelled. This affectation in two extraordi-

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nary men has something in it very mean, and is not uncommon. The sormer was the greatest Lawyer of his time; but could be nothing more. If the latter was not so, we can ascribe it only to his aiming at a more exalted character. The universality of his genius could not be confined within one inserior province of learning. And if learning thus divided is not so proper to raise a singular name in one way, it serves to enlarge the understanding on every side, and to enlighten it in all its views (g).

The place which Sir Francis Bacon had so long expected, he at length obtained; for in 1607, he was appointed Solicitor-General. But this preferment was the effect of many letters and applications on his part, to the Earl of Salisbury, the Lord-Chancellor Egerton, and the King himself. Nor does it appear, that he was ever promoted to any post, without repeated and carnest solicitations to Ministers and Favourites: A reslection, says Mr. Mallet, that may serve at once to mortify, and instruct,

an ambitious man of parts.

King James, from the beginning of his reign, was passionately defirous of an union between Scotland and England: But his unreasonable partiality to the former, reckoning it as an equal half of the island, rendered the design abortive. Though Sir Francis Bacon laboured this argument with all the arts of wit and reason, his eloquence, powerful as it was, had no effect on the House of Commons. The Parliament even shewed itself averse to this union, in proportion as the Court appeared zealous for it. The new Sovereign's conduct had alarmed them. They faw, that, with a strong disposition to be profuse, he was absolutely in the power of favourites: And that some of the least valuable among his subjects were most in his favour. faw further, that he began already to propagate maxims of government destructive to Liberty, and inconsistent with the whole tenor of the constitution. These things filled observing men with apprehensions for the future, which unhappily were but too well founded. The whole fum of his politics, both now and afterwards, was to difgust and alienate his subjests at home; and dishonour both himself and them abroad. It was a reign of embaffies and negociations, alike fruitless and expensive; of favourites and proclamations, of idle amusements, and of arbitrary impositions. But though King James did not succeed in the union of the two kingdoms, he found his Judges, in an affair of a fimilar kind, more complaifant than the great Council of the nation had been. This was the naturalization of all Scotfmen born fince his accession to Throne of England; which was adjudged by Sir Edward Coke in the great case of Calvin; as it had been argued at large before all the Judges by Sir Francis Bacon (b).

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From the time that he was appointed Solicitor-General, he appeared more frequently in Westminster-Hall, grew into more extensive practice as a Lawyer, and had a share in almost all great causes; which were the reasons he assigned for being so pressing in his applications for that office. He assured the King, before he obtained it, that it would give him such an increase of capacity, though not of zeal, to serve his Majesty, that what he had done in times past should feem as nothing, in comparison of the services he would render for the future. And in this respect Sir Francis appears to have kept his word; for notwithstanding the many avocations of his profession, in that seffion of Parliament, held in the year in which he was made Solicitor, he ran through a great variety of business, and that of a nature which demanded a man, not only of great abilities and address, but also of general reputation: for he was employed from the House of Commons to the King, to represent to him the grievances under which the nation laboured; and though the paper relating to them was couched in pretty firong terms, which could not but be difagreeable to James's temper, yet Bacon by a foft and smooth speech, so abated their harshness, as to perform this difficult commission with universal applause. He was likewise employed by the house at a conference with the Lords, to perfuade them to join in an application to the Crown, for the taking away the ancient tenures, and allowing a certain and competent revenue in lieu of them; and in his speech on this occasion, Sir Francis Bacon fet that affair in fo clear a light, as excited that spirit, which at length procured the diffolution of the Court of Wards, which was justly esteemed a point of the highest consequence to the liberties of the kingdom (i).

In 1610, Sir Francis Bacon published another treatise, intitled, " Of the Wisdom of the Ancients." This work bears the fame flamp of an original and inventive genius with his other performances. Refolving not to tread in the steps of those who had gone before him, men, according to his own expression, not learned beyond certain common places; he strikes out a new tract for himself, and enters into the most secret recesses of this wild and shadowy region; so as to appear new on a known and beaten subject. Upon the whole, if we cannot bring ourselves readily to believe that there is all the physical, moral, and political meaning veiled under these fables of antiquity, which he has discovered in them, we must own that it required no common penetration to be mistaken with so great an appearance of probability on his fide. Though it still remains doubtfur whether the ancients were so knowing as he attempts to shew they were, the variety and depth of his own knowledge are, in that very attempt, unquestionable ( & ).

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In 1611, he obtained the office of Judge of the Marshal's Court, jointly with Sir Thomas Vavasor, then Knight-Marshal, by which he prefided, though for a very short time, in the Court newly erected, under the title of the Palace-Court for the verge of the King's house. In 1613, he succeeded Sir Henry Hobart in the office of Attorney-General. And the Parliament, at this time, though they were extremely out of humour with the Ministers in general, distinguished Bacon by an unusual mark of favour and confidence. An objection having been started in the House of Commons, that a feat there was incompatible with the office of Attorney-General, which required his frequent attendance in the upper-house; the Commons, from their particular regard for Sir Francis Bacon, and in consideration of his former fervices in Parliament, over-ruled the objection; though for that time only; and he was accordingly allowed to take his place among them.

Amongst other important affairs, in which he was engaged whilst he held the office of Attorney-Generol, he exerted all his efforts to put a stop to to the irrational and pernicious practice of duelling. And his eloquent and learned charge with regard to duels, upon an information in the Star-Chamber against Priest and Wright, was so highly approved by the Lords of the Council, who were then in the Star-Chamber, that they ordered it, contrary to the usual custom, to be printed and published with

the decree of the Court itself (1).

Bacon's private affairs appear now to have been in a more profperous fituation, than at any other period of his life. He was in very great practice at the bar; and acknowledged, in one of his letters to the King, that the office of Attorney-General was worth to him 6000l. a year. He was also now in possession of his employment of Register to the Star-Chamber, which hath been already mentioned, and which brought him in 1600l. a year more. He was likewise possessed, and had been so for some years, of a good estate in Hertfordshire, and of his father's pleasant seat of Gorhambury, which came to him by the death of his brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon. But notwithstanding the largeness of his income, the generosity of his temper, which indeed bordered on prosuseness, prevented him from accumulating any considerable fortune.

When Sir George Villiers became possessed of King James's considence, Sir Francis Bacon took great pains to cultivate the good will of the Favourite. And as Villiers had at this time sense enough to feel his inexperience in business, he had recourse to our author for his advice: Which he gave him fully in a letter, still extant among his works, written with so superior a judgment, and so much honest freedom, that it does honour equally to his head and heart. He has ranged his thoughts under seven or

eight principal topics of confideration, and entered into an accurate detail of what a Minister ought to know and to prac-

In another letter to Villiers, on his being created Lord Blechley of Blechley, and Viscount Villiers, Bacon expresses himself thus : " After that the King shall have watered your new dignities, " with his bounty of the lands which he intends you; and that " fome other things concerning your means, which are now " likewise in intention, shall be settled upon you; I do not see " but you may think your private fortunes established. And " therefore it is now time that you should refer your actions " chiefly to the good of your Sovereign, and your country. It " is the life of an ox, or a beaft, always to eat, and never to ex-" ercise: But men are born (especially Christian men) not to " cram in their fortunes, but to exercise their virtues: And yet " the other hath been the unworthy, and sometimes the unlucky "humour of great persons in our times. Neither will your further fortune be the further off. For assure yourself, that fortune is of a woman's nature, that will sooner follow you by " flighting, than by too much wooing. And in this dedication " of yourfelf to the public, I recommend unto you principally, " that which I think was never done fince I was born, and which " not done, hath bred almost a wilderness and solitude in the "King's fervice: Which is, that you countenance and encou-" rage and advance able and virtuous men, in all kinds, de-" grees, and professions .- And in places of moment, rather " make able and honest men yours, than advance those that are " otherwise, because they are yours (m)."

Sir Francis Bacon being now trufted and employed by the King, not only in the bufiness of his profession, but in a great variety of affairs of State, he was, though it was unusual for a man in his station, sworn a member of the Privy Council.

Bacon's great abilities did undoubtedly justly entitle him to the greatest offices and honours. But as we have the highest reverence for the memory of Bacon as a Philosopher, it is with the utmost regret that we observe, that some of the marks of Court favour which he received, were obtained, as indeed the favour of Princes and Ministers too commonly is obtained, not by his virtues, but by his vices. The fervile manner in which he flattered the King and his Ministers, and his readiness to promote the arbitrary measures of the Court, will for ever reflect the greatest dishonour on his character.

The Lord-Chancellor Egerton, being broken with age and infirmities, had often petitioned the King to be dismissed from his laborious employment. He was now seventy-seven years old, and had prefided in the Court of Chancery from the year 1596,

<sup>(</sup>m) See the whole of this letter Memoirs, &c. of the Lord Chancellor in Stephens's Collection of Letters, Bacon, P. 11.--13.

with an unblemished reputation as a Judge in private cases: But his public conduct had been always framed to the directions of the Court with an obsequiousness, of dangerous example in one who held fo great and important a truft. To this high dignity Sir Francis Bacon privately aspired: And as it was the utmost fcope of his ambition, he exerted all his efforts in the King's fervice, that he might merit it at his hands. And he took care, at the same time, to strengthen his pretensions by the credit of Villiers, now Earl of Buckingham. His ambition even made him descend to artifices, that are as common in Courts, as they are mean and unwarrantable. He endeavoured to injure in the King's opinion such men as the voice of the public might probably design to the same office, and whom he therefore considered as his rivals. He was particularly jealous of Sir Edward Coke, and represented him as one who abounded in his own sense; and as one who affected popularity, and was likely to court the good will of the nation at the hazard of the Prerogative. For himfelf, he placed his great merit in obedience and submission; in the interest he had among the Commons, and in being able to influence the lower House of Parliament: A service which he magnified as more important in a Chancellor, than to judge in equity between party and party. These infinuations had their desired effect. For upon the Chancellor's voluntary resignation of the Seals, they were given to Sir Francis Bacon, with the title of Lord Keeper, on the 7th of March, 1617 ( n ).

A few days after he had the Seals delivered to him, the King went a progress into Scotland. By which means Sir Francis Bacon was placed at the head of the Council, and intrusted with the management of public assairs in the King's absence: Which if it proved an accession of honour, proved also a source of much envy and dislike. On the 7th of May following, which was the first day of the term, he went to Westminster-Hall in great state, and there took possession of his high office, being attended by many of the nobility, and other persons of distinction. And on this occasion he made a long and eloquent speech, in which he treated of the nature and duty of his office, of what might be expected from him in it, and of the manner in which he meant to discharge it; and he also laid down rules for the conduct of Suitors to the Court of Chancery, and the gentlemen t the bar(o).

The great affair that employed the deliberations of King James's Council about this time, and which had a fatal influence on his conduct ever after, was the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain. In this refolution, though contrary to all the rules of good policy, he perfifted for feven years together, against his own interest, and against the universal voice of his people; only to procure the imaginary honour of an alliance with a crowned head; for all other alliances he thought below his dignity. Sir Francis Bacon, who saw through

the vanity and danger of this intention, but who wanted refolution to be greatly honest, contented himself with infinuating foftly, that it would be necessary to have the Council unanimous in their fuffrage on the occasion, whatever might be their private fentiments. This hint was not sufficient to open the King's eyes. On the contrary, he run blindfold into the snare that Gondomar was spreading for him. That Spanish Minister, as much by his buffooneries as by his talents for intrigue, had gained an absolute ascendancy over James, leading him on from error to error; till in the end he made him facrifice his conscience to the Pope, and his honour to the refentments of the Court of Spain, in the murder of his gallant subject Sir Walter Raleigh. And even the Dutch made advantage of James's weakness and necessities; by prevailing with him to deliver up the cautionary towns for less than three millions of florins, in lieu of eight millions which they had engaged to pay Elizabeth, besides the interest that had been running on for eighteen years (p).

While the King was in Scotland, an affair happened, which gave Bacon no small uneasiness. A treaty of marriage was set on foot between Sir John Villiers, brother to the King's favourite, Buckingham, and a daughter of Sir Edward Coke. As Bacon was ever jealous of Coke's reputation, and at odds with him, he dreaded his alliance with fo powerful a family. His imagination fuggefied to him all the danger that threatened his present and future fortunes, from this connection between the Villiers family and his old antagonist and rival. These apprehensions made him cast about how to defeat the intended match, by raising such objections to it as might touch the King and his favourite in point of public honour and advantage. His letters to both, on that occasion, are written with the perplexity of a man who fears fomething he is unwilling to own; which yet his prudence passes over with a seeming unconcern, to enlarge only upon confiderations that regard those whom he would be thought to ferve. But this management proved ineffectual. It was refented by the Earl of Buckingham, and checked by a rough answer from the King. The Lady Compton too, mother to Buckingham, being informed of the part Bacon was acting, gave a loofe to her tongue, and railed at him with a bitterness natural to women, when they are thwarted in any favourite purfuit of interest or passion. Having thus, to prevent a distant and uncertain danger, involved himself in one that was real and immediate, Bacon made no scruple to change sides at once: To go directly against his former opinion; and to offer unasked his interest in the young Lady's mother for promoting the match, which he had just been labouring to disappoint. On such trivial accidents do the fortunes of Ministers depend: And to such mean arts is ambition often obliged to stoop. Nor even thus

did he presently regain his credit with Buckingham. The family continued to load him with reproaches: And he remained long in that disagreeable situation in which an aspiring man must be, when he finds that his power and dignity are at the mercy of a King's minion, young, and giddy with his elevation, and who thinks himself offended. They were, however, reconciled at last; and their friendship, if obsequiousness in one to all the humours of the other deserves the name of friendship.

continued without interruption for some years (p).

Towards the latter end of the year 1617, Sir Francis Bacon appeared to be in some danger of losing his life, from the passion of an angry man against whom he had made a decree in Chancery. This was Gervase Lord Cliston, who publicly declared, that he was very forry he had not stabbed the Lord Keeper in his chair, at the time he pronounced the decree. He was for this offence committed close prisoner to the Tower of London: And the affair made the more noise, because, but the year before, Sir John Tyndal, a master in Chancery, had been actually shot by one Mr. Bertram, a man of considerable fortune and fair character; and this only for making a report against him, which appeared persectly agreeable to justice. But the Lord Cliston put an end to his life by his own hands in October, 1618 (q).

In the beginning of the year 1619, Sir Francis Bacon was made Lord High Chancellor of England, and shortly after created Baron of Verulam; and the year following he was raised to the dignity of Viscount St. Alban's in the county of Hertford. It is well observed by Mr. Mallet, that such events in his life as these may be passed over slightly. He was so great a man, that external honours could add no lustre to his name. Indeed, had they been the immediate reward of those nobler services which he had done, and was still mediating to do his country, they might deserve more particular notice, for the sake of him who

bestowed them.

Neither the weight and variety of public business, nor the pemps of a Court, could divert the attention of Bacon from the study of Philosophy. Those were his avocations and encumbrances: This was his beloved employment, and almost the only pleasure in which he indulged his freer and better hours. Accordingly, in 1620, he published his Novum Organum Scientiarum, as a second part to his grand Instauration of the Sciences: A work that for twelve years together he had been methodizing, altering, and polishing, till he had laboured the whole into a series of Aphorisms, as it now appears. Of all his writings this feems to have undergone the strictest revision (r), and to be sighed

had feen twelve copies of this work revised, altered, and corrected year by year, before it was reduced into the form into which it was published.

<sup>(</sup>p) Mallet, P. 87---89. (q) Biograph. Britan. See also Stephens's Letters, Memoirs, &c. P. 79. 80.

<sup>(</sup>r) Dr. Rawley affures us, that he

nished with the severest judgment. Indeed, the form into which it is cast admits of nothing foreign, of nothing merely ornamental. The lights and embellishments of imagination, the grace and harmony of stile, are rejected here, as beauties either superfluous, or of an inferior nature. The author has besides made use of several terms in a new and peculiar sense, which may have discouraged some readers, as it has made others imagine them equally unintelligible with the horrors of a vacuum, the quiddities, and substantial forms of the Philosophy which he attempted to discredit: And, therefore, of all his writings it has been the least read, or understood (s). It was intended as a more useful, a more extensive Logic, than the world had yet been acquainted with. An art not conversant about syllogisms, and modes of argumentation, that may be ferviceable fometimes in arranging truths already known, or in detecting fallacies that lie concealed among our own reasonings and those of other men: But an art inventive of arts; productive of new discoveries, real and important, and of general use to human life. This he proposed, by turning our attention from notions to things; from those subtle and frivolous speculations that dazzle, not enlighten. the understanding, to a sober and sensible investigation of the laws and powers of nature, in a way becoming Philosophers who make truth and information the fole aim of their inquiries. In order to this, his first endeav ur was to weed out of the mind fuch errors as naturally grow in it, or have been planted there by education, and cherished by the influence of men, whose writings had long claimed a right of prescription to rule and To a mind thus prepared for instruction, he mislead mankind. proposes the second and scientifical part of his scheme, the true method of interpreting nature, by fact and observation; by found and genuine Induction, widely differing from that puerile art, which till then had folely prevailed in Philosophy. quires a fufficient, an accurate collection of instances, gathered with fagacity, and recorded with impartial plainness, on both sides of the question: From which, after viewing them in all possible lights, to be fure that no contradictory instances can be brought.

(1) Voltaire, in his Letters concerning the English nation, says, That the most singular and the best of all Lord Bacon's pieces, is that which is most useless and least read, I mean his Novum Scientiarum Organum. This is the scaffold with which the new Philosophy was raised, and when the Edisice was built, part of it at least, the scaffold was no longer of service. The Lord Bacon was not yet acquainted with nature, but then he knew, and pointed out, the several paths which

" led to it. He had despised in his younger years the thing called Philosophy in the Universities, and did all that lay in his power to prevent. those societies of men, instituted to improve human reason, from depraving it by their quiddities, their horrors of vacuum, their substantial forms, and all those impertinent terms, which not only ignorance had rendered venerable, but which had been made facred by their being ridiculously blended with religion,"

brought, some portion of useful truth, leading on to further difcoveries, may be at last fairly deduced. In this way, experiments and reasonings grow up together, to support and illustrate each other mutually, in every part of science (t).

On the 12th of October, 1620, Lord Bacon fent a copy of his Novum Organum Scientiarum to the King, who thereupon wrote

the following letter to his Lordship with his own hand.

## " To the Lord Chancellor.

" My very good Lord,

"I have received your letter, and your book, than the which you could not have fent a more acceptable prefent unto me. " How thankful I am for it, cannot better be expressed by me, than by a firm resolution I have taken; first to read it through, with care and attention, though I should steal some hours from " my fleep; having otherwise as little spare time to read it, as " you had to write it: And then to use the liberty of a true " friend, in not sparing to ask you the question, in any point, " whereof I shall stand in doubt: As, on the other part, I will " willingly give a due commendation to fuch places, as in my " opinion shall deserve it. In the mean time, I can with com-" fort affure you, that you could not have made choice of a " fubject more befitting your place, and your universal and " methodical knowledge: And in the general, I have already observed, that you jump with me, in keeping the mid-way be-"tween the two extremes; as also in some particulars, I have " found that you agree fully with my opinion. And so pray-" ing God to give your work as good fuccess as your heart can " with, and your labours deserve, I bid you heartily farewell. " Oct. 16, 1720. JAMES R."

Lord Bacon also sent three copies of this work to Sir Henry Wotton; and how much that eminent man valued the present, we may learn from his own words in a letter to Bacon. "Your " Lordship (says he) hath done a great and everliving benefit " to all the children of nature, and to nature herself in her ut-" termost extent of latitude: Who, never before, had so noble, " nor fo true an interpreter, or (as I am readier to style your " Lordship) never so inward a secretary of her cabinet. But of " your work, which came but this week to my hands, I shall " find occasion to speak more hereafter; having yet read only " the first book thereof, and a few aphorisms of the second. For " it is not a banquet that men may superficially taste, and put " up the rest in their pockets; but, in truth, a solid feast, which " requireth due mastication. Therefore, when I have once, my-" felf, perused the whole, I determine to have it read, piece by " piece, at certain hours, in my domestic college, as an ancient " author: For I have learned thus much by it already, that we " are extremely mistaken in the computation of antiquity, by

fearching it backwards; because, indeed, the first times were the youngest; especially in points of natural discovery and

" experience ( u )."

But whilft the Lord Bacon was thus acquiring the highest reputation as a Philosopher, and exciting the universal admiration of the learned, he was about to fuffer a melancholy reverse of fortune, and to become the object of public difgrace and punishment. In the Parliament which was affembled in January, 1621, an inquiry was made into feveral national grievances: And, amongst other things, a committee was appointed by the House of Commons, to enquire into the abuses of the Courts of Justice. It does not appear that this was fet on foot with any particular view to Bacon: However, in the course of these inquiries, on the 14th and 15th of March, he was accused for taking of bribes, in causes which had depended before him as Chancellor; of which information was given to the Marquis of Buckingham, by letters of the same date, from Mr. Secretary Calvert and Sir Lionel Cranfield, both Members of the House of Commons. Several other Members, gentlemen of reputation, and of the law, spoke in his Lordship's behalf; as did Sir Edward Sackville, who was his great friend: And when Sir Robert Phillips, the chairman of the committee, made his report, he made it with great tenderness, because, he said, "it concerned the Honour of a Great " Man, fo endued with all parts, both of art and nature, that " he would fay no more of him, being not able to fay enough (w)." At a conference, on the 19th of the fame month, between certain Members of both houses, the Lords agreed to take this affair into their speedy confideration. As foon as the matter was become the subject of public talk, more accusations against him were brought, and an impeachment or charge, confisting of feveral articles, preferred to the Lords against him. On the day this complaint was made to the House of Lords, the Marquis of Buckingham prefented a letter from the Lord Chancellor, who was then fick, wherein he defired four things of their Lordships. " First, that they would maintain him in their good opinion till " his cause were heard. Secondly, that they would give him a " convenient time, as well in regard of his ill state of health, as " of the importance of the charge, to make his defence. Third-" ly, that they would allow him to except against the credit of " the witnesses against him, to cross examine them, and to pro-" duce evidence in his own defence. And fourthly, that in " case there came any more petitions of the like nature, that " their Lordships would not take any prejudice at their num-" ber, confidering that they were against a Judge, that made " two thousand orders and decrees in a year." VOL. IV. 3. But

<sup>(</sup>u) Tennison's Baconiana, P. 30, 31. See also Stephens's Letters, Memoirs, &c. of the Lord Chancellor of the Lord Bacon, P. 21. Bacon, P. 118—120.

But Lord Bacon foon relinguished his design of entering into a long and formal defence of himself. On the contrary, he throwed himself on the mercy of the house, by an humble submission, which he drew up in writing, and prevailed upon the then Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles I. to present to the House of Peers; which he did on the 24th of April, when this matter came again under their Lordship's consideration. But the Lords were not fatisfied with his letter of general confession, though he renounced in it all justification of himself, and sued for no other favour, " but that his penitent submission might be his fentence, and the loss of the Seals his punishment. was obliged to put in a particular answer to every point of his accufation: which he did on the first of May, 1621; acknowledging, in the most explicit words, the corruption charged on him in twenty-eight feveral articles, and throwing his cause entirely on the compassion of his Judges.

On the fecond of May, his Lordship refigned the Great Seal; and the following day, the Lords, by the mouth of the Lord Chief Justice, their Speaker pro tompore, pronounced the following fentence. " That the Viscount St. Alban's, Lord Chan-" cellor of England, shall undergo a fine or ransom of forty " thousand pounds; that he shall be imprisoned in the Tower, " during the King's pleasure; that he should for ever be inca-" pable of any office, place, or employment in the flate or com-" mon-wealth: and that he shall never sit in Parliament, or " come within the verge of the Court." Thus he loft the great privilege of his Peerage; a feverity unufual, except in cases of

treason and attainder.

The last article of his charge furnishes matter for much reflection. It alledges, " that he had given way to great exactions " in his fervants, both in respect of private seals, and other-wise for sealing injunctions." This indulgence to his domeffics, which was certainly extreme, has been generally, and as it feems truly, reckoned the principal cause of those irregularities that drew on his difgrace. Liberal in his own temper, or rather profuse beyond the condition of a man who means to preserve his integrity, he allowed his family in every kind of extravagance (x): And as many of his retinue were young, diffipated, and giddy in the pursuit of pleasure, they squandered away without measure, where they were indulged without controul (y). Whether he did not discover this error till it was

<sup>(</sup>x) A gentleman once expressing fome disapprobation of his liberality to his retinue, Lord Bacon faid to him, " Sir, I am all of a piece; if the head " be lifted up, the inferior parts of "Sit down, my mafters, he cried; the body must be so too." Tenni- your rise bath been my fall." Ion's Baconiana, P. sq.

<sup>(</sup>y) One day, during his trial, as he was passing through a room where leveral of his domellies were fitting; upon their getting up to falute him,

too late, or whether a foul like his, loft in the greatness and immenfity of its own views, could not attend to that detail of little and disagreeable particulars which yet oeconomy requires; however that was, to support his ordinary train of living, he fell into corruption himself, and connived at it in his dependants(z). Thus we behold him a memorable example of all that is great and exalted, of all that is little and low, in man. Such inconfistencies in human nature ought to alarm and caution even those

who are most confirmed in an habit of virtue (a).

Rushworth says of Bacon, that "this learned Peer, eminent over the Christian world for his many writings extant in print, was known to be no admirer of money, yet had the unhappiness to be defiled therewith: He treasured up nothing, either for himself or his family, for he both lived and died in debt; he was over-indulgent to his fervants, and connived at their takings, and their ways betrayed him to that error; they were profuse and expensive, and had at command whatever he was master of. The gifts taken were, for the most part, for interlocutory orders; his decrees were generally made with fo much equity, that though gifts rendered him suspected for injustice, yet never any decree made by him was reverfed as unjust, as it hath been observed by fome knowing in our laws (b)."

Mr. Guthrie observes, " that Bacon was generous, easy, good natured, and naturally just; but he had the misfortune to be befet by domestic harpies, who, in a manner, farmed out his office, and he had given way to intolerable impositions upon the subject amongst the masters in Chancery. -- Even in the charges against him, brought by the House of Commons, it appears as if some of the presents, that had been made to influence his justice, had neither come into his own pocket, nor been made with his knowledge. For some decrees had been given against the corrupters, and refentment for this had brought them to accuse

him in the committee of the Commons (c).

After a short confinement in the Tower, his Lordship was set at liberty; and foon after he applied to the King and Marquis of Buckingham for access to his Majesty, which he obtained; but being by his fentence restrained from coming within the verge of the Court, the King dispensed with the same for some time, to the end that he might take care of his health, and the pay-And upon the prorogation of the Parliament ment of his debts. in some heat, the King was pleased to consult with his Lordship, in what manner he should proceed in the reformation of the

(z) The author of Lord Bacon's the fame mould, he received it with

(a) Mallet, P. 110, 111.

( b ) Historical Collections, Vol. I.

Edit. 1682. P. 31.
(2) Hift, of England, Vol. III. P.

article in the Biographia Britannica as little confideration." observes, that "it was peculiar to this great man to have nothing narrow and selfish in his composition; he gave away without concern whatever he polleffed, and, believing other men of

the Courts of Justice, and the other grievances which the Commons had been enquiring into: Upon which he drew up a memorial on the subject, which is printed among his works. The King afterwards permitted him, by a licence dated the 13th of September, 1621, to stay at Sir John Vaughan's house at Parson's Green, and at London, for six weeks; and he then retired, by the King's command, to his own house at Gorhambury (d). It was probably at this time that the incident happened, which is related by Dr. Goodman. Prince Charles, we are told, coming to London, saw at a distance a coach followed by a considerable number of people on horseback, and, upon enquiry, was informed it was the Lord St. Alban's attended by his friends; on which his Highness said with a smile, "Well! do what we can, this

" man scorns to go out like a snuff (e)."

Lord Bacon had hitherto been immersed in the hurry and bustle of public business; but he now entered into a more pleasing, though a less conspicuous, situation. Being freed from the servitude of a Court; from an intolerable attendance there, on the vices and sollies of men every way his inferiors; he was now in a condition to pursue the native bent of his genius; to live to himself, and for the advantage, not of one age, or one people only, but of all mankind, and all times to come. And when he was thus withdrawn from the glare of a public station, into the shade of retirement and studious leisure, he often lamented, that ambition and salse glory had so long diverted him from the noblest, as well as the most useful employments of a reasonable being: Mortified, no doubt, into these sentiments, by a severe conviction in his own person, of the instability and emptiness of all

human grandeur (f). Whatever may have been advanced by some writers, of Lord Bacon's melancholy and dejection, it appears evidently that his fpirit was unbroken by his advanced age, and unsubdued by his misfortunes. An incident to this purpose is related by Dr. Rawley. One day, his Lordship was dictating to that gentleman fome of the experiments in his Sylva. The same day he had fent a friend to Court, to receive for him a final answer, concerning the effect of a grant which had been made him by King James. He had hitherto only hope of it, and hope deferred; and he was defirous to know the event of the matter, and to be freed from suspence about it. But his friend returning, told him plainly, that he must thenceforth despair of that grant, how much foever his fortunes needed it. " Be it fo," faid his Lordship; and then he dismissed his friend very chearfully, after thanking him for his service. His friend being gone, he came directly to Dr. Rawley, and faid to him, "Well! Sir! Yon busi-" ness won't go on; let us therefore go on with this; for this is

<sup>(</sup>d) Stephens's Account of the Life of the Lord Bacon, P. 24.

<sup>(</sup>e) Aulicus Coquinariæ, P. 174. (f) Mallet, P. 113, 114.

"in our power." And then he immediately dictated to him afresh, for some hours, without the least hesitation of speech, or

discernible interruption of thought (g).

But the best evidence that Lord Bacon's mind was not enfeebled by his adversity, is the spirit and vigour which appear in those admirable works of his which were written after his fall. And in a letter to Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, on the subject of his missortunes, and his employment after his retirement, he expresses himself thus:

## " My Lord,

"Amongst consolations, it is not the least to represent to a man's self, like examples of calamity in others; for examinating ples give a quicker impression than arguments: And besides, they certify us, that which the Scripture also tendereth for same tissaction, that no new thing is bappened unto us. This they do the better, by how much the examples are liker in circumstance to our own case; and more especially, if they fall upon persons, that are greater and worthier than ourselves. For as it savoureth of vanity, to match ourselves highly in our own conceit; so on the other side, it is a good sound conclusion, that if our betters have sustained the like events, we have the less cause to be grieved.

"In this kind of consolation, I have not been wanting to

" myself; though as a Christian I have tasted (through GOD's " great goodness) of higher remedies. Having therefore, thro' " the variety of my reading, fet before me many examples, both " of antient and of later times; my thoughts, I confess, have " chiefly flayed upon three particulars, as the most eminent, " and the most resembling to my case. All three persons that " had held chief place of authority in their countries. All " three ruined, not by war, or by any other disaster, but by " justice and fentence, as delinquents and criminals. All three famous writers; in fo much as the remembrance of their ca-" lamity, is now as to posterity, but as a little picture of night-" work, remaining amongst the fair and excellent tables of their " acts and works. And all three (if that were any thing to the " matter) fit examples to quench any man's ambition of rifing " again, for that they were every one of them restored with " great glory; but to their further ruin and destruction, ending " in a violent death. The men were Demosthenes, Cicero, and " Seneca; persons that I durst not claim affinity with, except " the similitude of our fortunes had contracted it. When I had " cast mine eyes upon these examples, I was carried on farther " to observe how they did bear their fortunes, and principally " how they did employ their times, being banished, and disabled

<sup>(</sup>g) Vid. Account of Lord Bacon's Works prefixed to the Baconianz, P. 45, 46.

from public business; to the end that I might learn by them. and that they might be as well my counsellors, as my comforters. Whereupon I happened to note, how diversly their fortunes wrought upon them, especially in that point at which "I did most aim, which was the employing of their times and pens. In Cicero, I saw, that during his banishment (which was almost two years) he was so softened and dejected, as he wrote nothing but a few womanish epistles. And yet, in mine opinion, he had least reason of the three to be discouraged; for that, although it was judged, and judged by the " highest kind of judgment, in form of a statute or law, that " he should be banished, and his whole estate conficated and feized, and his houses pulled down; and that it should be " highly penal for any man to propound his repeal: Yet his case, even then, had no great blot of ignominy, but it was thought but a tempest of the time which overthrew him. Demosthenes, contrariwise, though his case was foul, being condemned for bribery, and not simple bribery, but bribery in the nature of treason and disloyalty; yet, nevertheless, he took fo little knowledge of his fortune, as during his banishment, he did much bufy himfelf, and intermeddle with matters of flate; and took upon him to counsel the flate (as if he had been still at the helm) by letters, as appears by some ee epiftles of his, which are yet extant. Seneca indeed, who was condemned for many corruptions and crimes, and baor nished into a solitary island, kept a mean: And though his pen did not freeze, yet he abstained from intruding into matters of bufiness; but spent his time in writing books of excelet lent argument and use for all ages, though he might have made better choice sometimes of his dedications.

These examples confirmed me much in a resolution (whereunto I was otherwise inclined) to spend my time wholly in writing, and to put forth that poor talent or half talent, or what it is that GOD hath given me, not as heretofore, to particular exchangers, but to banks or mounts of perpetuity,

" which will not break ( b )."

The first considerable work which Lord Bacon engaged in, after his retirement, was the History of Henry VII. which he undertook at the desire of King James, and published in the year 1622. This performance has been highly and deservedly applauded. The chief desect in it is, that the character of King Henry is represented in a much more favourable light than that Prince deserved.

He also methodized and enriched some of his former pieces; and composed several new ones, no less considerable for the greatness and variety of the arguments he treated, than for his manner

<sup>(</sup>h) Stephens's Letters, Memoirs, &cc. of the Lord Chancellor Bacon P. 169-172.

ner of treating them. Nor are they works of mere erudition and labour; but original efforts of genius and reflection, on subjects either new, or handled in a manner that makes them so. His notions he drew from his own fund: And they were solid, comprehensive, and systematical; the disposition of his whole plan throwing light and grace on all the particular parts. Indeed, nothing can give us a more exalted idea of the fruitfulness and vigour of Bacon's genius, than the number and nature of those writings composed by him after his fall. Under the discouragement of a public censure, broken both in his health, and in his fortunes, he enjoyed his retirement not above five years: A little portion of time! yet he found means to croud into it, what might have been the whole business, and the glory too, of a long and fortunate life (i).

The fine which Lord Bacon had been sentenced to pay by the Parliament, was remitted by King James, soon after his discharge from the Tower. About three years after this, he petitioned his Majesty for a total remission of his censure; "to the end "that this blot of ignominy might be removed from him, and from his memory with posterity." The King hereupon granted a full and entire pardon of his whole sentence. Posterity likewise, to which he appealed, has seemed unwilling to remember that he ever offended: And those who record his failings, like those who have made observations on the spots in the sun, neither pretend to diminish his real brightness in himself, nor deny his universal influence on the world of learning (1).

Lord Bacon's poverty in the latter part of his life, has been much infifted on by feveral writers; and it has been afferted, that he languished out a folitary being in obscurity and indigence. But the matter appears to have been exaggerated. He certainly did not enjoy affluence, or entire ease of fortune; but his ordinary income must have placed him above fordid want and anxiety. Dr. Rawley, who lived long in his family, affirms that the King had given him, out of the Broad Seal and Alienation Office, to the value of eighteen hundred pounds a year; which. with his own lands amounting to a third part more, he retained to his death. But then, he had treasured up nothing in his prosperous condition against the day of adversity: And his penfion was not only precarious, but ill-paid, by a King, who, inflead of husbanding his revenues for great or good purposes, was daily lavishing them away, in fruitless negociations, or on the least deferving of his subjects. Add to these things, that Lord Bacon lay all this time under the incumbrance of a vast debt: And that he had doubtless expended very considerable sums in procuring or making experiments. Such were the causes of that distress, and those difficulties, into which he was often plunged. 1 hat

That they were many and great, we can entertain no doubt (1). It is but too strongly confirmed to us by some unusual expressions in his letters to King James; where we find him pouring out his heart in complaints and supplications of such a strain, as every one who reveres his memory must wish he had never ut-

tered (m).

King James I. died in 1625, after an inglorious reign of three and twenty years. And Lord Bacon furvived him fomewhat more than a year. This great man, after having been for some time infirm and declining, at last owed his death to an excess not unbecoming a Philosopher; in pursuing, with more application than his strength could bear, certain experiments touching the conservation of bodies. He was so suddenly struck in his head and stomach, that he found himself obliged to retire into the Earl of Arundel's house at Highgate, near which he then happened to be. There he sickened of a fever, attended with a defluxion on his breaft; and, after a week's illness, he expired on the 9th of April, 1626, in the fixty-fixth year of his age. How he bore this indisposition, or what discourses he held at the nearer approaches of death, no account is to be found. There remains only a letter, the last he ever wrote, addressed to that Nobleman under whose roof he died: In which he compares himself to a celebrated Philosopher of antiquity, Pliny the elder; who lost his life by enquiring, with too dangerous a curiosity, into the first great eruption of Vesuvius (n). He was buried privately in St. Michael's church, near St. Alban's. The spot that contains his remains lay obscure and undistinguished, till the gratitude of Sir Thomas Meautys, a private man, who had been formerly his fervant, erected a monument to his name and memory. In another country, in a better age, (fays Mr. Mallet) his monument would have food a public proof in what veneration the whole fociety held a citizen, whose genius did them honour, and whose writings will instruct their latest posterity.

Lord Bacon was, as to his person, of a middling stature; his forehead spacious and open, early impressed with the marks of age; his eye lively and penetrating; and his whole appearance venerably pleasing: So that the beholder was insensibly drawn

to

(1) "It is true, though it be known to few persons, that when the Duke of Buckingham was sent into Spain, the Lord St. Alban's affairs were at so low an ebb, that upon the death of Mr. Murray, he solicited the King, by Secretary Conway, to be made Provost of Eton College; where indeed he would have enjoyed a pleasast retreat, in the society of learned men. To which the Secretary answered, by a letter of the 21st of March, 1623, that the King could not value his Lord-

ship so little, or conceive that he limited his desires so low; in which however he should have been gratified, had not the King been engaged by the Lord Marquis, for Sir William Becher, his agent in France. The place however was soon after obtained by Sir Henry Wotton."—Stephens's Account of the Life of the Lord Bacon, P. 26.

(m) Mallet, P. 120, 121. (n) Mallet, P. 123, 124.

to love, before he knew how much reason there was to admire him. His great and extraordinary ablities undoubtedly rendered him one of the greatest ornaments of his age and country; and as a Philosopher, he is justly entitled to our highest admiration, though as a man he had many faults. His behaviour with respect to the Earl of Essex was extremely censureable, as well as the corruption for which he was condemned in Parliament; but the greatest blemish in his character, appears to have been his readiness to concur in, and to support, with the most servile adulation, the arbitary measures of James and his Ministers, contrary to the true interest of his country, and his own better judgment.

Mr. Addison says, that Lord Bacon "possessed at once all those extraordinary talents, which were divided amongst the greatest authors of antiquity; he had the found, distinct, comprehensive knowledge of Aristotle, with all the beautiful lights, graces, and embellishments of Cicero; one does not know which to admire most in his writings, the strength of reason, force of flile, or brightness of imagination." And John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, afferts, " That all his works are for expreffion as well as thought, the glory of our nation, and of all lat-

ter ages."

There is one paffage in Lord Bacon's will which is very remarkable. After bequeathing his foul and body in the usual form, he adds, "My name and memory I leave to foreign na-"tions; and to mine own countrymen, after some time be passed " over. (f)." As to the former, he was, even in his lifetime, looked upon with admiration by the most eminent men that France and Italy could then boast of: And by some of them visited, as one whose talents were an ornament, not only to his age, but to human nature itself. When the Marquis D'Effiat brought into England the Princess Henrietta-Maria, wife to Charles the First, he paid a visit to Lord Bacon; who, being then fick in bed, received him with the curtains drawn. " resemble the angels, said that Minister to him; we hear those " beings continually talked of, we believe them superior to " mankind, and we never have the confolation to fee them (0)." But to this the Lord Bacon replied, " That if the charity of " others compared him to an angel, his own infirmities told " him he was a man." This French Minister translated Bacon's Essays into French; and contracted such a friendship with him, that he conversed with him by letters, and defired and obtained his picture to carry into France (p). Vol. IV. 3. Voiture,

<sup>(</sup>f) So this passage is generally "ritable speeches, and to foreign quoted; but in the original will it is "nations, and the next ages," flands thus; "For my name and (p) Stephens's Acc stands thus: "For my name and (p) Stephens's Account of the Life memory, I leave it to mem's cha- of the Lord Bacon, P. 28, 29.

Voiture, in a letter to one of his friends, fays, "I find every " thing perfectly fine that you have fent me of Bacon, but do " you not think that Horace, who faid,

" Visum Britannos bospitibus feros,

" would be much aftonished to hear a barbarian talk in this " manner, and to fee that there is not perhaps at this day a " Roman, who speaks so good Latin as this Englishman? And

" would not Juvenal fay with greater reason than ever,

" Nunc totus Grajas nostrajque babet orbis Athenas ? (9)." Lord Bacon is stiled by Voltaire the "Father of Experimental Philosophy;" and the celebrated Baron Puffendorff fays, "The " late most wife Chancellor of England was the chief writer of " our age, and who carried as it were the standard that we might " press forward, and make greater discoveries in philosophic " matters than any of which hitherto our schools had rung. So " that if in our time any great improvements have been made " in Philosophy, there has not been a little owing to that great

" man (r)."

There is the greater propriety in mentioning some of the encomiums which have been bestowed on Bacon by foreign writers, because a celebrated modern writer, Mr. Hume, has insinuated, that the high opinion which is formed of the merits of Bacon, arises partly from national partiality. "That national " fpirit, (fays this historian), which prevails among the English, " and which forms their great happiness, is the cause, why they " accompany all their eminent writers, and Bacon among the " rest, with praises and acclamations, which may often appear " partial and excessive." He also says, " If we consider the " variety of talents enjoyed by Bacon; as a public speaker, a " man of bufiness, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a " philosopher; he is justly the object of great admiration. If " we consider him merely as an author and philosopher, the " light, in which we view him at present, though very estima-" ble, he was yet much inferior to his cotemporary Galileo, " perhaps even to Kepler ( s )." Galileo was undoubtedly an illustrious man, and Kepler an admirable astronomer: But tho' we admit their superiority in astronomy, mechanics, and some particular branches of physical knowledge, it does by no means follow that either of them were greater Philosophers than Bacon (t). The praise of Bacon is founded not upon his skill in

(q) Vid. Oeuvres de Voiture, Edit. further improved the doctrine of Co1650, P. 753. pernicus; discovered by telescopes,
(r) Specimen. Controvers. Cap. 1. new stars in the heavens; wrote Dianew stars in the heavens; wrote Dialogues concerning the fystem of the world, and touching local motion; which latter is the key that openeth nature. But he descended not to the (1) " Galileo (fays Dr. Tennifon) feveral classes of bodies in nature, and

Scet. 5.
(s) Hume's Hift. of Great Britain,
(s) Edit. Edinb. 4to. Vol. I. P. 139, 140, Edit. Edinb. 4to.

or that particular branch of knowledge, but on his great and comprehensive understanding, which took in almost the whole extent of universal science. And he was so little indebted to the partiality of his countrymen, that his writings appear, for some time at least, to have been more esteemed and admired in foreign countries than in England ( u ).

Mr. Mallet observes, that all Bacon's cotemporaries, even those who hated the Courtier, stand up and bear witness together to the superior abilities of the Wiriter and Pleader, of the Philosopher and Companion. In conversation, he could assume the most differing characters, and speak the language proper to each, with a facility that was perfectly natural (w); or the dex-

U 2 terity

the particulars contained in them, and their respective motions and uses.

Neither did he publish any thing till many years had passed, since Mr. Bacon had formed and modelled in his thoughts, his larger idea of experimental knowledge." Account of Lord Bacon's works, P. 8, 9.

(u) The Author of Bacon's article in the Biographia Britannica, takes notice, that the learned Francis Buddeus " applauds the Viscount St. Alban's " extremely. He stiles him a new ight in Philosophy, one who sirst " united speculation and practice, and " opened a passage to those mighty " discoveries that have been made " fince his time: he indicates also the " feveral parts of his great body of fcience, which have been com" mented on and explained by the " learned Philosophers of Germany; " and thereby shews, that the memo-" ry of this admirable man, expand-" ed more fragrantly abroad for ma-" ny years than here in his native country." And to this purpose Francis Osborne observes, that Bacon was "over-balanced by a greater "weight of glory from strangers." When all this is confidered, how little property or justice there appears in Mr. Hume's remarks!

(w) Ben Johnson, who was his cotemporary, and knew Lord Bacon well, in his Discoveries stiles him a noble speaker, who was full of gravity in his speaking. "No man(says he) ever spake more neatly, more prestly, more weightily, or suffered less

" idleness in what he uttered. " member of his speech but consisted " of his own graces. His hearers " could not cough or look afide from " him without lofs. He commanded " where he spoke, and had his judges " angry and pleased at his devotion. " No man had their affections more " in his power. The fear of every " man that heard him was, left he " fhould make an end." He after-" wards observes, that his " conceit " of Lord Bacon's person was never " increased towards him by his place " or honours. But I have (says he) " and do reverence him for the great-" ness, that was only proper to him-" felf; in that he feemed to me ever 45 by his works one of the greatest " men, and most worthy of admiration " that had been in many ages."

Francis Ofborne speaks of Bacon as as the most universal genius he had ever feen, or was ever like to fee had he lived ever fo long. He tells us, that he was so excellent, so agreeable a speaker, that all who heard him were uneafy if he was interrupted, and forry when he concluded; but what he thought most remarkable, was his understanding all subjects to the bot-tom. " Now (says he) this general " knowledge he had in all things huf-" banded by his wit, and dignified by " fo majestical a carriage as he was " known to own, struck such an aw-" ful reverence in those hequestioned, " that they durft not conceal the most " intrinsic part of their mysteries " from him, for fear of appearing igterity of the habit concealed every appearance of art: A happy versatility of genius, which all men wish to arrive at, and one or two, once in an age, are seen to posses. In public, he commanded the attention of his hearers, and had their affections wholly in his power. As he accompanied what he spoke with all the expression and grace of action, his pleadings, that are now perhaps read without emotion, never failed to awaken in his audience the several passions he intended they should feel.

Lord Bacon continued fingle till after forty, and then took to wife a daughter of Alderman Barnham of London, with whom he received a plentiful fortune, but had by her no children: And the outlived him upwards of twenty years. There was one fingularity in his temperament not easily to be accounted for: In every eclipse of the moon, whether he observed it or not, he was certainly leized with a fudden fit of fainting; which left him, without any remaining weakness, as foon as the eclipse ended. His Chaplain informs us, " his diet was rather plentiful and liberal than restrained. In his younger years he was much given to the finer and lighter fort of meats: But afterwards he preferred the stronger, such as the shambles afforded; as those which bred the more firm and substantial juices, and less diffipable. He did not neglect that himfelf, which he has in his writings fo much extolled to others, namely, the frequent use of nitre; of which he took the quantity of about three grains

in thin warm broth every morning, for thirty years together.

It appears evidently from Lord Bacon's writings, that he was a firm believer of the important truths of natural and revealed religion. He observes in his Essays, that "a little Philosophy "inclineth men's mind to Atheism; but depth in Philosophy bringeth men's minds about to Religion. For while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may some-

" times

"in norant or faucy. All which rendered him no less necessary than admirable at the Council-table, where,
in reference to impositious, monopolies, &c. the meanest manusactures were an usual argument, and,
as I have heard, did in this bassle
the Earl of Middlesex, that was
born and bred a citizen; yet without any great (if at all) interrupting
his other studies, as is not hard to
be imagined, of a quick apprehension, in which he was admirable."

Dr. Rawley tells us, that his meals were reflections of the ear as well as of the stomach, like the Nocles Attica, or Banquets of the Deipnosophists; and he knew some persons of no mean parts, who protessed that they made use of their note-books when they rose

from his table. " He was not the least over-bearing in discourse, nor apt to engross the whole conversation to himself, or to endeavour to excel others; but took a pleafure in engaging them upon those subjects, which they were peculiarly skilful in, or loved to talk upon. He contemned no man's observations, but would light his torch at every man's candle. His opinions and affertions were for the most part binding, and not contradicted by any, rather like oracles than discourses; which may be imputed to the well-weighing of his fentence by the icales of truth and reason; and also to the reverence and estimation, wherein he was commonly had, that no man would contest with him."

times rest in them, and go no further: But when it beholdeth the chain of them consederate and linked together, it must

" needs fly to Providence and Deity."

Several of Lord Bacon's pieces have been already mentioned. His writings have been many times printed, feparately, and in different forms: But all the treatifes written by Lord Bacon, and contained in the feveral Collections of his Works, are too many to be here particularly enumerated. None of his writings have been more generally read, than his "Essays or Counsels civil" and moral;" because, as he himself expresses, "they come home to men's business and bosoms." But his great and capital work is his Grand Instauration of the Sciences, of which we shall give some account in the words of Mr. Mallet; who observes that this was a work designed by Bacon, not as a monument to his own same, but a perpetual legacy to the

common benefit of others.

" He has divided the whole into fix capital parts. The FIRST part proposes a general survey of human knowledge; and this he executed in that admirable treatife, entitled, "The Advance ment of Learning." As he intended to raife a new and lafting structure of Philosophy, founded not in arbitrary opinions or specious conjectures, but in truth and experience; it was absolutely necessary to his defign, first to review accurately the state of learning as it then flood, through all its provinces and divifions. To do this effectually, required, with an uncommon meafure of knowledge, a discernment not only exquisite but univerfal: The whole intellectual world was subjected to its examination and censure. That he might not lose himself on a subject fo vast, and of such variety; he has, according to the three faculties of the foul, memory, fancy, and understanding, ranged the numerous train of arts under three great classes, History, Poetry, Philosophy. These may be considered as the principal trunks, from which shoot forth, in prodigious diversity, the leffer parts and branches of Science. Whatever is deficient, erroneous, or still wanting in each, he has pointed out at large; together with the properest means for amending the defects, for recti ying the errors, and for supplying the omissions in all. Upon the whole, he was not only well acquainted with every thing that had been discovered in books before his time, and able to pronounce critically on those discoveries; but he also faw clearly, and at the end of this treatife has marked out in one general cart, the feveral tracts of science that lay still neglected or unknown. And to fay the truth, some of the most valuable improvements fince made have grown out of the hints and notices scattered through this work: From which the moderns have. felected, each according to his fancy, one or more plants to cultivate and bring to perfection.

The defign of the Novum Organum, which flands as the se-

COND part of his Inflauration, and may be reckoned the most confiderable, was to raife and enlarge the powers of the mind. by a more useful application of its reasoning faculty to all the different objects that Philosophy considers. In this place, our author offers to the world a new and better Logic; calculated not to supply arguments for controversy, but arts for the use of mankind: Not to trumph over an enemy by the fophistry of difputation, but to subdue nature itself by experiment and enquiry. As it differs from the vulgar Logic in its aim, it varies no lefs from that captious art in the form of demonstrating : For it generally rejects Syllogijm, as an instrument rather hurtful than ferviceable to the investigation of nature, and uses in its stead a fevere and genuine Induction. Not the trivial method of the schools, that, proceeding on a simple and superficial enumerazion, pronounces at once from a few particulars, exposed to the danger of contradictory instances: But an induction that examines fcrupuloufly the experiment in question, views it in all possible lights, and rejects and excludes whatever does not necesfarily belong to the subject; then, and not till then, concluding from the affirmatives left. A croud of inflances might be brought to shew how greatly this method of enquiry has profpered in the hands of the moderns; and how fruitful it has been of new discoveries, unknown and unimagined by antiquity. But we shall mention one only that may stand in the place of many; the Optics of our immortal Newton: Where, in a variety of experiments, he has analyzed the nature and properties of light itfelf, of the most subtile of all bodies, with an accuracy and precision, that could hardly have been expected from examining the groffest and most palpable. From whence, by the method of Induction, he has raised the noblest theory that any age or country can fhew.

It has been the fate of almost every considerable scheme for the good of mankind, to be treated at first as visionary, or impracticable, merely for being new. This Lord Bacon foresaw, and endeavoured to obviate, in the THIRD part of his Inflauration; by furnishing materials himself towards a natural and experimental History: A work which he thought so indispensably necessary, that without it the united endeavours of all mankind, in all ages, would be infufficient to rear and perfect the great structure of the sciences. He was aware too, that even men of freer and more extensive notions, who relished his new Logic, might be deterred from reducing it to practice, by the difficulties they would meet with in experimenting, according to the rules by him prescribed. He therefore led the way to other enquirers, in his Sylva Sylvarum, or History of Nature: Which, however imperfect in many respects, ought to be looked upon as extensive and valuable for that age, when the whole work was to be begun. This collection, which did not appear till after his death, has

been generally confidered as detached from, and independent on his general plan: And therefore his defign in making and recording these experiments has not been duly attended to by the reader. They are a common repository or store-house of materials, not arranged for ornament and show, but thrown loosely together for the service of the Philosopher: Who may from thence felect fuch as fit his present purpose; and with them, by the aid of that organ or engine before spoken of, build up fome part of an axiomatical Philosophy, which is the crown and completion of this system. The Phenomena of the Universe he ranges under three principal divisions; the History of Generations, or the Production of all Species, according to the common laws of nature; that of preter-generations, or of births deviating from the stated rule; and thirdly, the History of Nature as confined or affifted, changed or tortured by the art of man : Which last discloses to us a new face of things, and as it were another world of appearances. The use of such a history he reckons two-fold; either the knowledge of qualities in themfelves; or to ferve for the first matter of a true and useful Philofophy. With this view only did Bacon make and gather together the miscellaneous collection of which we are speaking. That many particular experiments have been found doubtful or false, cannot be wondered at: The whole was then a tract of science uncultivated and desart. If several considerable men, treading in the path he struck out for them, have gone further and surveyed it more exactly than he did, yet to him is the honour of their discoveries in a manner due. It was Columbus alone who imagined there might be a new world; and who had the noble boldness to go in tearch of it, through an ocean unexplored and immense. He succeeded in the attempt; and led his followers into a spacious continent, rich and fruitful. If succeed. ing adventurers have penetrated farther than he into its feveral regions, or marked and diffinguished them with more accuracy; the result of these discoveries has less extended their fame, than it has raised and enlarged his.

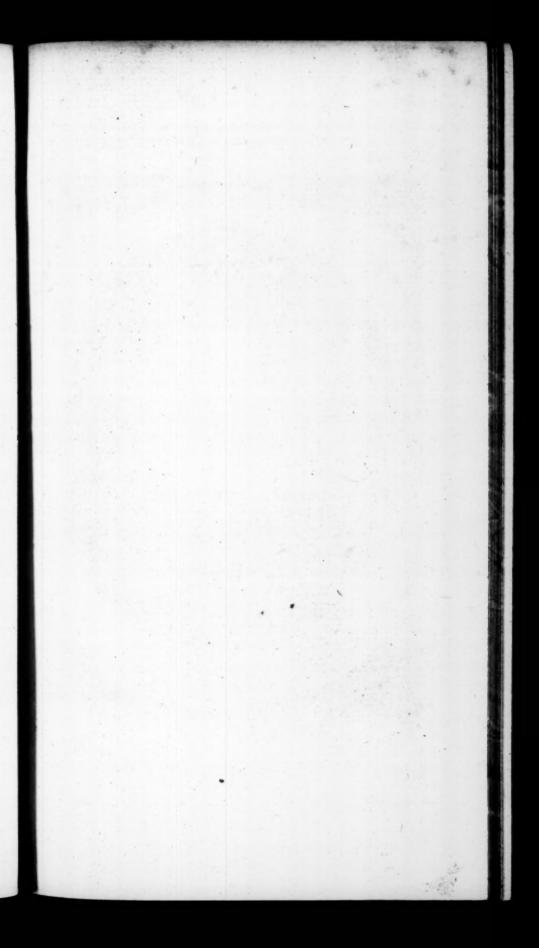
After these preparations, nothing seemed wanting but to enter at once on the last and most exalted kind of Philosophy: But Bacon judged, that, in an affair so complicated and important, some other things ought to precede, partly for instruction, and partly for present use. He therefore interposed a fourth and firth part: The former of which he named Scala Intelectur, or a series of steps by which the understanding might regularly ascend in its philosophical researches. For this purpose, he proposed examples of enquiry and investigation, agreeable to his own method, in certain subjects; selecting such especially as are of the noblest order, and most widely differing from one another; that instances of every fort might not be wanting. The fourth

part then was to contain a particular application and illustration of the fecond. In this light we chuse to consider the fix monthly histories which he proposed to write on fix principal topics in natural knowledge: Namely, of winds; of life and death; of rarefaction and condensation; of the three chymical principles, falt, fulphur, mercury; of bodies heavy and light; of fympathy and antipathy. The first three, in the order in which they are here placed, he profecuted at some length; and in a manner that shews with what a happy fagacity he could apply his own rules to the interpretation of nature. The wonder is, that other enquirers fince his time have done so little towards perfecting the two first mentioned, things of so great concern to human society, and to every individual. As to the three last, we have only a short introduction to each; death having prevented him from writing any thing on the subjects themselves. Such is our condition here! whoever is capable of planning useful and extensive schemes dies always too soon for mankind, even in the most advanced age.

Of the FIFTH part he has left nothing but the title and scheme. It was indeed to be only a temporary structure, raised with such materials as he himself had either discovered, or tried, or improved; not according to the due form of genuine induction, but by the same common use of the understanding that others had employed. And this was to remain no longer than till he had raised, The SIXTH and sublimest part of this Grand Instauration, to which all the preceding are merely subservient: A Philosophy purely axiomatical and scientistic; slowing from that just, castigated, genuine manner of enquiry, which the author first invented and applied. But this he despaired of being able to accomplish: And the Learned of all countries from his days have been only labouring some separate or lesser parts of this amazing edifice, which ages to come may not see finished,

according to the model left them by this one man.

Such, and so unlimitted were the views of BACON for the universal advancement of Science! the noble aim to which he directed all his philosophic labours. What Cæsar said, in compliment to Tully, may with strict justice be applied to him: That it was more glorious to have extended the limits of human wit, than to have enlarged the bounds of the Roman world. That Lord BACON really did so, is a truth acknowledged not only by the greatest private names in Europe, but by all the public societies of its most civilized nations. France, Italy, Germany, Britain, nay even Russia, have taken him for their leader, and submitted to be governed by his Institution. The empire he has erected in the learned world is as universal as the free use of reason: And one must continue, till the other is no more (x)."





S. EDWARD COKE.

All Lord Bacon's Works were collected together, and published at London, in 1740, in four volumes, in solio. And a valuable and correct edition of them was also published, in 1565, by Dr. Birch, in five volumes, quarto.

## The Life of Sir EDWARD COKE, Lord Chief Justice of England.

HIS famous Lawyer was fon to Robert Coke, Efg; and was born at his father's feat at Mileham, in the county of Norfolk, in the year 1550. At ten years of age, he was fent to the free-school at Norwich; and from thence removed to Trinity-college in Cambridge. He remained in the University about four years, and went from thence to Clifford's Inn in London; and the year after, was entered a ftudent of the Inner Temple (y). David Lloyd tells us, that " the first occasion of his rise, was his stating of the Cook's case " of the Temple so exactly, that all the house who were puz" zled with it, admired him; and his pleading it so, that the " whole bench took notice of him(z)." He was called to the bar at fix years standing, which in that age was held very extraordinary. He has himself informed us, that the first cause he moved in the King's Bench, was in Trinity-term, 1578; when he was council for Mr. Edward Denny, vicar of Northlinham, in the county of Norfolk, in an action of scandalum magnatum, brought against him by Henry Lord Cromwell. This was a remarkable cause, an account of which may be found in our Author's Reports.

About this time he was appointed Reader of Lyon's Inn, in which office he continued three years; and his learned Lectures were much reforted to, and applauded. His reputation increafed very fast, and he came into great practice: And when he had been at the bar about seven years, he married Bridget, daughter and co-heires of John Paston, Esq; a lady of one of the best families in the county of Norfolk, and who brought him thirty thousand pounds.

After this marriage, by which he became allied to some of the noblest houses in the kingdom, he began to rise very fast. The cities of Coventry and Norwich choice him their Recorder; and he was engaged in all the great causes in Westminster-Hall. He was also in high credit with the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh, and was frequently consulted in the Queen's affairs. His large X

<sup>(</sup>y) Biograph. Britan, and New (z) State-Worthies, Vol. II. P. and Gen, Biog. Dict.

estate, and his great credit in his country as well at Court, recommended him to the freeholders of his county, by whom he was chosen Knight of the Shire; and in the Parliament held in the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, being at that time the Queen's Solicitor, which was bestowed upon him in 1592; and soon after he was

appointed Attorney-General.

Some time after this Mr. Coke loft his wife, by whom he had ten children; but he afterwards paid his addresses to another Lady of great fortune and quality. This was the Lady Hatton, relict of Sir William Hatton, and fifter to Thomas, Lord Burleigh, afterwards Earl of Exeter. But this new marriage, however honourable and advantageous it might appear to be, made no addition to Coke's domestic felicity; on the contrary, as he and his Lady were frequently on very ill terms with each other, it proved a fource of much unhappiness, Indeed, the very celebration of their marriage occasioned no small noise and disquiet, by an unlucky accident that attended it. There had been the fame year, which was 1598, so much notice taken of irregular marriages, that Archbishop Whitgift had signified to the Bishops of his province, that he expected they should be very diligent in causing all such persons to be prosecuted as were guilty of any irregularity in the celebration of marriage, in point of time, form or place. But whether it was that Mr. Coke looked upon his own and the Lady's quality, and their being married with the consent of the family, as setting them above such reftrictions, or whether he did not advert to them, certain it is, that they were married in a private house, without either banns or licence. Upon which Mr. Coke and his new-married Lady, Mr. Henry Bothwell, Rector of Okeover in the county of Rutland, Thomas Lord Burleigh, and feveral other persons, were prosecuted in the Archbishop's Court; but upon their submisfion by their proxies, were absolved from excommunication, and the penalties consequent upon it, because, says the record, they had offended not out of contumacy, but through ignorance of the law in that point (a).

The affair of most importance in which as Attorney-General he had a share in the reign of Elizabeth, was the prosecution of the Earl of Essex, against whom he pleaded with great acrimony. In May, 1603, he was knighted by King James; and in November the same year, he managed the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh at Winchester, to which city the term was adjourned on account of the plague being at London. But he inveighed against that great and brave man with a degree of bitterness, insolence, and cruelty, and with so much scurrility of language, as greatly bessened him in the general opinion of the world (b).

<sup>(</sup>a) Biograph. Erit.

Mallet, that "the offices of Attorney
(b) It is justly observed by Mr. "and Solicitor-General have been
"rocks

Sir Edward Coke, however, foon after obtained great credit by the fagacity and vigilance which he discovered in unravelling all the dark scenes of that remarkable instance of the bloody and vindictive spirit of Popery, the Gunpowder Plot; and by his admirable management of the evidence against Sir Everard Digby, and the rest of the conspirators tried at Westminster on the 27th of June, 1605, and at the trial of Henry Garnet at Guildhall, on the 28th of March following; on both which occasions he gave the most convincing proofs of his extensive capacity, quick penetration, and folid judgment; fo that Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, observed in his speech upon the last trial, " that the evi-" dence had been so well distributed and opened by the Attor-" ney-General, that he had never heard fuch a mass of matter " better contracted, nor made more intelligible to the jury." This appears to have been fo true, that many now effeem this last speech to be Sir Edward Coke's master-piece.

On the 27th of June the same year he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. And the motto which he gave upon his rings, when he was called to the degree of Serjeant, in order to qualify him for this promotion, was, Lex est tutissima cassis; i. e. the law is the safest helmit. When he had held this post for seven years with great reputation, he was, on the 25th of October, 1613, made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; and on the sourch of November, was sworn of

his Majesty's Privy Council.

Sir Edward Coke's profound skill in the common law enabled him to discharge the duties of his important station with eminent ability. On the bench he was above corruption; and had this

"rocks upon which many aspiring "Lawyers have made shipwreck of their virtue and human nature. "Some of those gentlemen have actived at the bar as if they thought themselves, by the duty of their places, absolved from all the obligations of truth, honour, and decency. But their names are upon record, and will be transmitted to after-ages with those characters of reproach and abhorrence that are due to the worst fort of murderers; those that murder under the sanction of justice." Life of Lord Bacon, P. 48.

It is undoubtedly the business of an Attorney-General to defend the legal prerogative of the King, which is not calculated for the benefit of the prince only, but for the advantage also of the people whom he is appointed to govern; but we have had Attorney-Ge-

nerals in late times, who feem on alloccasions to have thought it their business not only to defend the legal prerogative of the King, but to extend it to the utmost, and leave the people as little national liberty as possible. But surely those men who, because they hold a temporary office from the Crown, and because they are eager to pay their court to the Ministers for the time being, thew to much readiness to deprive their countrymen of those invaluable rights which their gallant ancestors have transmitted down to them, rights purchased with so much toil and blood, and which have rendered England the envy of furrounding nations; furely fuch men are in the worlt fense traitors to their country; and what. ever their abilities may be, are most defervedly the objects of national hatred, detellation, and contempt,

this saying frequently in his mouth, that a Judge should neither give nor take a bribe. And though whilst he held the post of Attorney-General, he had been too ready to countenance and support the despotic measure of James and his Ministers, yet now he was advanced to the dignity of Lord-Chief-Justice, the Court found him, in several instances, no friend to arbitrary will and pleasure, or to the prerogative, as it was called; but resolutely

bent to maintain the integrity and honour of his post.

In 1614, Mr. Peacham, a Clergyman, was accused of inserting in a sermon several passages accounted treasonable, for it seems they resected on the Ministry; but in a sermon never preached, nor ever intended to be made public. The King, who was beyond measure jealous on this head, fearing the man might either be acquitted on his trial, or not condemned to a capital punishment, had ordered his Attorney-General Bacon to sound the Judges beforehand, and gather their opinions, secretly and apart. But the Lord Chief Justice Coke absolutely resused to declare his; looking on this auricular taking of opinions, for so he named it, as not according to the customs of the realm, but new, and of pernicious tendency (c). It was, indeed, directly contrary to his own sound maxim, "That he was "a Judge in a Court, and not in a Chamber." But notwithstanding this, it appears that Mr. Peacham was tried and con-

victed of high treason (d).

In a cause of the Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, to whom the King had granted a vacant church in commendam, Sir Edward Coke also behaved with honesty and firmness, and made it evident that he knew that a Judge ought neither to be flattered nor menaced out of his integrity. Serjeant Chiborne, who was Council against the Bishop, in arguing the case had maintained feveral politions, reckoned prejudicial and derogatory to "the King's supreme and imperial power," which was affirmed to be distinct from, and of an higher nature, than his ordinary authority. Informed of this, James, by his Attorney-General Bacon, ordered his Judges to stay further proceedings in that business, till they had confulted with him. The Judges affembled, and unanimously agreed, that they could not obey this order; that the letter they had received was contrary to law; that, by their oath and the duty of their places, they were not to delay justice; that they had therefore proceeded in the cause at the time fixed: And of this they certified the King in a writing under all their hands. Upon this remonstrance, he wrote them an angry letter, and peremptorily commanded them to stay all proceedings, till his return to London. They were then fummoned before the Council, and sharply reprimanded for suffering the popular Lawyers to question his prerogative; which was represented as facred and transcendent, not to be handled or mentioned in vulgar argument. At last raising his voice, to frighten them into submission, he put this question to them severally: "If, at any time, in a case depending before the Judges, he conceived it to concern him either in profit or power, and thereupon required to consult with them, and that they should stay proceedings in the mean time; whether they ought not to stay them accordingly?" They all, the Chief Justice only excepted, acknowledged it their duty to do so. His answer deserves to be for ever remembered: "That when such a case happened, he would do that which should be sit for a Judge to do (4)."

About this time Sir Edward Coke having determined a particular case at common law, the plaintiff, who thought himself injured, would not abide by his dicision, but applied to Chancery for relief: Where the defendant resused to appear, disclaiming the authority of that Court; in which he was supported by the Chief Justice, who threatened the Chancellor with a premunire, grounded on a statute made in the 27th year of Edward III. for thus invading the limits of his jurisdiction. The King, who thought his prerogative (f) struck at anew in this attack on the Court of his absolute power, as Eacon stiled it, had the matter examined before the Council, who censured the Chief Justice Coke for what he had done.

In 1615, Sir Edward was employed in the judicial proceedings against the murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury (g); in which affair

(e) Life of Lord Bacon, P, 84 ---

(f) In a speech of James in the Star-chamber on this occasion, he made the following curious observation: "The mystery, (says he) of the " King's power is not lawful to be " disputed; for such a dispute seems " to weed into the weakness of sove-" reigns, and diminishes the mystical " reverence of those that sit on the throne of God." He afterwards gave the Judges the following advice: "Keep, fays he, yourfelves within " compass, give me my right of pri-" vate prerogative; I shall acquielce. " As for the prerogative of the Crown, " it is not for a lawyer's tongue, nor " lawful to be disputed. It is atheism " to dispute what God can do, his re-" vealed will ought to content us; fo " it is contempt in a subject to dis-" pute what a King can, or cannot do; "THE LAW IS HIS REVEALED "WILL." Guthrie's Hift. of England, Vol. III. P. 714, 715 .-- Thefe admirable doctrines his Majetty took great delight in inculcating on his fubjects.

(g) Sir THOMAS OVERBURY was descended from an ancient family, and born in 1581, at Compton-Scorfen in Warwickshire, the seat of Giles Palmer, Efq; whose daughter was his mother. At the age of fourteen, he was entered a gentlemancommoner of Queen's College in Oxford, where he applied himself diligently to his studies; and having acquired a competent stock of Logic and Philosophy, had a Batchelor of Arts degree conferred on him in November, 1598. He afterwards went to the Middle Temple in London, his father defigning him for his own profession, the law; but his genius leading him to polite literature, and the fplendor and elegancy of a Court prefently engaging his whole attention, it was not long before he refolved to push his fortune in it. Accordingly about the year 1604, he commenced an acquaintance with Robert Car, afterwards Earl of Somerfet, who findaffair he acted with great vigour, and, as some thought, in a manner greatly to be commended; yet his enemies, who were numerous, and had formed a design to humble him, took occasion from some circumstances to represent him in an unsavourable light

ing Overbury's accomplishments very ferviceable to his aspiring views, entered into the most intimate connexion with him. As Car was raised from a low station, his ignorance in literature was one motive for King James's taking him into his favour; who proposed not only to teach him Latin, but to make him as able a statesman as the best of his ministers: so that it is no wonder that this favourite should be glad to cultivate a familiarity with Overbury, whose uncommon parts and learning could not but be of use to him.

Car foon growing into high favour with his Majesty, made use of it, in 1608, to obtain the honour of knightood for his friend Overbury, whose father he likewise procured at the same time to be made one of the Judges for Wales. The year following, Sir Tho-mas made a tour through Holland, France, and Flanders, and published his observations made in the course of his travels the same year in 4to. In 1612, he affisted his friend, then become Lord Viscount Rochester, in his amour with the Countels of Effex : but when Sir Thomas found that his friend Rochester listened to that Lady's proposal of a divorce from her hutband, and a marriage with him. he laid the ruinous consequences of fuch a kep before him, with all the force of his genius. Rochester was weak enough to discover this to the Countefs, who immediately became inflamed with rage and fury against Overbury; and when she began to form projects of revenge against him, the favourite was weak and wicked enough to enter into her views, and join in a defign of poisoning his friend. Some contrivance being requifite for the execution of this iniquitous purpofe, Rochester addressed himself to the King; and after complaining, that his own indulgence to Overbury had begot in him a degree of arrogance and prefumption, which was extremely disagreeable, he prevailed on the King to appoint Sir Thomas Ambassador to Russia, which he represented as an employment and retreat for his friend, both profitable and honourable. But when confulted by Overbury, Rochester earnestly disfuaded him from accepting this offer, and took on himfelf the talk of fatisfying the King, if he should be any way To the displeased at the refusal. King, on the other hand, he aggravated the infolence of Overbury's conduct, and obtained a warrant for his commitment to the Tower, which James intended, we are told, as a flight punishment for his disobedience. Lieutenant of the Tower was a creature of Rochester, and had lately been put into the office, and, as some say, for this very purpose. He confined Overbury so strictly, that he was debarred from the fight even of his nearest relations; and no communication of any kind was allowed him, during near five months, which he lived in prison. Sir Thomas had no suspicion at first, that his imprisonment was his old friend the favourite's contrivance; but discovering it at length, he expostulated with him in the feverest manner, and even proceeded to threats of making some important discoveries relative to Rochester's former practices, which terrified the favourite fo much, that he charged the Lieutenant of the Tower to look to Overbury well; for if ever he came out, it would be his ruin, or one of the two must die.

In the mean time, many attempts by poifon were made upon Overbury; none of which fucceeded, till an impoifoned clyfter was given him on the 14th of September, 1613, under a pretence of removing those complaints, which unknown to him, were occasioned by their former wicked practices on him. He never ceased vomiting and purging till he expired, and being of a strong constitution, he

Aruggled

light both to the King and the people. Many circumstances concurred at this time to haften Coke's fall; and different causes are affigned for it by different writers. His behaviour in feveral instances had been very disagreeable to the Court; and he had given umbrage to the rifing favourite, Sir George Vil-

death, which at length put an end to his extreme torture, about five o'clock the next morning. His corpfe, which was exceedingly noisome, was hastily interred about three the same day in the Tower-chapel. Immediately after his death, some suspicion of the true cause of it was rumoured about; but the great perfons concerned prevailed fo far, as to make it believed that he died of the venereal disease. Nevertheless the whole was discovered about two years after, when the under-agents were all apprehended, tried, and executed. The favourite alfo, now Earl of Somerfet, as well as his Countess, (for he had married the Lady some time before, she having been divorced from the Earl of Effex) were both tried and condemned, but afterwards pardoned by the King. The Countels, however, died in a very miserable manner, and in the most extreme pain and torture, occasioned by a gangrene in that part in which the had almost beyond example shamelessly offended. Sir Thomas Overbury was the au-

thor of feveral ingenious pieces in verse and prose, which have been many times printed, particularly a Poem, entitled, "The Wife;" and "Cha-" racters, or witty descriptions of the " properties of fundry persons." All his works were reprinted at London, in 1753, in 8vo. An Historian of those times, after having related the occafion and circumstances of our author's death, makes the following observations relative to his character, and untimely end. "In this manner fell " Sir Thomas Overbury, worthy of a " longer life and a better fate; and, " if I may compare private men with " Princes, like Germanicus Cæfar; " both by poison procured by the ma-" lice of a woman, both about the " 33d year of their age, and both ceet lebrated for their skill and judg-

firuggled many hours in the agonies of " ment in poetry, their learning, and " their wisdom. - Overbury was a " gentleman of an antient family, but had fome blemishes charged upon " his character, either through a too " great ambition, or the infolence of " a haughty temper.—After the return from his travels, the Viscount
Rochester embraced him with so entire a friendship, that exercising " by his Majelty's special favour the " office of Secretary provisionally, he " not only communicated to Sir Tho-" mas the fecrets, but many times " gave him the packets and letters unopened, before they had been pe-" ruled by the King himfelf; which, " as it prevailed too much upon his " early years, fo as to make him, in " the opinion of fome, thought high and ambitious, yet he was fo far from violating his trust and confi-" dence, that he remains now one ex-" ample among others who have fuf-" fered in their persons or their for-" tunes for a freedom of advice, " which none but fincere friends will " give, and many are fuch ill friends " to themselves as not to receive."

Being never married he left no iffue; fo that the family estate came to his younger brother, whose fon, Sir Thomas Overbury, was also the author of some pieces. These are, 1. " A true " and perfect account of the exami-" nation, trial, condemnation, and ex-" ecution of Joan Perry and her two " ions, for the supposed murder of " William Harrison, written by way " of letter to Thomas Shirley, M. D. in London, 1676, 4to." This was a most remarkable transaction. Hatrifon was not really murdered, but conveyed away alive by a gang of Mohocks and carried to Turkey, where, coming into the hands of a physician, he acquired some skill in that faculty; and at length, after many years absence, found means of getting away, and returned home, to the great altonith-

liers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham. The author of the notes on Wilson's Life of King James, published in Kennet's Complete History of England, tells us, "that Sir Edward lost the King's favour, and some time after his place, for letting " fall fome words upon one of the trials, importing his suspicion, that Overbury had been poisoned to prevent the discovery of another crime of the same nature, committed upon one of " the highest rank, whom he termed a sweet Prince; which was taken to be meant of Prince Henry." However, whatever were the causes of his disgrace, he was brought upon his knees before the Council at Whitehall, upon the 26th of June, 1616; and offences were charged upon him by Yelverton, the Solicitor-General, implying, amongst other things, "speeches of high " contempt uttered in the feat of Justice, and uncomely and un-"dutiful carriage in the presence of his Majesty, the Privy Council, and Judges." The Lord Chief Justice defended himself with respect to the several accusations against him; but on the 30th of June following, he was again brought to the Council-table, when Secretary Winwood informed him, that the King had decreed, I. That he should be sequestered from the Council-table, until his Majesty's pleasure was farther known. II. That he should forbear to ride his summer-circuit as Justice of Affize. III. That during this vacation, whilft he had time to live privately, and dispose himself at home, he should review his books of Reports; wherein, as his Majesty was informed, were many extravagant and exorbitant opinions, fet down and published for positive and good law. And having corrected what in his discretion he found meet in these Reports, it was his Majesty's pleasure that he should bring the same privately to himself, that he might confider thereof, as in his princely judgment should be found expedient. Among other things, the King was not well pleased with the title of those books, wherein Coke stiled himfelf Lord Chief Justice of England; whereas he could challenge no more, it was faid, than Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Sir Edward submitted himself to his Majesty; however, on the third of October he was called before the Chancellor, and forbid Westminster-hall; and also ordered to answer several exceptions against his Reports. And in the beginning of November,

ment of every body, fince the sufferers for his supposed death had actually confessed the murder. 2. "Queries proposed to the serious consessed to

there came out the fame year, "Ataxiæ Obstaculum; an answer to "certain queries, intitled, Queries "proposed, &c." Upon this, Sir Thomas wrote a reply, intitled, 3. "Ratiocinium Vernaculum, or, a "Reply to Ataxiæ Obstaculum, &c." New and Gen. Biog. Dict. Biograph. Britan. Hume's and Guthrie's Hist. of England,

vember, the King removed him from the office of Lord Chief

Justice.

Upon Sir Edward's disgrace, Sir Francis Bacon wrote him an admonitory letter, in which he remonstrates to him feveral errors in his former behaviour and conduct. We shall make an extract or two from this letter; because though it may be doubted, whether it was quite generous in Bacon, to write fuch a letter at fuch a feafon, even to a professed adversary, yet it will contribute somewhat towards illustrating the character and manners of Coke. " In discourse, (says Bacon) you delight to speak too " much, not to hear other men. This, some fay, becomes a " pleader, not a judge. For by this fometimes your affections " are entangled with a love of your own arguments, though they " be the weaker; and with rejecting of those, which, when " your affections were fettled, your own judgment would allow " for strongest. Thus, while you speak in your element, the " Law, no man ordinarily equals you; but when you wander, " as you often delight to do, you then wander indeed, and " never give such satisfaction, as the curious time requires. " This is not caused by any natural defect, but first for want of " election; when you, having a large and fruitful mind, should " not fo much labour what to speak, as to find what to leave " unspoken. Rich soils are often to be weeded. Secondly, you " cloy your auditory. When you would be observed, speech " must be either sweet or short. Thirdly, you converse with "books, not men, and books specially humane; and have no " excellent choice with men, who are the best books. For a " man of action and employment you feldom converse with, " and then but with your underlings; not freely, but as a " schoolmaster with his scholars, ever to teach, never to learn. " But if fometimes you would in your familiar discourse hear " others, and made election of fuch as know what they fpeak, you should know many of those tales, which you tell, to be " but ordinary; and many other things, which you delight to " repeat and serve in for novelties, to be but stale. As in your pleadings, you are wont to infult over mifery, and to inveigh " bitterly at the persons, (which bred you many enemies, whose poison yet swelleth, and the effects now appear) so are you " still wont to be a little careless in this point, to praise or dis-" grace upon flight grounds, and that fometimes untruly, fo " that your reproofs or commendations are for the most part " neglected and contemned; when the censure of a Judge (com-" ing flow, but fure) should be a brand to the guilty, and a " crown to the virtuous. You will jelt at any man in public, " without respect of the person's dignity or your own. This " difgraceth your gravity more than it can advance the opinion " of your wit, and so do all actions which we see you do di-" rectly with a touch of vain-glory, having no respect to the " true end. --- Your too much love of the world is too much VOL. IV. 3.

" feen, when having the living 10,000l. you relieve few or " none. The hand that hath taken fo much, can it give fo lit-" tle? Herein you shew no bowels of compassion, as if you " thought all too little for yourfelf; or that God had given you " all that you have (if you think wealth to be his gift, I mean " that you get well, for I know fure the rest is not) only to that " end you should still gather more, and never be satisfied, but " try how much you could gather to accompt for all at the " great and general audit-day. We defire you to amend this, and let your poor tenants in Norfolk find fome comfort, where " nothing of your estate is spent towards their relief, but all " brought up hither to the impoverishing of your country .---" But that which we commend you for, are those excellent parts of nature and knowledge in the law, which you are endued " withal. But these are only good in their good use. Where-" fore we thank you heartily for standing stoutly in the com-" monwealth's behalf; hoping, it proceedeth not from a dispo-" fition to oppose greatness, as your enemies say, but to do jus-" tice, and deliver truth indifferently without respect of per-

" fons (b)." The pretences for which Sir Edward Coke was displaced were very trivial, and his removal from his post was therefore attended with very little dishonour. But this great lawyer did not poffess that independence of mind, which alone enables a man to bear folitude, and an acquaintance with himself. He did not therefore know how to support his disgrace, such as it was, and accordingly foon after fued to be re-instated in the King's favour. To recover it, he meanly enough courted the favourite Buckingham with an offer, which he would not hear of when it was formerly made to him. While in power, he had refused to give his daughter in marriage to Sir John Villiers, brother to Buckingham, not without marks of difrespect. He now submissively entreated the same person to honour him with his alliance: And employed Secretary Winwood to inform the Earl of Buckingham of his extreme concern for what had passed with regard to the Earl's brother; that he now passionately wished the treaty might be renewed and accomplished; adding, that they should make their own terms of settlement, if his proposal was accepted. As the young lady was not only a celebrated beauty, but a great fortune, the person most interested made no difficulty to close with this proposal; and his mother recommended it to her fon Buckingham with warmth. But this affair occasioned a violent dispute and quarrel between Sir Edward Coke and his wife the Lady Hatton: Who, resenting her husband's attempt to dispose of her daughter without her consent, carried away the young lady, and lodged her at Sir Edmund Withipole's house near Oatlands. Upon this, Sir Edward wrote immediately

<sup>(</sup>b) See the whole of this letter in the Supplement to the Cabala, P. 60--- 66. Edit. 4to, 1654.

mediately to the Earl of Buckingham, to procure a warrant from the Privy Council to restore his daughter to him; but before he received an answer, discovering where she was, he went with his fons, and took her by force, which occasioned Lady Hatton to complain in her turn to the Privy Council. However, on the 15th of September, 1617, Sir Edward Coke was fo far restored to Royal favour, as to be re-instated in his place as Privy-Counfellor; and on the Michaelmas-day following, his daughter Frances Coke was married to Sir John Villiers at Hampton-court, with great fplendor. But this wedding cost Sir Edward very dear. For besides 10,000l. paid in money at two payments. he and his fon Sir Robert did, upon the second of November, pursuant to articles and directions from the Lords of the Council, affure to Sir John Villiers a rent-charge of 2000 marks per annum, during Sir Edward's life; and of gool. a year during the Lady Hatton's, if she survived her husband; and after both their deaths, the manor of Stoke in Buckinghamshire, of the value of gool. per annum, to Sir John Villiers and his lady, and to the heirs of her body. The fame were fettled by good conveyances carefully drawn, and which was certified to his Majesty under the hands of two Serjeants and the Attorney-General (i).

All this time the quarrel still continued between Sir Edward Coke and his wife the Lady Hatton; and many letters are still preserved, which shew a great deal of heat and resentment in both parties. At the time of the marriage, Lady Hatton was confined, in consequence of the complaint of her husband. For fince her marriage with Sir Edward Coke, she had purchased the island and castle of Purbeck, and several other estates in different counties; which made her greatly independent of her huf-And it appears that several persons of the first quality in the kingdom, interested themselves deeply on both sides in the quarrel, infomuch that the Lord Houghton, formerly Sir John Hollis, was committed for having framed, in conjunction with Lady Hatton, fome scandalous libels against Sir Edward Coke. However, a reconciliation between him and his lady, in appearance at least, was at length effected; but this was not brought about till July, 1621, and then by no less a mediator than the King.

Though Sir Edward Coke was so far restored to Royal favour, as to be again taken into the Privy Council, yet he was never re-instated in the office of Lord Chief Justice. He was, however, employed in many affairs of importance; and, particularly, in 1619, he was commissioned, with several others, to confer with the deputies of the States-General, concerning the differences between the Dutch East-India company, and the English merchants trading to the East-Indies.

(i) Notwithstanding the great care was afterwards created Viscoun. Purwith which the articles relative to this beck; but his lady, Coke's daughter

marriage were adjusted, and the was accused of too great familiarity wealth of the parties, it proved a with Sir Robert Howard. very unhappy one. Sir John Villiers

In 1621, King James affembled a Parliament, of which Sir Edward Coke was chosen a member. His age, experience, and dignity, gave him great weight in the House of Commons: But it foon appeared, that he had refolved to act a different part from what had been expected from him by the Court, and the favourite Buckingham. He spoke with great warmth against some of the Court measures; and observed, that the Papists were at the root of ail the public calamities of England, and that no prohibition of the King could fet afide the rights of Parliament to enumerate them amongst their grievances. He opposed applying to the King for any explanation of the privileges of Parliament, which existed, he said, independently of the prerogative, and were in fact the privileges of the subject. He observed, that no proclamation could be of force against an act of Parliament: and that an act was passed in the reign of Edward III. for holding a Parliament every year, that the people might complain of their grievances. He then made fome observations upon their right to a liberty of speech, and pressed vigorously for a committee to confider of the national grievances.

King James was always defirous of extending his prerogative to the utmost, and was exceedingly alarmed at the liberties which were now taken with his administration by the Parliament. As to his subjects in general, he was so much averse to their converfing on political matters, that he issued a proclamation, commanding all persons, from the highest to the lowest, " not to in-" termeddle by pen or speech with state-concernments and se-" crets of empire, either at home or abroad; which, (his Ma-" jefty faid,) were no fit themes or subjects for vulgar persons, " or common meetings." And he even gave his Parliament to understand, that he thought matters of State were above their comprehension, and ought to be left entirely to his own princely wisdom. And he also intimated to them, that the liberty of freech claimed by them, as well as their other privileges, proceeded from Royal grace and favour, and which they might be deprived of at his Majesty's pleasure. But this doctrine gave so

protestation, which they ordered to be entered in their Jour-

nal-book:

"The Commons now assembled in Parliament, being justly coccasioned thereunte, concerning sundry liberties, franchises, and privileges of Parliament, amongst others here mentioned, do make this protestation following. That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament, are the antient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent assairs concerning the King, State, and defence of the Realm, and of the church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances which

much umbrage to the House of Commons, that they determined to affert their rights, and accordingly drew up the following

which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and " matter of Council and debate in Parliament; and that in the " handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the House of Parliament hath, and of right ought to have, " freedom of speech, to propound, treat, reason, and bring to " conclusion the same; and that the Commons in Parliament " have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters in " fuch order as in their judgments shall feem fittest; and that " every member of the faid house hath like freedom from all " impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by " censure of the house itself) for or concerning any speaking, " reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching " the Parliament, or Parliament bufiness; and that if any of " the faid members be complained of and questioned for any " thing done or faid in Parliament, the fame is to be shewed to " the King by the advice and affent of all the Commons affem-" bled in Parliament, before the King give credit to any pri-" vate information (k)."

James, who was at this time in the country, was fo enraged at the behaviour of the Commons, that he hastened to town; and fending for the journal of the House of Commons, he tore out with his own hand the protestation, which he declared null and void, and ordered his reasons to be inserted in the Councilbook. He also prorogued the Parliament; and on the 27th of December, Sir Edward Coke, on account of his spirited opposition to the Court measures in Parliament, was committed to the Tower, his chambers in the Temple broke open, and his papers delivered to Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Wilson to examine. On the 6th of January, 1621--2, the King dissolved the Parliament; and the fame day Sir Edward Coke was charged before the Council with having concealed some true examinations, in the great cause of the Earl of Somerset, and obtruding false ones. It feems as if thefe allegations against him had very little foundation, for he was foon after fet at liberty; but he was deprived of 'his feat in the Privy Council. However, James had afterwards reason to repent his arbitrary behaviour towards the Parliament, which greatly incenfed the nation against him.

Towards the close of the year 1023, Sir Edward Coke was nominated with several others, to whom large powers were given, to go over into Ireland, to regulate the affairs of that kingdom. But this nomination appears to have been made with no other view, than to get Sir Edward out of the way, to prevent his being troublesome to the Court party: However, he did not go upon this service. And he appears to have been entirely out of

favour at the death of King James.

On the accession of Charles I. it being resolved to call a Parliament, Sir Edward Coke was pricked for Sheriff of the coun-

ty of Buckingham, to prevent his being chosen a member of the House of Commons. David Lloyd says, "the Court-party was " jealous of Sir Edward's activity against them, as who had not digested his discontentments at he had done the law (1)." The nominating a man for Sheriff who had held posts of fuch high dignity, was a very extraordinary method of keeping him out of Parliament; and shews, that Charles's Ministers were more actuated by their own private views, than by a regard to public decency, or the honour of their master. Sir Edward laboured all he could to avoid ferving the office, in order to which he took exceptions against the oath, which he transmitted to the Attorney-General, who, by order of the Council, attended the Judges, who found only one objection out of four to be reasonable, and that was the clause respecting the prosecution of Lollards, in respect to which the oath was amended. But Coke was nevertheless obliged to serve as Sheriff, and to attend the Judges at the affizes, where he had often prefided as Lord Chief Juftice.

The Court could not, however, prevent Sir Edward Coke from being elected Knight of the Shire for the county of Bucks, in the Parliament affembled in 1628. In the late reign he had made a very conspicuous figure in Parliament. "He soon became as eminent in the House of Commons, says Mr. Guthrie, as he had been in Westminster-Hall; and, as the Prince of Wales took notice on a certain occasion, he had a peculiar talent, in all his speeches, of mixing the pleasant with the profitable, of embellishing his reading by his wit, and of recommending his reasoning by his spirit. Thus, though he spoke often, he was always heard without fatiety; though he talked with learning, he was understood with ease; his most designing speeches wore the face of candour, and all his behaviour had the warmth of patriotifm (m)." But however he might have distinguished himfelf in Parliament in the reign of James, he distinguished himfelf there still more in the reign of Charles. Indeed, no member spoke more warmly for the redress of grievances, argued more boldly in defence of the liberty of the subject, or more strenuously supported the privileges of the House of Commons, than Sir Edward Coke.

Sundry persons, who had refused to pay some illegal loans, demanded by the authority of the Crown only, were committed to prison by the command of the King and Council. Most of them patiently submitted to their confinement, or applied by petition to the King, who after some time generally released them. But sive gentlemen, whose names deserve to be remembered, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbett, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edmund Hampden, had spirit enough,

<sup>(1)</sup> State-Worthies, Vol. II. P. 111, Edit. 1766. ( m ) History of England, Vol. III. P. 757.

enough, at their own hazard and expence, to defend the public liberties, and to demand releasement, not as a favour from the Court, but as their due, by the laws of their country. The affair was brought before the Court of King's Bench; but the Judges refused either to set the gentlemen at liberty, or to accept the bail which was offered for them. And Heath, the Attorney-General, infifted, that the Court should enter a general judgment, that no bail could be granted, upon a commitment by the King and Council: But the Judges declined doing this. In the debates in Parliament upon this subject, Sir Edward Coke faid, "This draught of the judgment will sting us, quia nulla " causa fuit oftenta, being committed by command of the King, "therefore he must not be bailed. What is this, but to declare upon record, that any subject, committed by such absolute " command, may be detained in prison for ever? What doth " this tend to, but the utter subversion of the choice, liberty " and right, belonging to every free-born subject of this king. " dom? I fear, were it not for this Parliament, that followed " fo close after that form of judgment was drawn up, there " would have been hard putting to have had it entered. But " a Parliament brings judges, officers, and all men into good " order (n)."

This great lawyer afterwards argued this matter at large (0); and Mr. Guthrie observes, that "the argument of Sir Edward Coke, on this occasion, may be termed a Magazine of Law-learning; and he put the whole stress of his reasoning upon one point, that of proving, that if freemen of England might be imprisoned at the will and pleasure of the King, or his commandment, than were they in worse case than bond-men or willains. He proved this point by a chain of unanswerable arguments, both from reason and law. He then entered upon a very deep discussion of the principles of the constitution in point of personal liberty, and concluded by shewing, that no virtuous operations of State could be affected by leaving to subjects that jewel, which not only distinguishes freemen from slaves, but the living from the dead (p)."

Charles having, in the beginning of his reign, in a variety of instances, violated the rights of his people, they were desirous of some new law for better securing their liberties. But the King and his ministers were extremely solicitous to avoid any thing of this kind; they made, however, very ample promises that all grievances should be redressed, and the privileges of the people be preserved; and they desired them to rely on his Majesty's Royal word for this. But the Commons did not think that

532---537.

<sup>(</sup>n) Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. I. P. 509.
(1) See Rushworth, as before, (2) Rushworth, as before, (2) Rushworth, as before, (3) Rushworth, as before, (4) Hist. of England, Vol. III. P. 878.

a sufficient security; and in their debates upon this subject, Sir Edward Coke faid, "Was it ever known, that general words were a sufficient satisfaction for particular grievances? Was ever a verbal declaration of the King the word of the Sovereign ? When grievances are complained of, the Parliament is to redrefs them. Did ever the Parliament rely on messages? They " have ever put up petitions of their grievances, and the King has ever answered them. The King's message is very gracious; but what is the law of the Realm, that is the quef-" tion. I put no diffidence in his Majesty; but the King must " fpeak by record, and in particulars. Did you ever know the " King's message come into a bill of subsidies? All succeeding . Kings will fay, Ye must trust me as you did my predecessor, and ye " must have the same confidence in my messages. But messages of love never come into a Parliament. Let us put up a Petition of Right. Not that I diftrust the King; but that I cannot

" give trust except in a parliamentary way (q)."

Sir Edward Coke had a principal share in framing and drawing up the famous Petition of Right; which was so termed, Mr. Hume observes, as implying that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the antient conflitution, not any infringement of regal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties. The many arbitrary proceedings of Charles and his Ministers, had rendered fome new and legal declaration of the rights of the people very necessary. But the King was extremely loth to pass the Petition of Right into a law, and made use of a variety of artifices in order to quash it. The Lords sent propositions to the Commons, in which the prergative was preserved, and the Ministry had an opportunity of oppressing the subject, under pretence of Reason of State. The Lord-Keeper assured them, that his Majefty had commanded him to let them know, that he held the statute of Magna Charta, and the other fix statutes which had been infifted on for the subjects liberty, to be all in force; and affured them, that he would maintain all his subjects in the just freedom of their persons, and safety of their estates; that he would govern them according to the laws and statutes of this realm; and that they should find as much security in his Majesty's royal word and promise, as in the strength of any, law they could make; fo that, hereafter, they should have no cause to complain. But this would not do: The King therefore fent them a meffage by Mr. Secretary Cook, to know, whether the house would rest on his royal word, declared to them by the Lord-Keeper? which, if they did, he affured them it should be royally performed. But the Commons adhered firmly to their resolution of having a public remedy, as there had been a public violation of the laws and the subjects liberties, and so, by their Speaker, they

<sup>( 7 )</sup> Hume's Hift. of Great Britain, Vol. I, P. 177. Edit. Edinb. 4to.

they declared to the King; who then, in a manner not very gracious, told them by the Lord-keeper, " he was content a bill " should be drawn for a confirmation of Magna Charta, and " the other fix flatutes which had been infifted on for the fub-" jects liberties, if they chose that as the best way, but so as it " might be without additions, paraphrases, or explanations." It might have been imagined, that the bill would now have met with no further delays. But the Commons were again pressed, by the Secretary, to rely on the Royal word. The King himself wrote a letter to the upper House, in which he declared, " that " without the overthrow of Sovereignty, he could not fuffer the power of commitment, without shewing cause, to be im-" peached;" and the Lords were for adding a faving clause with respect to the Sovereign power, in extraordinary cases. This produced a conserence between the two Houses, who at length agreed; and the petition of right was read on the 2d of June, 1628; and the King's answer was thus delivered unto it. "The King willeth, that right be done according to the laws " and customs of the Realm; and that the statutes be put in " due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to com-" plain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just "rights and liberties; to the preservation whereof, he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative." This answer no way satisfied the Commons, who were very senfible it would render of little use all that they had been doing. But the King fent them word, that he would not alter his anfwer: though after he was petitioned by both Houses, he anfwered, Soit DROIT FACIT COMME IL EST DESIRE; and this more direct method of giving the Royal affent entirely fatisfied the Commons (r).

Whilst this affair was in agitation, before Charles had given his assent to the bill, on the 5th of June, Sir John Finch, the Speaker of the House of Commons, delivered a message to the House from the King, importing, That his Majesty had fixed a day for putting an end to their session, and therefore required Vol. IV. 3.

(r) Vid. Harris's Life of Charles I. P. 76, 77. This judicious Writer also observes, speaking of the above-mentioned behaviour of Charles, that "we see a deal of artifice, crast, dissimulation, and salfeshood in this whole affair; and nothing of openness and probity. However, the petition of right being passed into a law, one would have expected the King should have observed it; yet nothing is more certain, than that he not only endeavoured to evade it, but acted directly contrary to it. He called in 1500 copies of the petition, with his answer,

which had been printed; and suffered none to be sold that had not additions. He levied the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, though not granted him by Parliament; and committed several eminent men to prison, by warrant of his Council, for their speeches in the House. These things were diametrically opposite to what he had just passed into a law, and consequently could not proceed from ignorance or inexperience, but from a difregard to his word and most selemn promises."

that they should not enter into new business, or lay any asperfion on the Government, or Ministers thereof. This produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Elliot advancing somewhat that seemed to reflect on the King's favourite Buckingham, the Speaker rose up, and faid, " There is a command upon me, er that I must command you not to proceed." Upon this a profound filence enfued for fome time; after which the House resolved itself into a Committee, to consider what was proper to be done; and ordered that no man should go out, on pain of being committed to the Tower. The Speaker, however, defiring to withdraw, had leave fo to do; and Mr. Whitby being in the chair, Sir Edward Coke spoke as follows: "We have dealt with that duty and moderation, that never was the like, " REBUS SIC STANTIBUS, after fuch a violation of the liber-" ties of the subject : let us take this to heart. In 30 Ed. III. " were they then in doubt in Parliament to name men that " missed the King? They accused John de Gaunt, the King's " fon, and Lord Latimer, and Lord Nevil, for misadvising the "King; and they went to the Tower for it. Now when there is fuch a downfal of the State, shall we hold our tongues? " How shall we answer our duties to GOD and men? 7 Hen. " IV. Parl. Rot. No. 31, 32. and 11 Hen. IV. No. 13. there " the Council are complained of, and are removed from the " King; they mewed up the King, and diffuaded him from the " common good; and why are we now retired from that way " we were in? why may we not name those, that are the cause of all our evils? In 4 Hen. III. and 27 Ed. III. and 13 " Rich. II. the Parliament moderated the King's prerogative; " and nothing grows to abuse, but this House hath power to treat of it. What shall we do? Let us palliate no longer; " if we do, GOD will not prosper us. I think the Duke of "Buckingham is the cause of all our miseries; and till the King be informed thereof, we shall never go out with honour, " or fit with honour here: that man is the grievance of griev-" ances; let us fet down the causes of all our disasters, and " all will reflect upon him (s)." After the dissolution of this Parliament, which happened on

After the dissolution of this Parliament, which happened on the 28th of March, 1628-9, Sir Edward Coke retired to his house at Stoke-Pogey's in Buckinghamshire, where he spent the remainder of his days in retirement; and there, upon the 3d of September, 1634, he breathed his last in the 86th year of his age, expiring with these words in his mouth, as his monument informs us, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done."

While he lay upon his death-bed, Sir Francis Windebank, by an order of Council, came to fearch for feditious and dangerous papers; by virtue whereof he took his Commentary upon Littleton, and the History of his Life before it, written with his own hand, his Commentary upon Magna Charta, &c. the pleas of the Crown, and the jurisdiction of Courts, his eleventh and twelfth reports in manuscript, and fifty-one other manuscripts, with the last will of Sir Edward, wherein he had been for several years making provision for his younger grand-children. The books and papers were kept till seven years after, when one of Sir Edward's sons, in 1641, moved the House of Commons, that the books and papers taken by Sir Francis Windebank might be delivered to Sir Robert Coke, heir of Sir Edward, which the King was pleased to grant. Such of them as could be found were accordingly delivered up, but Sir Edward's will was never heard of more.

Sir EDWARD COKE was one of the greatest Lawyers that England ever produced. He had great quickness of parts, deep penetration, a retentive memory, and a folid judgment: and as his application to the study of the law was uncommonly great, his knowledge in it was very profound. He was in his person well proportioned, and his features were regular. was neat, but not nice in his dress; and he is reported to have faid, " that the cleanness of a man's clothes ought to put him " in mind of keeping all clean within." He valued himself, and indeed not without reason, upon this, that he obtained all his preferments without employing either prayers or pence; and that he became Solicitor-General, Speaker of the House of Commons, Attorney-General, Chief Justice of both Benches, High Steward of Cambridge, and a Member of the Privy Council, without either begging or bribing. As he derived his fortune, his credit, and his greatness, from the law, so he loved it with a fincere affection, and, as some thought, to a degree of intemperance. He was greatly honoured and esteemed among his brethren of the long robe; and when he was prosecuted by the Court, and a brief was given against him to Sir John Walter, that gentleman, though he was the Prince's Attorney-General, laid afide the brief with this remarkable fentence, " Let my "tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, whenever I open it against Sir Edward Coke." It has been justly observed, that he made a better figure in adversity than in prosperity; and he was so good at making the best of a disgrace, that King James faid, Let them throw him which way they would, he always fell upon his legs. He often shewed himself a friend to the Church and to the Clergy: and thus, when he had loft his public employments, and a great Peer was inclined to question the rights of the church of Norwich, he hindered it, by telling him plainly, that " if he proceeded, he would put on his cap " and gown again, and follow the cause through Westminster- " Hall." He had many Benefices in his own patronage, which he is faid to have given freely to men of merit; declaring in his 1aw

law language, that "he would have Law Livings pass by Livery "and Seisin, and not by bargain and sale." He left behind him a numerous posterity, as well as a vast fortune. By his first Lady he had seven sons and three daughters; but by his second he had only two daughters.—This great Lawyer was the

Author of the following Works:

I. "The first part of the REPORTS of Sir Edward Coke, Knt. "her Majesty's Attorney-General, of divers resolutions and " judgments given with great deliberation by the Reverend " Judges and Sages of the law, of cases and matters in law, " which were never refolved, or adjudged before. And the " reasons and causes of the said resolutions and judgments du-" ring the most happy reign of the most illustrious and renowned " Queen Elizabeth, &c." It appears from the Preface, that this was published about the year 1600. The second and third parts of his Reports were published in the same reign. He published the fourth part in the first year of King James, when he was Attorney-General; as he did also the fifth part, which begins with Caudrey's case, from whence he takes occasion to enter into a full and large discourse of the Ecclesiastical Law. He published also in the same reign the fixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh parts; and these were all the Reports published by himself. The twelfth part of his Reports hath a certificate printed before it, dated Feb. 2, 1655, and subscribed E. BULSTRODE, fignifying that he conceives it to be the genuine Work of Sir Edward Coke. The title of the thirteenth part is, " Select cases in Law, reported by Sir Edward Coke :" and these are afferted to be his in a Preface, figned with the initial letters J. G.

II. "A Book of Entries, containing perfect and approved precedents of courts, declarations, informations, plaints, indictments, bars, duplications, rejoinders, pleadings, process,
continuances, essoigns, issues, defaults, departure in despish
of the court, demurrers, tryals, judgments, executions, and
all other matters and proceedings (in essect) concerning the
practic part of the laws of England, in actions real, personal,
mixt, and in appeals: being very necessary to be known, and
of excellent use for the modern practice of the law, many of
them containing matters in law, and points of great learning;
collected and published for the common good and benefit of
all the studious and learned professors of the laws of England."
Folio, 1614. As this was a very laborious, so, at the time
it was composed, it was a most useful undertaking, compiled
with accuracy and judgment, and serving in some measure as a

Supplement to his Reports.

III. "Institutes of the Laws of England." This Work is divided into four parts. The first is his translation and comment upon the tenures of Sir Thomas Lyttleton, one of the

Judges of the Common Pleas, in the reign of Edward IV (t). The fecond part gives us Magna Charta, and several other select flatutes, much more correct than they were to be met with any where else. To these is added a continued Commentary, full of excellent learning, wherein he shews how the common law flood before those statutes were enacted, how far they are introductory of new law, and how far declaratory of the old; what were the causes of making them, to what ends they were made, and in what degree, at the time he wrote, they were either altered or repealed. The third part of the Institutes contains the Criminal Law, or Pleas of the Crown; and therein the Author proposes the same end as in his former Work, comparing the Statute with the Common Law, shewing where acts are only declaratory, and where introductory of new matter. After explaining the nature of crimes, and afcertaining the punishments inflicted on the perpetrators of them by law, he concludes with the nature of pardons and restitutions, shewing how far the King may proceed in fuch matters by his prerogative, and where the affistance of Parliament is necessary. And the fourth part of the Institutes comprehends the jurisdiction of all the courts in this kingdom, from the high Court of Parliament down to the Court-Baron.

Several smaller Pieces have been also published, which were written by Sir Edward Coke; particularly, the Complete Copyholder; Reading on the Stata of Fines, 27 Ed. I. and a Treatise of Bail and Mainprize.

(t) See an account of the Life of this learned Judge in the first Volume of our Work, P. 273--278.



## The Life of Sir HENRY SPELMAN.

HIS eminent and learned Antiquarian was descended from an antient family, and born at Congham, a small village near Lynn-Regis, in the county of Norfolk, about the year 1562. He was sent to Trinity College, in Cambridge, when he was not quite fifteen years of age; but his father dying in about two years and half after, he was sent for home by his mother, to give her such assistance as he was capable of, in managing the affairs of the family. About a year after, he was sent to Lincoln's Inn, to study the law; where having continued almost three years, he retired into the country, and married a Lady of good family and fortune. He now employed himself chiefly in rural and domestic affairs: however, he continued to apply himself to his studies, and was particularly assiduous in his enquiries into the constitution, laws, and antiquities of his country.

While he was yet a young man, he wrote a Latin treatife, intitled, Aspilogia, wherein he discourses with great variety of literature, concerning those marks of honour now called Arms. It was likewise in his younger years that he collected the transcripts of several foundation-charters of the Monasteries in Norfolk and Suffolk. In 1694, when he was thirty-sour years of age, he is supposed to have written "A Discourse concerning the coin of the kingdom;" with a particular design of shewing the immense treasures which had been drawn from England, in consequence of the usurpations of the Roman Pontiss. But before this he had been admitted a Member of the Society of Antiquarians, which brought him intimately acquainted with Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Camden, and several other of the most eminent men in England for that kind of literature (u).

In 1604, he was appointed High Sheriff of Norfolk; and about this time he wrote a description of that county, which he communicated to John Speed. And being now generally acknowledged to be a man of abilities, he was, in 1607, nominated by King James I. one of the Commissioners for determining the unsettled titles to lands and manors in Ireland. This post carried him three times into that kingdom; where he discharged the trust reposed in him with great reputation.

Mr. Spelman was also appointed one of the Commissioners to enquire into the oppressions of exacted sees, in all the courts and offices of England, as well ecclesiastical as civil. This gave rise to his learned treatise De Sepultura, or of Burial Fees; in which he made it evidently appear, that the greatest part of the sees exacted by the Clergy and church Officers on account of

funerals, is nothing better than a gross imposition.

He attended the public business in which he was employed with so much assiduity, for a considerable time, that it was some prejudice to his family and fortunes; and the Government, in consideration of his good services, made him a present of three hundred pounds, not " as a full recoming pence," (for so it is expressed in the King's writ) but only as an occasional remembrance," till something more adequate to his merit could be done for him. He was also knighted by King James I. who expressed a particular esteem for him, as well on account of his known capacity for business, as his great and extensive learning, especially in the laws and antiquities of this kingdom (w).

From the time that Sir Henry Spelman was about fifty years of age, he appears to have chiefly refided with his wife and family in London, at his house in Barbican: and from this period he prosecuted his studies with greater ardour than before, not easily suffering himself to be drawn from them by other avocations; and he collected together, with great diligence, all such books and manuscripts as concerned the study of antiquities,

whether foreign or domestic.

In 1613, he published his treatise DE NON TEMERANDIS Ecclesis; Churches not to be violated. And the meeting of the Society of Antiquarians having been discontinued for some years, was revived in 1614 by Sir Henry Spelman and some others. And upon this occasion our Author wrote, with an intention to communicate it to the Society, " A Discourse concern-"ing the original of the four law terms of the year." But King James expressing his disapprobation of the meetings of the Antiquarian Society, they were again discontinued. His Majesty was apprehensive, it seems, that they might sometimes treat of State-affairs; which might possibly lead them to advance fomething that would in some way or other touch his facred prerogative. Mr. Hearne, indeed, affigns reasons of a different nature, for the discontinuance of the meetings of this Society; but the former is most agreeable to Spelman's own account of the affair. Hearne fays, it was suggested " that the said Society " would be prejudicial to certain great and learned bodies, for " that reason the Members thought fit to break it off. Nor were " there wanting powerful men that proved enemies to them; " and among other things they were pleased to alledge, that of fome of the Society were persons not only disaffected to, but really of a quite different persuasion from the Church of

" England."

In 1626, Sir Henry Spelman published the first part of his ARCHÆOLOGUS; a Work intended to advance the study of English antiquities, by explaining the hard and obsolete words, terms, and phrases, which frequently occur in our antient Histories and laws. Our Author has told us, in an advertisement before the book, that he chose to entitle his Work ARCHÆOLO-Gus, rather than GLOSSARIUM, as we commonly call it; because a Glossary, strictly speaking, is no more than a bare explication of words; whereas this not only explains obsolete terms, but treats more especially of things, and contains entire discourfes and differtations upon feveral heads. For this reason, it is not only to be consulted upon occasion, like common lexicons or dictionaries; but ought to be carefully perused and studied, as a most valuable treasure of the antient customs and constitutions of England. The fecond part of this Work, which is inferior to the first, was not printed till after Sir Henry's death: and as it was published by Sir William Dugdale, it has been fuspected that the latter inserted many things of his own, which were not in Sir Henry Spelman's copy; but there appears to be no ground for this supposition.

The next confiderable Work which our Author published, was his " History of the English Councils." His learned performances had now obtained him a great reputation; he correfoonded with many of the mest learned foreigners, particularly Peireskius, Rigaltius, Meursius, and Salmasius; and among his particular friends at home, besides Mr. Camden and Sir Robert Cotton already mentioned, were the learned Selden, and the ve-

nerable Archbishop Usher.

In a letter to the latter, published by Dr. Richard Parr, and dated May 26, 1628, Sir Henry Spelman gives the following account of some of the proceedings in Parliament concerning the famous Petition of Right, of which we lately made mention in the Life of Sir Edward Coke. " The points touching the " right of the subject in the property of their goods, (fays Sir " Henry) and to be free from imprisonment at the King's plea-" fure, or without lawful cause expressed upon the commitment, " hath been fo feriously and unanswerably proved and concluded " by the lower House, that they have cast their sheet-anchor on " it, and will not recede from any tittle of the formality pro-" posed in their PETITION OF RIGHT, touching the same. The " upper House hath, in some things, dissented from them, pro-" poling a caution to be added to the petition, for preservation " of the King's Sovereign prerogative; which the lower House " affirms they have not rubbed upon, in ought that of right be-" longeth to it. Yet will they not admit that addition, left it " impeach the whole intent of their petition. Wherein they

arc arc

are so resolute, that having, upon Thursday last, admirably " evinced the right of the subjects in every part thereof, at a " conference with the upper House, they refused to meet the "Lords the day following in a Committee required by them, " for qualification as was conceived. Thereupon the Lords " fpent Saturday in debate among themselves, but concluded " nothing that we hear of. It is reported, that Lord Say did "then speak very freely and resolutely on behalf of the sub-" ject, with some unpleasing rubs upon the Duke there present; but by others interposition, all was well expounded (x)."

Sir Henry Spelman was very defirous of reviving the knowledge of the old Saxon tongue; and his endeavours for this purpose deserve to be esteemed an important piece of service to the study of antiquities. He had found the great use of that language in the whole course of his studies, and much lamented the neglect of it both at home and abroad; which was fo very general, that he did not then know one man in the world who thoroughly understood it. This induced him to endeavour to establish a Saxon lecture in the University of Cambridge; and with this view he allowed ten pounds per annum to Mr. Abraham Wheelocke of that University, presenting him also to the Vicarage of Middleton, in the county of Norfolk, and giving him likewise the profits of the impropriate Rectory of the same church; both which were intended by him to be fettled in perpetuity, as an endowment of that lecture; but Sir Henry and his eldest fon dying in the compass of two years, the civil wars breaking forth, and their estate being sequestered, the family became incapable of accomplishing his design.

He died at London in 1641, being about eighty years of age, and was buried in Westminster-Abbey, near Camden's monument. He was a man of very extensive learning, and much honoured by the most worthy of his cotemporaries; as he has been also by those in later times, who were the best qualified to judge of his merit. He was in his temper calm and sedate; his application to his studies was very great; and as he loved literature himself, so he was a generous encourager and promoter of it in others. He was indeed a truly great man; though from fome passages in his History of Sacrilege, and other parts of his Writings, he appears to have been somewhat tinctured with su-

perstition.

In 1695, there was published in Folio, by Mr. Edmund Gibfon, afterwards Bishop of London, a collection of tracts, intitled, "The English Works of Sir Henry Spelman." This was followed by another collection from the fame hand, intitled, " Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, the posthumous Works of Sir " Henry Spelman, Knt. relating to the laws and antiquities of " England, Vol. IV. 5.

<sup>(</sup>x) Collection of letters written between Archbishop Usher, and the most eminent persons for piety and learning in his time, Fol, 1686. P. 395, 396.

" England, published from the original manuscripts." 1698, Folio. These two collections were re-printed together in 1723,

in one Volume, Folio.

Sir Henry Spelman had eight children, four fons, and four daughters. His eldest son, John, "the heir of his studies," as he calls him, was a very learned man, and had great encouragement and affurance of favour from Charles I. That Prince fent for Sir Henry Spelman, and offered him the Mastership of Sutton's hospital, with some other advantages, in consideration of his good fervices both to Church and State. He returned his Majesty thanks, and replied, that he was very old, and had now one foot in the grave; and should therefore be more obliged, if he would consider his son. Upon which the King sent for Mr. Spelman, and conferred both the Mastership of the hospital, and the honour of Knighthood upon him; and he afterwards employed him to draw up feveral papers in vindication of the proceedings of the Court. He died in 1643. He published the Saxon Pfalter, under the title of "Pfalterium Davidis Latino-" Saxonicum vetus," in 1640, in 4to. from a manuscript in his father's library, collated with three other copies. Sir John Spelman also wrote " The Life of King Alfred the Great," in English, which was translated into Latin some time after the Restoration, by Mr. Christopher Wase, superior Beadle of the Civil Law at Oxford; which translation, with notes and cuts by Mr. Obadiah Walker, Master of University College, was published from the theatre-press in 1679, Folio. The original English was also published from the same press by Mr. Thomas Hearne, in 1709, 8vo.

CLEMENT SPELMAN, youngest son of Sir Henry, was a Counfellor at law, and made one of the Barons of the Exchequer upon the restoration of King Charles II. He published some Pieces relating to the Government, and a large preface to his father's book, DE NON TEMERANDIS ECCLESIS. He died in 1679, and

was interred in St. Dunstan's church in Fleet-street.

There are fundry letters written by Sir Henry Spelman to Mr. Abraham Wheelocke, his Saxon Lecturer, and who was also a Professor of Arabic, among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum, No. 7041. Fol. 73---90.



## The Life of GEORGE ABBOT, Archbishop of Canterbury.

EORGE ABBOT was the fon of Maurice Abbot, cloth-worker, of Guilford in Surrey (y), where he was born on the 29th of October, 1562. He was in-flructed in grammar learning at the free-school at Guilford, from whence he was removed to Baliol-College in Oxford. In 1583, being then Bachelor of Arts, he was elected Probationer Fellow of his College; and afterwards proceeding in the faculty of Arts, he entered into Holy Orders, and became an eminent preacher in the University. He commenced Bachelor of Divinity in 1593, and proceeded Doctor in that faculty in May, 1597; and the same year he was elected Master of University College.

In 1599, Dr. Abbot was installed Dean of Winchester, and in 1600 he was chosen Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford; as he was also in 1603, and in 1605. It was about this time that the first differences began between him and Dr. Laud, which continued during their lives ( 2 ). In 1604, that translation of the Bible which is now in use was made by the direc-tion of King James; and Dr. Abbot was the second of eight learned Divines in the University of Oxford, to whom the care of translating the whole New Testament (the Epistles excepted) was committed. He likewise published this year an Answer to

Dr. Hill's Reasons for upholding Popery.

means of Dr. Story, who was a very active perfecutor of fuch perfons in the reign of Mary. But after these florms were blown over, he and his wife Alice paffed the remainder of their days quietly and happily, living together fifty-eight years. She died on the 15th of September, 1606, in her eightieth year; and he about ten days after, being eighty-fix years of age. They appear to have been very happy in their children: they left be-

(y) Our Prelate's father suffered a hind them fix fons, of whom, Rogreat deal for his stedfastness in the bert, the eldest, was at the time of their Protestant religion, chiefly through the deaths one of the King's Chaplains; George, of whom we are treating, had been thrice Vice-Chancellor of Oxford; and their youngest loa, Maurice, was then an eminent merchant of the city of London .-- Vid. Biograph. Britan.

( z ) Some account of the rife of these differences, though not written with much impart ality, may be feen in Heylin's Life of Archbishop Laud,

P. 53, 54.

In 1608, Dr. Abbot became Chaplain to George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, and Treasurer of Scotland; with whom he went to that kingdom, to affist in establishing an union between the Church of England and the Kirk of Scotland. And in this affair he behaved with so much prudence and address, that it is said to have laid the soundation of all his suture preferments. Indeed, his behaviour in Scotland was so agreeable to King James, and gave his Majesty so high an opinion of him, that he ever after paid great deference to his advice and counsel.

Upon the death of Dr. Overton, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, the King nominated Dr. Abbot for his successor, and he was accordingly consecrated Bishop of those two united Sees in December, 1609. About a month afterwards, he was translated to the See of London, vacant by the death of Dr. Thomas Ravis. And upon the decease of Dr. Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the second of November, 1610, his Majesty had a new opportunity of testifying his esteem for Dr. Abbot, and accordingly raised him to the Archiepiscopal See. He was consecrated on the 9th of April, 1611; and, on the 23d of June following, was sworn a Member of the Privy Council.

Thus was Dr. Abbot, before he had attained to the age of fifty, exalted to the highest dignity in the Church. He was in great favour with the King, and was employed not only in the most important assairs of the Church, but also in those of the State. He was likewise much esteemed by the people; for he never appeared very fond of power, nor did he endeavour to carry his prerogative as Primate of England to any great height. Indeed, the moderation of his principles and conduct gave great umbrage to many surious bigots and slaming churchmen, who could by no means view with an approving eye, the candour and humanity with which he discharged his ecclesiastical functions.

Archbishop Abbot's zeal for the interests of the Protestant religion, made him a strenuous promoter of the match between the Elector Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth. And that Prince being here at the beginning of the year 1612, his Grace thought fit to invite the Nobility that attended him to an entertainment at his Archiepiscopal Palace at Lambeth; where, though uninvited and unexpected, the Elector himself resorted, to shew his great respect for the Archbishop; and he was so well pleased with his entertainment, that when he feasted the Members of the Privy Council at Effex-House, he shewed particular respect to the Archbishop, and those who attended him. On the 14th of February following, the marriage was folemnized with great splendor, the Archbishop performing the ceremony on a itage erected in the middle of the Royal chapel; and, on the 10th of April, his Electoral Highness returned to Germany; but before his departure, he made a present of plate to the Archbishop, of the value of a thousand pounds; and as an additional

mark of his respect and confidence, he wrote a letter to him concerning the causes of that discontent with which he left England. It appears that the Elector, a little before he left England, had addressed himself to the King, in hopes of obtaining the enlargement of the Lord Grey, who had been a long time a prisoner in the Tower: but this application so little pleased the King, that he told him roundly in answer, " he " marvelled how he should become suitor for a man whom he " neither knew, nor ever faw." To which the Elector anfwered, that this was true; but that he was recommended to him by his uncles, the Duke de Bouillon, Prince Maurice of Nassau, and Count Henry, who were well acquainted with him. It appears that this, instead of giving the King satisfaction, filled him with new apprehensions; for he replied with great quickness, "Son, when I come into Germany, I promise you not to " importune you for any of your prisoners." But this application of the Elector's was fo far from operating in Lord Grey's favour, that he was foon after more closely restrained, upon pretence of some private conversation that he had with one of Lady Arabella's women, which proved after all to be no more than an amorous intrigue. These particulars we learn from a letter written by Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated May 6, 1613; and he adds, " It is thought the Prince Palatine " went not away fo well fatisfied, being refused in divers suits " and requests; and I hear that from Canterbury he wrote to " the Archbishop, complaining, That the King did not use him " like a fon, but rather like a youngling, or childish youth, not " to be regarded."

It was about this time that the celebrated Hugo Grotius came over into England, in order to negociate some important affairs, and, among other things, to give King James a more favourable opinion of the Remonstrants, by which name the Armenians in Holland were now diftinguished. It appears by a letter from Archbishop Abbot to Sir Kalph Winwood, dated Lambeth, June 1, 1613, that he, as well as James and his Ministers, conceived no very high opinion of Grotius. Indeed, the mean idea which they feem to have formed of a person, who was incontestibly one of the greatest men in Europe, does very little honour to their penetration. The Archbishop expresses himself in the following manner: " You must take heed how you trust Dr. Grotius " too far, for I perceive him to be so addicted to some partialities " in those parts, that he feareth not to lash, so it may serve a " turn. At his first coming to the King, by reason of his good " Latin tongue, he was so tedious, and full of tittle-tattle, that " the King's judgment was of him, that he was some pedant, " full of words, and of no great judgment. And I myself, dif-" covering that to be his habit, as if he did imagine that every

<sup>&</sup>quot; man was bound to hear him, so long as he would talk, (which

<sup>&</sup>quot; is a great burthen to men replete with business) did privately

er give him notice thereof, that he should plainly, and directly. deliver his mind, or elfe he would make the King weary of " him. This did not so take place, but that afterwards he fell to it again, as was especially observed one night at supper at "the Lord Bishop of Ely's, whither being brought by Mr. Cafaubon (a), as I think, my Lord intreated him to stay to super per, which he did. There was present Dr. Steward, and another Civilian, unto whom he flings out some question of that profession, and was so full of words, that Dr. Steward af-"terwards told my Lord, that he did perceive by him, that, like a fmatterer, he had studied some two or three questions, " whereof when he came in company he must be talking to " vindicate his skill; but if he were put from those, he would thew himself but a simple fellow. There was present also of Dr. Richardson, the King's Professor of Divinity in Camor bridge, and another Doctor in that faculty, with whom he " falleth in also about some of those questions, which are now " controverted among the Ministers in Holland. And being matters wherein he was studied, he uttered all his skill con-" cerning them: my Lord of Ely fitting still at the supper all " the while, and wondering what a man he had there, who never 66 being in the place or company before, could overwhelm them " with talk for fo long a time. I write this unto you fo largely, " that you may know the disposition of the man, and how " kindly he used my Lord of Ely for his good entertainment." In 1613, the famous case of divorce between the Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, and Robert Earl of

Essex, was brought before Archbishop Abbot, and other Commissioners appointed for the purpose. The King greatly interested himself in the affair, so that the parties were divorced; but the Archbishop very strongly opposed it, by which means he greatly displeased the King, but at the same time he increased the reputation which he had already acquired for incorruptible integrity.

In 1618, King James published a declaration, which he ordered to be read in all churches, for the encouragement of recreations and sports on the Lord's day. But this gave much

(a) The learned ISAAC CASAU-BON, after the death of Henry IV. of France, who had been his patron and protector, came over into England in October, 1610. King James took great pleafure in converting with him, admitted him feveral times to cat at his own table, and made him a present of one hundred and fifty pounds, to enable him to vint the Univertities of Oxford and Cambridge. On the 3d of January, 1611, he was naturalized, a monument erected to his memory.

and on the 19th of the fame month the King granted him a pension of three hundred pounds, as also two Prebends, one at Canterbury, and the other at Westminster. But Cafaubon did not long enjoy these advantages; for a powerful disorder, occasioned by his having a double bladder, cut him off on the first of July, 1614, in the 55th year of his age. He was buried in Westminster-Abbey, where there is offence to the generality of serious Protestants; and, among others, to Archbishop Abbot; who happening to be at Croydon when it came thither, had the courage to forbid its being read. In 1619, he founded an hospital at Guildsord, and endowed it with lands to the value of three hundred pounds per annum, one hundred of which was to be employed in setting the poor to work, and the remainder in the maintenance of a master, twelve brothers, and eight sisters, who have blue clothes, and gowns of the same colour, and half a crown a week each. The 29th of October, being the anniversary of our Archbishop's birth, is commemorated here, and the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being is the visitor of the hospital.

In September, 1619, Frederick, Elector Palatine, King James's fon-in-law, was elected King of Bohemia. This was an event at which James's Protestant subjects were greatly rejoiced; and they were generally of opinion, that natural affection to his daughter and her husband, and a just concern for the Protestant interest, ought to engage the King to support the new election. Archbishop Abbot warmly espoused these sentiments: and though he was at this time incapable of attending the Privy Council, he wrote his mind upon the subject to the Secretary of

State with great boldness and freedom.

In 1622, an unfortunate accident happened, which gave our Archbishop more uneafiness than any other transaction of his life. Having made a summer journey into Hampshire, he was invited by the Lord Zouch to hunt in Bramshill park. Peter Hawkins, his Lordship's keeper, hastily running amongst the herd of deer, to bring them up to the fairer mark, and the Archbishop sitting on horseback, let sly a barbed arrow from a cross bow, which unhappily shot the keeper in the left arm, and he died of the wound the next day. This accident threw our Primate into a deep melancholy, and he ever afterwards kept a monthly fast on Tuesday, the day on which this fatal mischance happened; and he fettled an annuity of 201. on the widow. There were feveral persons who took an advantage of this misfortune to lessen him in the King's favour; but his Majesty said, " An Angel might have miscarried in this fort." However, his enemies alledging, that he had incurred an irregularity, and was thereby incapacitated for performing the offices of a Primate, the King directed a commission to ten persons to enquire into this The points referred to their decision were, 1. Whether the Archbishop was irregular by the fact of involuntary homicide? 2. Whether that act might tend to scandal in a churchman? 3. How his Grace should be restored, in case the Commisfioners should find him irregular? All agreed, that, admitting the irregularity, (about which they were divided), it could not be otherwise done, than by restitution from the King; but they varied in the manner. The Bishop of Winchester, the Lord Chief Justice, and Dr. Steward, thought it should be done by the King, and by him alone. The Lord-Keeper, and the Bishops of London, Rochester, Exeter, and St. David's, were for a commission from the King, directed to some Bishops. Judge Doddridge, and Sir Henry Martin, were defirous it should be done both ways, by way of caution (b). The King accordingly granted a pardon and dispensation, by which he assoiled the Archbishop from all irregularity, scandal, or infamation, and declared him capable of all metropolitical authority, as if this

accident had never happened. From this time the Archbishop seldom assisted at the Council, being chiefly hindered by the infirmities of advanced age. It appears, however, that he fometimes communicated his fentiments on public affairs to the King with great freedom; for in a letter preserved by Rushworth, after having condemned a defign which was then fet on foot of granting a toleration to the Papists, he censures the imprudence of James with respect to Prince Charles's journey into Spain, in the following terms. " And " hereunto (fays he) I add what you have done, in fending the " Prince into Spain, without confent of your Council, or the " privity or approbation of your people. And although you " have a charge and interest in the Prince, as fon of your slesh, " yet have the people a greater, as fon of the kingdom, upon " whom next after your Majesty are their eyes fixed, and wel-" fare depends; and fo tenderly is his going apprehended, as " (believe it) however his return may be fafe, yet the drawers of " him into this action, fo dangerous to himself, so desperate to " the kingdom, will not pass away unquestioned, unpunished. "Besides, this toleration which you endeavour to set up by " your proclamation, cannot be done without a Parliament, un-" less your Majesty will let your subjects see, that you will take " unto yourfelf ability to throw down the laws of your land at " your pleafure. What dread consequence these things may " draw afterward, I befeech your Majesty to consider ( c)."

vile, his Grace's old friend, asked Sir Edward Coke, " Whether a Bishop " might hunt?" Which it was urged he might not do by the Canons; but those Canons had never been admitted as laws in England; and Sir Edward replied, " There's an old law. " that when a Bishop dies, he shall " leave his dogs to the King." If a Bishop might not hunt, that law was ufelels. Laud was one of the Prelates, who, in hopes of rifing by the Archbishop's fall, alledged that the homicide, though involuntary, tainted the Archiepiscopal function; and his conscience was so scrupulous, that he did not think the Orders Dr. Abbot

(b) " The learned Sir Henry Sa- conferred afterwards were valid; but fober Clergymen, even Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, who was not thought to be very well with the Archbishop, reproved those who condemned his irregularity, as they termed his hunting; though fome years after, when Dr. Juxon was talked of for breeding the best dogs in England, the fport was then regular, and the sportsman worthy to be called from his game, and to be made Bishop of Lon-don." --- History of England during the reigns of the Royal House of Stuart, P. 57.

(c) See the whole of this letter in Rushworth's Collections, Historical

Vol. 1. P. 85.

In James's last illness, our Archbishop was sent for, and attended till the King expired on the 27th of March, 1625. performed the ceremony of the coronation of King Charles I. though very infirm, and much troubled with the gout. He was never much in this Prince's favour; and the Duke of Buckingham, who was his declared enemy, watched an opportunity of making him feel the weight of his displeasure. This he at last accomplished, upon the Archbishop's refusing to licence a fermon preached by a Court fycophant, one Sibthorpe, who taught that the King might impose public taxes without consent of Parliament, and that the people were bound in conscience to obey his will and pleafure. This fermon was preached at Northampton, in the Lent affizes, 1627, before the Judges, and was transmitted to the Archbishop with the King's direction to license it; which he refused to do, and gave his reasons for it; but the sermon was notwithstanding licensed by the Bishop of London. On the 5th of July, Lord Conway, who was then Secretary of State, made him a vifit, and acquainted him, that the King expected he should withdraw to Canterbury. But the Archbishop having at this time a law-fuit with that city, defired he might rather have leave to go to his house at Ford, five miles beyond Canterbury, which was granted; and on the ninth of October following, the King gave a commission to the Bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and Bath and Wells, to execute the Archiepiscopal authority, the cause assigned being no more than this, that the Archbishop could not at that time in his own person attend those services, which were otherwise proper for his cognizance and direction. Mr. Guthrie observes, that " this sequestration and confinement of the first Peer and Prelate of England, were dreadful monuments of Buckingham's power over the mind of his master. The Archbishop had, in Parliament, acted with great moderation, and he was by the public looked upon as a fincere friend to liberty. But he could not be brought to bow the knee to the image which the King had fet up, and this wrought his difgrace (a)."

Archbishop Abbot did not long continue in this state of sequestration; for a Parliament being absolutely necessary, his Grace was fent for about Christmas, and restored to his authority and jurisdiction, which he continued to exercise to the end of his life. But as he was a man of too much integrity, and too great a friend to his country, to concur in the arbitrary measures of Charles and his Ministers, he was never re-instated in favour at Court. He died at Croydon, on the 4th of August, 1633, aged feventy-one years, and was buried in the church dedicated Vol. IV. 5.

and circumstances of his disgrace. It Vol. I. P. 434-457.

<sup>(</sup>d) Hist. of England, Vol. III. is written with much spirit, consider-P. 866. Rushworth has preserved a ing his advanced age; and though of Narrative, in two parts, drawn up by confiderable length, is well worth our Archbishop himself, of the causes reading .--- See Historical Collections,

to the Holy Trinity at Guildford. A stately monument was erected over the grave, with the effigy of the Archbishop in his robes.

He was a Prelate of confiderable parts and learning, of great piety, of a regular and virtuous life, and of much moderation and humanity. He was folicitous that the Clergy under his care should attract the esteem of the Laity by the fanctity of their manners, rather than claim it as due to their function. He was less anxious about rites and ceremonies in religion, than many of his ecclefiaftical brethren, and was ready to make allowances for difference in fentiment with respect to speculative points; which exposed him to the censure of many who were of more narrow principles. Even Lord Clarendon objects it to him as a fault, " that if men prudently forbore a public re-" viling, and railing at the Hierarchy, and ecclefiaftical go-" vernment, let their opinions and private practice be what it " would, they were not only fecure from any inquisition of his, "but acceptable to him, and at least equally preferred by him (e)." The truth is, the noble Historian hath drawn the character of Archbishop Abbot in a very unfavourable, and, as we apprehend, in a very unjust manner. Dr. Welwood has done more justice to our Prelate. He says, "Abbot was a per-" fon of wonderful temper and moderation; and in all his con-" duct shewed an unwillingness to stretch the act of Uniformity " beyond what was absolutely necessary for the peace of the " Church, or the prerogative of the Crown, any farther than " conduced to the good of the State. Being not well turned for " a Court, though otherwise of considerable learning, and gen-" teel education, he either could not, or would not stoop to the " humour of the times; and now and then by an unseasonable " stiffness, gave occasion to his enemies to represent him as not " well inclined to the prerogative, and too much addicted to a " popular interest, and therefore not fit to be employed in mat-" ters of Government (f)." --- Archbishop Abbot wrote feveral Pieces, the principal of which were the two following: I. Quæstiones sex, totidem prælectionibus in Schola Theolo-

I. Quæstiones sex, totidem prælectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxoniæ, pro forma habitis, discussæ et disceptatæ anno 1597, in quibus e sacra Scriptura et Patribus, quid statuendum sit definitur. Printed at Oxford in 4to, in 1598, and again at

Frankfort in 1616.

II. Exposition on the Prophet Jonah, in certain sermons preached

ap

at St. Mary's church in Oxford, London, 4to. 1600.

Our Archbishop's brother, ROBERT ABBOT, who was also bred to the Church, was a man of learning and ability. He was made Bishop of Salisbury in 1615, but he died within little more than two years after his promotion.

<sup>(</sup>e) Hist. of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, Vol. I. P. 88, 89. Edit. 8vo. Oxford, 1712. (f) Memoirs of the most material transactions in England, P. 38.

T H E.

## The Life of MICHAEL DRAYTON.

HIS eminent Poet was born in a small village named Harsull, or Harsshill, in the parish of Atherston, in Warwickshire. His family was antient, and originally settled at Drayton in Leicestershire, which gave name to his progenitors: but his parents removing into Warwickshire, our Poet was born there, and, as it is generally supposed, in the year 1563. Whilst he was extremely young, he gave proofs of a growing genius, which procured him the patronage of some persons of distinction; and it appears that when he was ten years of age, he had made a considerable proficiency in the Latin tongue, and was page to some person of quality. He was some time a student at Oxford, but he seems not to have staid long enough to take any degree there.

His propenfity to poetry was extremely strong, even from his infancy; and he had rendered himself eminent for his poetical talents, nine or ten years before the death of Queen Elizabeth, if not sooner. In 1593, he published a Collection of Pastorals, under the title of "Idea, the Shepherd's Garland, fashioned in "nine ecloques; with Rowland's facrifice to the nine Muses." 4to. dedicated to Mr. Robert Dudley. This "Shepherd's Gar-" land" is the same with what was afterwards re-printed with emendations by our Author in Folio, in 1619 (g), under the

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(g) This year died another eminent Poet of this age, SAMUEL DANIEL. He was the fon of a mufic-mafter, and born near Taunton in Somerfethire, in the year 1562. At feventeen years of age, he was admitted a Commoner of Magdalen College in Oxford, where he continued three years, and made a confiderable progress in literature. But those branches of learning which were of a graver turn not so well fuiting his genius, he applied himself principally to Poetry and History, which continued to be his favourite studies during the remainder of his life.

Having quitted the University, he came up to London, where his own merit, and the interest of his brother-

in-law, John Florio, fo well known for his Italian Dictionary, recommended him to the favour of Queen Anne, King James the First's confort, who was pleased to confer on him the office of groom of her privy chamber; which being a post of very littleemployment, the income of it enabled him to rent an house at a little distance from London, which had a very sine garden belonging to it, and amidst the folitary amusements of which he is said to have composed most of his dramatic Pieces.

Queen Anne took great pleasure in Mr. Daniel's conversation; and the encouragement he met with from the Court, together with his own personal qualifications, easily introduced him title of "Pastorals, containing Eclogues; with the Man in the "Moon." It is remarkable, that the Folio Edition of Drayton's Works, printed at London in 1748, though the title-page professes to give them all, does not contain this part of them.

Soon after our Author published some of those more grave and weighty poems, which have rendered him most memorable, and best supported his reputation with posterity. His BARONS WARS, in fix cantos, ENGLAND'S HEROICAL EPISTLES, and THE LEGENDS OF ROBERT OF NORMANDY, MATILDA, and GAVESTON, were all written by him before the year 1598. These performances, together with his personal qualifications, occasioned him to be highly celebrated at that time; and he was diffinguished not only as a great genius, but as a good man. Among many testimonies to this purpose (b), we find Francis Meres, an eminent Divine of that age, in a Work published in 1598, expressing himself thus of our Author: " Michael Dray-" ton, (lays he) among Scholars, Soldiers, Poets, and all forts " of people, is held for a man of virtuous disposition, honest " conversation, and well-governed carriage, which is almost mi-" raculous among good wits in these declining and corrupt " times."

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to the acquaintance and friendship of the most ingenious and learned men of his time, particularly Mr. Camden, Sir John Harrington, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Spelman, Edmund Spenser, Ben Johnson, &c. He also became tutor the Lady Anne Clifford, who, when she came to be Countess of Pembroke, was a great encourager of learning and learned men.

Towards the latter part of his life, he quitted London entirely, and retired, according to Dr. Fuller, to a farm near the Devizes in Wiltshire; but Wood fixes the place of his retreat at Beckington, near Philips Norton, in Someriethire, where he spent the remainder of his days in retirement, and rural employments. At the time of his death, he was about fifty-seven years of age. He was married, but left no children.

Mr. Daniel was the Author of many peetical Works, particularly, 1. "The "Riffory of the Civil Wars between the Houses of York and Lancas" ter"; a poem in eight books. 2. "Epittles to various great Personages in verse," London, 1601 and 1623, 4to. 3. "Various Sonnets to Delia," fifty-seven in number. 4. "The Com-

" plaint of Rosamond," London, 1594 and 1598, 4to. 5. "An Epifile " from Octavia to Marcus Antonius," Lond. 8vo. 1611.

He also wrote the following dramatic Pieces, 1. Cleopatra, a Tragedy.
2. Hymen's Triumph, a pastoral Tragi-Comedy.
3. Philotas, a Tragedy.
4. Queen's Arcadia, a pastoral Tragi-Comedy.
5. The vision of the twelve Goddesses, a masque, exhibited at Hampton-court.

Our Author was also an Historian. He wrote the History of England, down to the reign of Edward III. His History is much esteemed: it has been observed, that his narration is smooth and clear, and carries every where an air of good sense and just eloquence. It is inserted in Kennet's Complete History of England, and was often before printed separate.

Mr. Daniel's poetical Works were collected together, and published in two Volumes, 12mo. in the year 1718.——Vid. New and Gen. Biog. Dict. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Companion to the Play-house, and Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. P. 145, 149.

(b) Vid. Biograph. Britan.

It appears that Drayton's most early patron was Sir Henry Goodere, of Polesworth, in his own county, to whom in his Works he gratefully acknowledges himself indebted for a great part of his education, and by whom he was recommended to the patronage of the Countess of Bedford. He was also beloved and patronized by Sir Walter Aston, of Tixhall in Staffordshire, to whom he dedicated many of his poems; and it appears from his dedications to this gentleman, that he was for many years supported by him, and accommodated with such supplies as afforded him leisure to finish some of his most elaborate compositions (1).

Mr. Drayton welcomed King James I. to his English dominions, by a congratulatory poem, which was printed in 4to. in 1603; but his performance met with a very indifferent reception from his Majesty. The same year he was chosen by Sir Walter Aston one of the Esquires who attended him, when he was with others created Knight of the Bath, at the coronation

of James.

In 1613, Drayton published the first part of his Poly-OL-BION; by which Greek title, fignifying very happy, he denotes ENGLAND; as the antient name of Albion is by some derived from Olbion, happy. It is a chorographical description of the rivers, mountains, forests, castles, &c. in this island, intermixed with the remarkable antiquities, rarities, and commodities thereof. This first part is dedicated to Prince Henry, by whose encouragement it was written; and there is a picture at full length of that promising Prince, in a military posture, exer-cising his pike. He had shewn Drayton some singular marks of his favour, and seems to have admitted him as one of his poetical pensioners; but dying before the book was published, our Poet lost the benefit of his patronage. There are eighteen Songs, or Books, in this Volume, illustrated with notes by the learned Selden; and there are maps before every fong, wherein the cities, mountains, forests, rivers, &c. are represented by the figures of men and women. But his metre of twelve fyllables being now antiquated, this Work is quoted more for the History than the Poetry in it: however, it contains many excellent lines; and Bishop Nicholson observes, that "Drayton's Poly-Olbion " affords a much truer account of this kingdom, and the domi-" nion of Wales, than could well be expected from the pen of a Poet." It is interwoven with many fine episodes: of the conquest of this island by the Romans; of the coming of the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans, with an account of their Kings; of English warriors and navigators; and of the civil wars of England. This Volume was re-printed in the year 1622, with the fecond Volume, or continuation of twelve fongs more, making thirty in the whole, and dedicated to Prince

<sup>( 1)</sup> Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. P. 214.

Charles. Dr. Kirkpatrick, in his poem called "the Sea-Piece," fpeaking of this Work of our Author's, fays,

" DRAYTON, fweet antient Bard, his Albion fung,
" With their own praise her ecchoing vallies rung:
" His bounding muse o'er ev'ry mountain rode,

" And ev'ry river warbled where he flow'd."

In 1627, Drayton published another Volume of his poems, which contained, 1. The Battle of Agincourt; 2. The Miseries of Queen Margaret; 3. Nymphidia, or the Court of Fairies, which is a master-piece in the grotesque kind; 4. The Quest of Cynthia; 5. The Shepherd's Sirena; 6. The Moon-Calf; this is a strong satire upon the masculine affectations of women, and the esseminate disguises of the men, in those times; 7. Elegies upon sundry occasions: these elegies are twelve in number, though there are but eight re-printed in the edition of 1748. In the year 1630, he published another Volume of Poems, in 4to. intitled, "The Muses Elizium, in ten sundry Nymphals;" with three Divine Poems, on Noah's flood, Moses's birth and miracles, and David and Goliah. These Divine Poems are not reprinted in the late edition of his Works.

Our Author died in the year 1631, and was buried in Westminster-Abbey, amongst the Poets. Over his grave is erected a handsome table monument of blue marble, adorned with his effigies in busto laureated. The epitaph, which was written in letters of gold upon his monument, is said to have had Ben

Johnson for its Author, and is as follows:

"Do, pious marble, let thy readers know
"What they, and what their children owe,
"To Drayton's name; whose facred dust
"We recommend unto thy trust:

" Protect his memory, and preserve his story, Remain a lasting monument of his glory:

"And when thy ruins shall disclaim
"To be the treasurer of his name;
"His name, that cannot sade, shall be
"An everlasting monument to thee."

The Poems of Drayton are very numerous, and so elegant, that his manner has been copied by many modern Writers of eminence since. He appears to have been not only a man of genius, but of virtuous and amiable manners. He enjoyed the triendship and admiration of cotemporary wits; and even Ben Johnson, who was not much disposed to praise, entertained a very high opinion of him. As a specimen of his poetry, we shall select the following lines, from the close of the Epistle from Henry Howard,

Howard, Earl of Surrey, to the Lady Geraldine, supposed to be written from Florence.

"When to my chamber I myself retire, Burnt with the sparks that kindled all this fire, Thinking of England, which my hope contains, The happy isle where Geraldine remains: Of Hunsdon, where those sweet celestial eync, At first did pierce this tender breast of mine: Of Hampton Court, and Windsor, where abound All pleasures that in Paradise were found. Near that fair castle is a little grove, With hanging rocks all cover'd from above, Which on the bank of goodly Thames doth stand, Clipt by the water from the other land; Whose bushy top doth bid the sun forbear, And checks his proud beams that would enter there; Whose leaves still mutt'ring, as the air doth breathe, With the sweet bubbling of the stream beneath, Doth rock the fenses, whilft the small birds sing, Lulled afleep with gentle murmuring; Where light-foot Fairies sport at prison-base, (No doubt there is some power frequents the place) There the foft poplar and smooth beech do bear Our names together carved every where; And Gordian knots do curiously entwine The names of Henry and of Geraldine. Oh! let this grove in happy times to come, Be call'd, " The Lovers bleft Elyfium !" Whither my mistress wonted to resort, In fummer's heat, in those sweet shades to sport; A thousand fundry names I have it given, And call'd it, Wonder-hider, Cover-Heaven, The roof where beauty her rich court doth keep, Under whose compass all the stars do sleep. There is one tree, which now I call to mind, Doth bear these verses carved in the rind : " When Geraldine shall sit in thy fair shade. " Fan her sweet tresses with perfumed air; " Let thy large boughs a canopy be made, " To keep the fun from gazing on my fair; " And when thy spreading branched arms be funk, " And thou no fap nor pith shalt more retain, " Even from the dust of thy unwieldy trunk, " I will renew thee, Phænix-like, again, " And from thy dry decayed root will bring " A new-born flem, another Afon's fpring.

I find no cause, nor judge I reason why, My country should give place to Lombardy. As goodly flowers on Thamesis do grow, As beautify the banks of wanton Po: As many nymphs as haunt rich Arnus strand, By filver Severne tripping hand in hand: Our shade's as sweet, tho' not to us so dear, Because the sun hath greater power there. This distant place doth give me greater woe, Far off, my fighs the farther have to go. Ah absence! why, thus shouldst thou feem so long? Or wherefore shouldst thou offer time such wrong, Summer fo foon to fleal on winter's cold, Or winter's blafts fo foon make fummer old? Love did us both with one felf arrow strike, Our wound's both one, our cure should be the like; Except thou haft found out fome mean by art, Some pow'rful med'cine to withdraw the dart; But mine is fix'd, and absence being prov'd, It flicks too fast, it cannot be remov'd."



## The Life of LANCELOT ANDREWS, Bishop of Winchester.

ANCELOT ANDREWS was born in the parish of All-hallows Barking, in London, about the year 1555. His father, who had spent the greater part of his life at sea, was, in the decline of his years, chosen Master of Trinity-House at Deptsord. Young Lancelot was initiated in grammar learning at the Cooper's free-school at Ratcliff, from whence he was sent to Merchant-Taylors school, where he made an extraordinary progress in the Greek and Hebrew languages under Mr. Mulcaster; so that Dr. Thomas Watts, Prebendary and Residentiary of St. Paul's, and Archdeacon of Middlesex, who had lately sounded some Scholarships in Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, bestowed the first of those Scholarships upon him. And having taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was chosen Fellow of his College, and continued at Cambridge till Mr. Hugh Price, sounder of Jesus College in Oxford, named him, without his knowledge, one of his first Fellows there.

During his residence at the two Universities, Mr. Andrews applied himself to his studies with extraordinary diligence and assiduity; and he employed even the usual vacations in the improvement of himself in various branches of useful knowledge. For his custom was, after he had been three years in the University, to go to London once a year to visit his parents: and this he always did a fortnight before Raster, staying till a fortnight after. Against which time, his father being directed by letters from him, prepared a person to instruct him in some language or art, which he had not attained before: so that within a few years he had lain the foundations of all arts and sciences, and had gained a considerable knowledge in most of the modern languages (\*).

It is remarkable, that in his journies between London and the Universities, he always used to walk on foot till he was a Bachelor of Divinity: and he professed, that even then he would not have rode on horseback, but to avoid the imputation that he walked merely to save charges. He never loved nor used any games or ordinary recreations; but his common exercise was Vol. IV. 5.

walking, either alone, or with fome select companion, with whom he might engage in an agreeable and instructive converfation. And he would often profess, that to observe the grass, herbs, corn, trees, cattle, earth, waters, and heavens, and to contemplate their natures, orders, qualities, virtues, and uses,

was to him the most exquisite entertainment.

After he had been some time Master of Arts, he applied himfelf to the study of Divinity, in which he made extraordinary advances, and his reputation grew very extensive and considerable: so that when he was chosen Catechist in the College, and read upon the Ten Commandments every Saturday and Sunday at three o'clock in the afternoon, a great many Members of the other Colleges, and even persons out of the country, duly reforted to the College-chapel, as a public Divinity lecture. He was likewise particularly eminent for his skill in Casuistry, and

very much confulted in that way.

His merit became now so conspicuous, that Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, sent for him to attend him into the North, of which he was President; where, by his diligent preaching, and private conserences, he converted several Papists, and among them some Priests, to the Protestant religion. He obtained likewise the favour of Sir Francis Walsingham; and that eminent Statesman would not suffer Mr. Andrews to take any country Benefice, less his eminent parts and learning should be buried in obscurity. By his interest he was made Vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, in London; and he also procured him to be appointed Prebendary and Residentiary of St. Paul's, and afterwards Prebendary of the collegiate church of Southwell.

Upon the decease of Dr. Fulke, he was elected Master of Pembroke-Hall, to which College he became a considerable benefactor. He was afterwards made Chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, who was highly pleased with his preaching and behaviour; and in 1597 made him Prebendary of Westminster, and in 1601 Dean of that church. He soon grew into great favour also with her successor, King James I. who is said to have admired him above all other Divines, on account of his solid and extensive learning. And in 1605, that Prince conferred on him the Bishopric of Chichester; and he also made him Lord Almoner, in which place Dr. Andrews acted in a very conscientious and upright manner, not even making those advantages to himself which he might legally have done.

King James having, in his "Defence of the Right of "Kings (1)," afferted the authority of Christian Princes over causes and persons ecclesiastical, Cardinal Bellarmine, under the name of Matthew Tortus, attacked him with great vehemency and bitterness. The King hereupon employed Bishop Andrews to answer the Cardinal, which he did with much spirit and judgment,

judgment, in a Piece, intitled, " Tortura Torti : five, ad Mat-" thæi Torti Librum Responsio, &c." This was published at London, in 4to. in 1609, and the same year our Author was translated from the See of Chichester to that of Ely. He was also appointed one of the King's Privy Counsellors of England, and afterwards of Scotland, when he attended his Majesty to

that kingdom.

When he had been nine years in the See of Ely, he was, in 1618, advanced to the Bishopric of Winchester, and also appointed Dean of the King's chapel. It is faid, that he obtained thele great preferments without making use of any means to procure them; and that they were all conferred upon him without the least solicitation on his part. It is also observed, that though he was Almoner, Dean of the chapel, and Privy Counfellor to King James I. and King Charles I. he interposed very little in civil and temporal affairs, esteeming them foreign to his profession and character; but in causes which related to the church, and the duties of his function, he exerted himself with

great diligence.

There is a pleasant story related of him, while he was Bishop of Winchester, which was told by Mr. Waller the Poet to his fon-in-law, Dr. Birch. Waller going to fee King James at dinner, on the day in which the Parliament had been diffolved, over-heard a very extraordinary conversation between his Majesty, Bishop Andrews, and Dr. Neile, Bishop of Durham. These two Prelates standing behind the King's chair, James asked them, "My Lords, (said he) cannot I take my subjects "money when I want it, without all this formality in Parlia-" ment ?" The Bishop of Durham, who was a complete Court fycophant, readily answered, "GOD forbid, Sir, but you " should; you are the breath of our nostrils." Whereupon the King turned, and faid to the Bishop of Winchester, "Well, "my Lord, what fay you?" "Sir, (replied the Bishop) I "have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases." The King answered, "No put-offs, my Lord; answer me presently." " Then, Sir, (said Bishop Andrews) I think it lawful for you to "take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it." Mr. Waller faid, the company was much pleased with this answer, but the King seemed particularly struck with the wit of it. For a certain Lord coming in foon after, his Majesty cried out, "Oh! my Lord! they fay you LIG with my Lady." "No, " Sir, (faid his Lordship in some confusion) but I like her com-" pany, because she has so much wit." " Why then (returned " the King) do you not LIG with my Lord of Winchester " there ( m ) ?"

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<sup>(</sup>m) Life of Mr. Edmund Waller, prefixed to his Works, Edit. 1722. P. 5, 6.

Bishop Andrews died at Winchester-House in Southwark, on the 25th of September, 1626, in the seventy-first year of his age, and was buried in the parish church of St. Saviour's, where his executors erected to his memory an handsome monument of marble and alabaster. Our celebrated Milton wrote a beautiful Latin elegy upon his death, when he was only seventeen years

of age.

He was a Prelate of eminent learning and abilities, and of great piety and virtue. Dr. Fuller observes, that King James had so great an awe of, and veneration for him, that in his presence he refrained from that mirth and levity in which he indulged himself at other times. His reputation for learning and genius was universally established. He understood a great variety of languages, at least sisteen, and was particularly conversant in the Oriental tongues. Casaubon extols his skill in all kinds of learning. Spauheim stiles him "a Prelate of a most acute and sagacious judgment;" and Vossius, in his book de Vitiis Sermonis," gives him the character of "a man of most accomplished learning." However, his style and manner of writing are peculiar, and though generally admired in

that age, are very exceptionable.

His piety appeared not only in his private devotions, in which those who attended him perceived that he daily spent many hours, but likewise in his public prayers with his family in his chapel, wherein he behaved with great humility, reverence, and devotion. His charity was remarkable, even before he came to great preferments; for while he continued in a private station of life, he relieved his poor parishioners, and assisted persons in prifon, besides his constant. Sunday alms at his parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate. But when his fortune became greater, his benevolence was more diffusive, and he released many prisoners of all forts, who were detained either for small debts, or the keeper's fees. One circumstance in his charity is observable: he gave firict charge to such of his servants as he intrusted with the distribution of it, that they should not acknowledge from whence this relief came; but directed, that the acquittance, which they, in order to make the discharge of their trust appear, defired of them who received fuch relief, should be taken in the name of a benefactor unknown. Other large fums he bestowed yearly, and indeed oftener, in clothing the poor and naked, in relieving the necessitous, and assisting families in the time of the plague, besides his alms to poor house-keepers at his gate. So that his private alms, in the last fix years of his life, over and above his public, amounted to above thirteen hundred pounds. He also left in his will four thousand pounds, to be employed in fundry charitable uses.

Bishop Andrews was also distinguished for his hospitality. From the time of his preserment to the last moments of his life, he was always hospitable and free in the entertainment of per-

fons who deferved respect, especially scholars and strangers. And he shewed himself so generous in his entertainments, and behaved with so much chearfulness and friendliness, that his guests would often prosess, that they never came to any man's table, where they received more satisfaction in all respects. He was at a very great expence in entertaining all forts of people in Scotland, when he attended King James thither; and it cost him three thousand pounds in the space of three days, when the King came to visit him at Farnham-castle, one of the seats belonging to the Bishopric of Winchester.

He was very careful to prefer men of abilities and worth to the Livings and preferments within his own gift. He used to fend for men of eminent learning, who wanted preferment, though they had no dependence upon him, or connection with him, and entertain them in his own house, and confer preferment upon them, and likewise destray for them their charges of a dispensation or faculty, and even of their journey. This he did, that his Diocese in general, and his own preferments in par-

ticular, might be filled with able men.

He had a warm sense of gratitude, which extended even to the relations of those from whom he had received benefits. He gave many noble instances of this virtue. He bestowed upon Dr. Ward, son to his first school-master, the Living of Waltham in Hampshire. He also shewed the utmost regard for Mr. Mulcaster, his other school-master, in all companies, and always placed him at the upper end of his table; and after his death caused his picture, though he had but sew others in his house, to be set over his study door. And besides these external marks of gratitude, he supplied his necessities privately in a very liberal manner, and lest his son a valuable legacy. He likewise enquired very carefully after the kindred of Dr. Watts, who had sent him to Pembroke-hall; and having sound out one of his relations, he conferred upon him preferments in that College.

His humanity, modefly, and affability, were remarkable, and procured him the regard and efteem of all who approached him. And he was admired not only by the learned in this kingdom, but also by foreigners of the greatest eminence, particularly Cafaubon, Cluverius, Vossius, who corresponded with him by letters, Grotius, Peter Du Moulin, and Erpenius, to whom he offered an annual stipend to read lectures here in the Oriental tongues, the professors of which he encouraged very liberally.

When he had attained his highest preferments, and it might have been expected that he would have relaxed from his former labours, he did not remit his usual application to study. But from the hour he rose, his private devotions being sinished, to the time he was called to dinner, which was about twelve at noon, he continued at his studies, and would not be interrupted by any who came to speak with him, or upon any occasion, public prayers excepted. So that he would be displeased with scholars,

who attempted to speak with him in the morning; and said, that "he doubted they were no true scholars, who came to speak "with him before noon." After dinner, for two or three hours space, he would willingly pass the time, either in discourse with his guests or other friends, or in dispatch of his own temporal affairs, or of those who attended him on account of his episcopal jurisdiction. Having discharged which, he returned to his study, where he continued till bed-time, except some friend en-

gaged him to supper, and then he eat but sparingly.

In the dedication of Bishop Andrews's sermons, published under the care and inspection of the Bishops of London and Ely, we have the following character of him: " The person whose Works these are, was from his youth a man of extraordinary worth and note; a man, as if he had been made up of learning and virtue, both of them fo eminent in him, that it is hard to judge which had precedency. His virtue, which we must still judge the more worthy in any man, was comparable to that which was to be found in the primitive Bishops of the church; and had he lived amongst those antient Fathers, his virtues would have shined even amongst those virtuous men. And for his learning, that was as well, if not better known abroad, than respected at home. And take him in his latitude, we, which knew him well, knew not any kind of learning to which he was a stranger; but in his profession admirable. None stronger than he, where he wrestled with an adversary; and that Bellarmine felt, who was as well able to shift for himself, as any that stood up for the Roman party. None more exact, more judicious than he, where he was to instruct and inform others; and that as they knew, who often heard him preach, fo they may learn who will read this which he hath left behind him. And yet this fulness of his material learning left room enough in the temper of his brain for almost all languages, learned and modern, to feat themselves: so that his learning had all the helps language could afford; and his languages learning enough for the best of them to express. His judgment, in the mean time, so commanding over both, as that neither of them was suffered idly or curiously to start from or fall short of their intended scope. So that we may better say of him, than 'twas fometimes faid of Claudius Drusus, " He was of as many, and as great virtues, as mortal nature could. " receive, or industry make perfect." -- Bishop ANDREWS was the Author of feveral Pieces, among which were the following:

I. The Moral Law expounded; or, Lectures on the Ten Commandments. Whereunto are annexed, nineteen fermons upon prayer in general, and the Lord's prayer in particular.

London, 1643, Folio.

II. A Collection of posthumous and orphan Lectures, delivered at St. Paul's, and at St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, 1657, Folio.

III. Responsiones

III. Responsiones ad Petri Molinæi Epistolas tres, &c. An-swers to three letters of Peter Du Moulin. IV. Stricturæ; or, a brief Answer to the eighteenth chapter

of the first book of Cardinal Perron's Reply, &c.

The two last, together with several other tracts and sermons written by our Prelate, were collected and published in 4to, in the year 1629.



## The Life of RICHARD BOYLE, Earl of Corke.

ICHARD BOYLE was descended from an ancient family, and born in the city of Canterbury, on the 3d of October, 1566. He was second son to Mr. Roger Boyle of Herefordshire, by Joan, daughter of Mr. Robert Naylor, of Canterbury. He was instructed in grammar learning by a Clergyman of Kent, and after having been a scholar in Bennet-college, Cambridge, where he was remarkable for early rising, indefatigable study, and great temperance, he became a Student in the Middle Temple. Having lost his father when he was but ten years old, and his mother when he had attained the age of twenty, and being unable to support himself in the prosecution of his studies, he entered into the service of Sir Richard Manwood, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, as one of his Clerks: but perceiving that he had little prospect of raising his fortune by this employment, he resolved to travel; and accordingly leaving England, he arrived at Dublin on the 23d of June, 1588.

It appears that when Mr. Boyle landed in Ireland, his finances were very low. Dr. Birch has published some short memoirs of this Nöbleman, written by himself, and entitled, "True

"Remembrances;" in which he expresses himself thus: "When if it I arrived at Dublin in Ireland, all my wealth then was twenty-seven pounds three shillings in money, and two tokens,

which my mother had given me, viz. a diamond ring, which I

"have ever fince and still do wear, and a bracelet of gold worth

bout ten pounds; a taffety doublet cut with and upon taffe-

"ty, a pair of black velvet breeches laced, a new Milan fustian in tuit laced and cut upon taffety, two cloaks, competent linen

" and necessaries, with my rapier and dagger ( o )."

This was a very small stock for a young gentleman to launch out into the world upon: however, being well recommended to some of the principal persons employed in the administration of Ireland, he made himself very useful to them by penning memorials and state papers, and thereby acquired a thorough knowledge of the state of the kingdom, and of public affairs, of which he well knew how to avail himself.

Mr.

Mr. Boyle's parts, learning, and address, soon made him remarkable in a country, which was not, at that time, eminent for its politeness, and in which an accomplished man was seldom seen. One of the two daughters and co-heirs of William Apsley, of Limerick, Esq; a young lady of great merit, fell in love with our adventurer: and though her fortune was vastly superior to what Mr. Boyle could pretend to, upon the principles on which marriages are generally made in this age, yet her indulgent father, who was himself charmed with the young gentleman's conversation, suffered his daughter to marry him. His behaviour to this lady gave her no reason to repent of her choice: but she was soon taken from her beloved husband. She died in child-bed of her first child, and the infant, a boy, was buried at the same time, and in the same grave with his mother (p).

Mr. Boyle was now a widower, and master of five hundred pounds per annum in land, besides money; all which he had acquired by his marriage, which was, as he himself expresses it, " the beginning and foundation of his fortune." His œconomy enabled him, with his present fortune, not only to live in an handsome manner, but to make some new purchases in the province of Munster. This drew upon him the envy of several great men, who began already to apprehend that his uncommon parts and abilities might, one day, make him their superior. Sir Henry Wallop, at that time Treasurer in Ireland, Sir Robert Gardiner, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir Robert Dellam, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Richard Bingham, Chief Commissioner of Connaught, laid their heads toge-ther in order to ruin him. To effectuate this, each of them wrote to Queen Elizabeth, and complained in their letters, that Mr. Boyle, who came into Ireland but a few years fince, a young man, without any fortune or estate, lived in such a manner at present, and made so many purchases, as evidently shewed that he was supported by the purse of some foreign prince. They infinuated, that this prince was, in all probability, the King of Spain, who was known, at that time, to have thoughts of invading Ireland. And to give some colour to their pretended sufpicions, they affured her Majesty, that Mr. Boyle had bought several castles and abbies upon the sea-coast, extremely fit to receive and entertain the Spaniards; and that he was itrongly fufpected to be a Roman Catholic in his heart.

Mr. Boyle had fome intimation given him of these suggestions, which were equally salse and malicious. He immediately resolved, with great prudence, not to stay till his enemies were impowered to try and judge him in Ireland, but to go himself into England, and convince the Queen of the injustice of the accusations against him. He was accordingly preparing to embark, Vol. IV. 5.

<sup>(</sup>p) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, by E. Budgell, Efq; Edit. 1737. P. 4-5.

when the general rebellion broke out in Munster, and therebels, feizing upon his estates, laid them waste in such a manner, "as "I could not say (says he) that I had one penny of certain re"venue left me." Having, through many dangets, and with great hazard of his life, got to Dingle, he procured a ship there, to transport him to Bristol; from whence he went to London; and looking upon his fortune to be in a desperate condition, returned to his old chambers in the Temple, with an intent to renew his studies in the law. However, when the Earl of Essex was designed for the Government of Ireland, he found means to get himself recommended to his Lordship; and was received with that humanity for which the Earl was so remarkable, and which rendered him so justly popular (a).

which rendered him so justly popular (q).

Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer of Ireland, and Mr. Boyle's great enemy, was sufficiently alarmed upon hearing that he was on good terms with the Earl of Essex. The Knight was not a little apprehensive, that this young gentleman, whose capacity he knew and seared, had been pretty inquisitive into his management of the public revenues in Ireland; and could tell some tales, that would do him no kindness. To prevent this, he renewed his former complaints against him to the Queen; and with so much success, that at last, by her Majesty's special direction, Mr. Boyle was taken up, and committed close prisoner

to the Gatehouse.

He had now nothing to support him, but his own courage and integrity. He was so conscious of the last, that he humbly petitioned the Queen he might be examined, and have leave to defend himself before her Majesty's Council; and that her Majesty would be graciously pleased to be present herself at his examination and defence. Queen Elizabeth loved to see with her own eyes, and hear with her own ears: and, therefore, though she was strongly prejudiced against Mr. Boyle, as conceiving that she had sufficient proofs of his guilt, yet she readily consented to do him the justice to hear what he could say in his own defence. And a day was accordingly appointed for his appearance before the Council, her Majesty being present.

When the time came, Mr. Boyle answered the several accusations which were brought against him in a very clear and satisfactory manner; after which he gave a short relation of his own behaviour since he first settled in Ireland, and made it evidently appear, that he had acted like a good Englishman, and a loyal subject. He concluded, with giving her Majesty and the Council an account of the conduct of his chief enemy, Sir Henry Wallop, and of that gentleman's method of passing his accounts as Treasurer of Ireland. The moment he had done speaking, the Queen broke out into the following words: "By God's death, all these are but inventions against this young man, and

all his fufferings are for being able to do us fervice, and those complaints urged to forestall him therein. But we find him to be a man sit to be employed by ourselves; and we will employ him in our service. Wallop, and his adherents, shall know, that it shall not be in the power of any of them to wrong him; neither shall Wallop be our Treasurer any longer (r)."

To shew that she meant what she said, Elizabeth ordered her Council to give her immediately the names of six men, out of whom she might chuse one to be Treasurer of Ireland. Her commands were instantly obeyed; and her Majesty having made choice of Sir George Carew, rose from her seat, and publickly commanded, that Mr. Boyle should not only be discharged from his confinement, but be fully reimbursed for all the charges and sees his restraint had brought upon him. She then gave him her hand to kiss before the whole assembly, and ordered him to attend the Court. And a few days after she appointed him Clerk of the Council of Munster; and commanded him to go over to Sir George Carew, who was Lord President of that Province.

Mr. Boyle having thus triumphed over the malice of his enemies, bought a ship of Sir Walter Raleigh called the Pilgrim, freighted her with ammunition and victuals, and arrived in her at Carrigfoyl-Kerry, before which the Lord-President and the army then lay. And this castle being taken soon after, Mr. Boyle was there sworn Clerk of the Council of Munster; and afterwards made Justice of the Peace, and of the Quorum, throughout all that province. "And this (says he, in his Me-"moirs) was the second rife that God gave to my fortunes."

He continued to discharge the duties of his employment as Clerk of the Council, and was with the Lord-Prefident at the fiege of Kinsale; and was sent by his Lordship to the Queen, with the news of the victory gained near that place, on the 24th of December, 1601, over the Irish rebels and their Spanish auxiliaries, who were totally routed, twelve hundred being slain in the field, and eight hundred wounded. " I made (fays he) a " fpeedy expedition to the Court; for I left my Lord Prefident " at Shannon-castle, near Corke, on the Monday morning about " two of the clock; and the next day, being Tuesday, I deli-" vered my packet, and supped with Sir Robert Cecil, being " then principal Secretary of State, at his house in the Strand; " who after supper held me in discourse till two of the clock in " the morning; and by feven that morning called upon me to " attend him to the Court, where he presented me to her Ma-" jesty in her bed-chamber, who remembered me, calling me by " my name, and giving me her hand to kifs, telling me, that she " was glad that I was the happy man, to bring the first news of " that glorious victory. And after her Majesty had interrogat-2 D 2 " ed " ed with me upon fundry questions very punctually, and that " therein I had given her full fatisfaction in every particular, " fhe again gave me her hand to kifs, and recommended my

" dispatch for Ireland, and so dismissed me with grace and

" favour (s)."

Upon his return to Ireland, Mr. Boyle attended the Lord-Prefident at the fiege of Beerhaven-castle, which was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword. After the reduction of the western part of the province, the Lord-President sent Mr. Boyle again to England, to procure the Queen's leave for his return; and having advised him to purchase Sir Walter Raleigh's lands in Munster, he gave him a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, containing a very advantageous representation of Mr. Boyle's abilities, and of the fervices he had done his country; in confideration of which he defired the Secretary to introduce him to Sir Walter, and recommend him as a proper purchaser for his lands in Ireland, if he was disposed to part with them. He wrote at the same time to Sir Walter Raleigh himself, advising him to sell Mr. Boyle all his lands in Ireland, then untenanted and of no value to him, having, to his Lordship's knowledge, never yielded him any benefit, but, on the contrary, stood him in 2001. yearly for the support of his titles. Accordingly at a meeting between Sir Robert Cecii, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Mr. Boyle, the purchase was concluded by the meditation of the former. " And " this, (fays Mr. Boyle, in his Memoirs) was a third addition " and rise to my estate (t)."

About this time, upon his return to Ireland, in the year 1603, he began to think of taking another wife. And accordingly he made choice of Catherine, the only daughter of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, principal Secretary of State in Ireland; and this was fo entirely a match of inclination, that he defired no fortune with her. " I never demanded (fays he, in his Memoirs) any " marriage portion, neither had promise of any, it not being in " my confideration ; yet her father, after my marriage, gave me " one thousand pounds in gold with her. But that gift of his " daughter unto me, I must ever thankfully acknowledge as the " crown of all my bleffings; for she was a most religious, virtuous, " loving, and obedient wife unto me all the days of her life, " and the happy mother of all my hopeful children (u)." He received on his wedding day the honour of Knighthood from his friend Sir George Carew, now promoted to be Lord-Deputy of Ireland.

In

(s) Birch, P. 8. Birch, P. g. Sir Walter Raleigh's citate confitted of twelve thoufand acres in the counties of Corke and Waterford, which was fo much improved in a few years by Mr.

Boyle's diligence, that it was not only well tenanted, but in the most thriving condition of any estate in Ircland.

(4) Budgell, P. 20. Birch, P, 11.

In 1606, Sir Richard Boyle was fworn a Privy Counsellor to King James I. and from this time, fo great was the reputation of his wildom and abilities, that few people cared to declare themfelves his enemies; and his honours and estate continually increased. In 1616, he was created Lord Boyle, Baron of Youghall. In 1620, he was created Lord Viscount of Dungarvan, and Earl of Corke; and on the 26th of October, 1629, he was fworn one of the Lords Justices for the Government of Ireland, in conjunction with Lord Viscount Loftus, who had married one of his daughters. But a few months afterwards, he had the misfortune to lose his beloved Countess.

In the year 1631, he was made Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and had interest enough to get that high office made hereditary in his family. Nevertheless, he suffered many mortifications during the administration of Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, who, before he went to Ireland, had conceived a jealoufy of his authority and interest in that kingdom, and determined to endeayour to bring him down; imagining, it is faid, that if he could humble the great Earl of Corke, nobody in that country would

give him much trouble.

This Nobleman continued in great prosperity till the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland in 1641; and the county of Corke was the last that suffered under the fury and violences of the Papists, being the best inhabited with English of any part of the kingdom, by the plantations made by his Lordship, and was in a great measure preserved by his activity and diligence. He was then just returned out of England, and on this irruption immediately raise two troops of horse, which he put under the command of his fons, the Lord Viscount Kinelmeaky and the Lord Broghill, maintaining them and four hundred foot for fome months at his own charge; and at the battle of Lifcarrol, on the 3d of September, 1642, wherein the English obtained a complete victory, had no less than four of his fons engaged, namely, his eldest son the Lord Viscount Dungarvon, the Lord Viscount Kinelmeaky, the Lord Broghill, and Mr. Francis Boyle, afterwards created Lord Viscount Shannon. But in this engagement he had the misfortune to lose one of his sons, the Lord Kinelmeaky, Governor of Bandon, who in several encounters had defeated the rebels, and with his father and brothers preserved the county of Corke. At length this great man, in the midit of these confusions, departed this life, in the 78th year of his age, at Youghall, and was interred there on the 15th of September, 1643 (w).

The

(w) The Earl of Corke had no fons, Richard the fecond fon, succeed. less than feven sons and eight daugh- ed in the Earldom of Corke; Lewis ters by his fecond wife. At the time was created Baron of Bandon and his laft child Margaret was born, he Viscount Kinelmeaky; Roger was was in his fixty-fourth year. Of his Baron of Broghill, and Earl of Orre-

The Earl of Corke was a man of confiderable abilities, and of uncommon industry and prudence; and, as his son Robert observes, "from very inconsiderable beginnings, by God's blesser sing on his prosperous industry, he built so plentiful and so eminent a fortune, that his prosperity has found many admirsers; but sew parallels." Mr. Budgell tells us, that the Irish are still sull of the praises of "the great Earl of Corke," as they stile him; and tell a hundred stories of the splendor in which he lived, of the exact order observed in his family, and of his generous behaviour to men of merit. He is allowed to have been an excellent husband, a tender father, and a firm friend: and his estate, great as it was, appears to have been acquired by honest

V; and Francis was created Lord Vifcount Shannon. ROBERT, his feventh and youngest son, refused a Peerage, but acquired a greater name than it is in the power of Kings to bestow. The Earl had the satisfaction of seeing three of the five sons who survived him, namely, Richard, Lewis, and Roger, made Peers before his death.

Roger, made Peers before his death. The preamble to the patent granted by King Charles I. for conferring the honours of Baron and Viscount upon the Earl's fon Lewis, who was then only eight years old, contains fuch an councration of his Lordship's publicspirited services, as deserves to be laid before the reader. It is as follows. We, taking notice of the excellent 45 virtues and high faculties of Ria chard, Earl of Corke, in advancing cour affairs in Ireland, not only in Council, but in the Government of 44 the Province of Munster, in which es he has shewed himself to be a perfon of high abilities, but also in many other works of great moment, viz. in building towns, and · fortifying them with fair walls and towers, and filling them with Eng-. lifh colonies, building churches, and er reducing the people to civil obedie ence; in establishing religion, ex-" tirpating fuperstition, defending 44 the passes of that country with caf-" tles, building many bridges forthe " convenience of the public, guardsing the ports and maritime places of the faid province against foreign " enemics; in first introducing manu-" factures and mechanic arts into the " province, and afterwards establish-" ing them by guilds and fraternities

" of artificers, to the plentiful increase " of riches and civility, by planting " and continually supporting leaders " and other men, experienced in " arms, from England, to the num-" ber at least of fifteen hundred, and " to the perpetual fecurity and de-" fence of those parts. And all this " he did at his own expence, and by " his own industry: all which tend " not only to the present utility, and " ornament of those parts, but to the " perpetual fecurity and defence of them, really indeed excellent, and " which it is difficult to fay, whether " the like was ever undertaken by " any other subject in times past. In " contemplation of which, our father " adorned the faid Richard with ma-" ny titles of honour, and placed him in the highest degree of nobility in " Ireland; fo that we have scarce any " thing left us to heap upon our faid " cousin, unless we derive honours to his fons, and pofterity of his name, " to the perpetual elogy of his memo-" ry. And we being informed, that " our faid confin has had a fecond fon " named Lewis, a youth of great hopes, the true image of his fa-" ther's genius, and in whom is easy " to be seen a branch of that tree from whence he fprung: We also, to " fhew our good disposition to the " faid Earl, and to give him fome " token of our favour which may re-" main to posterity in an indelible " character, have thought proper to place the faid Lewis (for the fake of " his father) though in his tender " years, among the nobles of this kingdom, &c."

honest and upright methods, and not by injustice, rapacity, or op-

pression.

Sir Richard Cox, in the introduction to the second volume of his History of Ireland, fays, " The noble Earl of Corke, Lord High Treasurer, was one of the most extraordinary persons. either that, or any other age hath produced, with respect to the great and just acquisitions of estate that he made, and the public works that he began and finished, for the advancement of the English interest, and the Protestant religion in Ireland, as churches, alms-houses, free-schools, bridges, castles, and towns, viz. Lismore, Tallow, Cloghnakilty, Iniskeen, Castletown, and Bandon, (which last place cost him fourteen thousand pounds); infomuch that when Cromwell faw these prodigious improvements, which he little expected to find in Ireland, he declared, " that if there had been an Earl of Corke in every province, it " would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a re-" bellion." It is faid, that though the Earl of Corke was not an English Peer, he was, on account of his eminent abilities and knowledge of the world, admitted, when in England, to fit in the House of Lords upon the woolpacks, ut confiliarius.

He affected not places and titles of honour until he was well able to maintain them; for he was in the thirty-feventh year of his age when he received the houour of Knighthood, and in his fiftieth when he attained to be a Baron. He made large purchases, but not till he was able to improve them; and though he paid money for his lands, yet the rents that he received from them were the fruits of his own prudence; and he grew rich on estates which had ruined their former possessors, and increased his wealth, not by hoarding, but by spending. For he built and walled feveral towns at his own cost; but in places fo well fituated, that they were foon filled with inhabitants, who, though their rents were moderate, quickly repaid him the money he had laid out with interest, and he as readily laid it out again. Hence, in the space of forty years, he acquired to himself what in some countries would have been effeemed a noble principality; and as they came to years of discretion, he bestowed estates upon his fons, and married his daughters into the best families in that country (x). So that his power and credit were continually increasing, and he was generally esteemed; beloved by the English, and respected and obeyed by the natives. The former admired his wisdom, the latter stood amazed at his magnificence:

rimore, Sarah, to the Lord Digby, Earl of Kildare, Dorothy to the Lord after to honourable a manner."-Ranclogh .- " I believe (fays Mr. P. 25.

(x) Of his daughters, the Lady Budgell) I may venture to affirm, that Alice was married to the Earl of Bar- the founder of no family in England, was ever fo favoured by Providence, Lettice to the Lord Goreing, Mary to as to fee so many of his children set-the Earl of Warwick, Joan to the tled in the world, and disposed of Loftus, and Catherine to the Lord Memoirs of the Family of the Poyle.

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for as he had the power and property, so he had the soul and spirit of a Prince; and his castle of Lismore looked rather like the palace of a Sovereign, than the residence of a private man whose estate was of his own raising. He out-lived most of those who had known the meanness of his beginning, but he delighted to remember it himself, and even took pains to preserve the memory thereof to posterity: and, indeed, he appears evidently to have alluded to this in the motto which he always used, and which he caused to be placed upon his tomb, viz. "God's Providence is my inheritance (y)."

(y) Vid. Biograph, Britan.



### The Life of Sir HENRY WOTTON.

ENRY WOTTON was fon to Thomas Wotton, Esq; (z) and was born at Bocton, or Boughton-Hall, in the county of Kent, on the 30th of March, 1568. He was instructed in the rudiments of learning by a private tutor at home, and was afterwards sent to Winchester school; from whence, in 1584, he was removed to New College in Oxford. Here he was entered a Gentleman Commoner, and had his chamber in Hart-Hall, adjoining; and Richard Baker, the Historian (a), who was his countryman, was his chamber-fellow. When he had continued here two years, he removed to Queen's College, where he made a great progress in rhetoric, logic, and philosophy; and being distinguished for his wit, he was solicited to write a Tragedy for the private use of that house, and which he accordingly did. The title of this play was "Tancredo;" and Mr. Walton observes, that it was Vol. IV. 5.

(z) It is faid in the Biographia Britannica, Art. Wotton, Note A. that Sir Robert Wotton was our Author's father: but this is a mistake; Sir Robert was great grandfather to Sir Henry.—Vid. Walton's Lives, Edit.

1675. P. 86, 87.

a) RICHARD BAKER was born at Sissingherst in Kent, about the year 1568. In 1584, he was entered a Commoner at Hart-Hall in Oxford, where he continued three years, which he fpent chiefly in the study of logic and philosophy. From thence he removed to one of the Inns of Court in London, and afterwards travelled into foreign parts. In 1603, he was knighted by King James I. at Theo-balds. In 1620, he was High-Sheriff of Oxfordshire, having the manor of Middle Afton and other estates in that county. He married a daughter of Sir George Manwaring, of Shropshire, and having become furety for some of that family's debts, was thereby reduced to poverty, and thrown into the Fleet-prison, where he died in 1645, and was buried about the middle of the fouth ifle of St. Bride's church in Fleet-street. Anthony Wood says, he was a person tall and comely, of a good disposition, and admirable discourse, religious, and well read in various faculties, especially in Divinity and History.

Sir Richard Baker was the Author of feveral books, most of which are on theological fubjects; but the Work which has made him the most known, is his " Chronicle of the Kings of " England, from the time of the Ro-" mans Government, unto the death of King James I." The first Edition was published in 1641, in Folio; and it has been feveral times fince reprinted. The stile and manner were fo generally liked, that it was in great vogue for fome years; Baker's Chronicle being a common piece of furniture in almost every country Esquire's hall. But it has fince grown fomewhat out of repute; and, indeed, it is but a superficial and inaccurate performance.

" fo interwoven with fentences, and for the method and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which

"he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared, he had in a slight employment given an early and solid testimony of his future abilities (b)."

In 1589, Mr. Wotton lost his father, who left him one hundred marks a year. And now, leaving Oxford, he set out on his travels into foreign countries, and went into France, Germany, and Italy. He staid but a short time in France; but at Geneva he became acquainted with Beza and Isaac Casaubon. Three years he spent in Germany, and sive in Italy; where he became acquainted with some of the most learned men in Venice, Florence, and Rome. He also cultivated an acquaintance with the most eminent professors of the sine arts, painting, sculpture, and architecture, of which he was very fond, and of which he was an excellent judge.

When Mr. Wotton had been near nine years abroad, he returned again to England, being then about thirty years of age, and a very accomplished person. He had during his travels acquired a very extensive acquaintance with the customs, laws, and government of foreign countries; and he was also an excellent scholar, and well versed in the different branches of polite literature. And to these advantages were added a tall, handsome, well-made person, and the most elegant and engaging manners.

His wit, learning, and politeness, soon recommended him to the notice of the Earl of Essex, who sirst admitted him to his friendship, and afterwards made him one of his Secretaries. He continued in the service of Essex, till that Nobleman was apprehended for high treason; and then being somewhat fearful that his connection with his Lordship might occasion his being involved in his troubles, he thought it prudent to quit England in

the most expeditious manner.

Soon after his landing in France, he heard of the unfortunate end of the Earl, his late master. He then proceeded to Italy, where he fixed his residence chiesly at Florence, being well known and much respected at that Court; and the place became the more agreeable by his meeting here with Signor Vietta, a gentleman of Venice, with whom he had formerly been intimately acquainted, and who was now taken into the service of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, as his Secretary. It was during this retreat, that he drew up his "State of Christendom, or, a "most exact and curious discovery of many secret passages, and hidden mysteries of the times." This was first printed in 1657, in Folio, and re-printed in 1677, with this title: "The state of Christendom, giving a perfect and exact discovery of many political intrigues and secret mysteries of State, prac-

stifed in most of the Courts of Europe, with an account of

" their feveral claims, interests, and pretensions." During Mr. Wotton's stay at Florence, he was, by means of his friend Vietta, received into great confidence by the Grand Duke: who having intercepted letters, which discovered a defign to take away the life of James VI. of Scotland, dispatched Wotton thither to give him notice of it. It was necessary that this affair should be managed with all possible secrecy; and therefore, after Mr. Wotton had parted from the Duke, he took the name and language of an Italian; and not only fo, but the better to avoid suspicion, he posted into Norway, and from that country to Scotland. He found the King at Sterling, and was admitted to him under the name of Octavio Baldi. He delivered his message and his letters to James in Italian: then stepping up and whispering to his Majesty, he told him he was an Englishman, and defired a more private conference with him, and that he might be concealed during his stay in Scotland. He fpent about three months with the King, who was highly entertained with him, and then returned to Florence; whither, after a few months, the news of Queen Elizabeth's death, and of King James's accession to the Crown of England, arrived.

Upon this, Mr. Wotton determined to return to his native country, and not without hopes of making his fortune, in confequence of the interest he hoped he had made with the new King. And in the mean time, James, on his arrival in England, finding among other Officers of the late Queen, Sir Edward Wotton, asked him, " if he knew one Henry Wotton, that had spent " much time in foreign travel?" Sir Edward replied, that "he "knew him well, and that he was his brother." The King hereupon asking, " where he then was," was answered, " at "Venice, or Florence; but would foon be at Paris." Upon this, James ordered him to be fent for, and to be brought privately to him; which being done, the King took him into his arms, and faluted him by the name of Octavio Baldi; faying, that " he was the most honest, and therefore the best dissembler "that ever he met with." And his Majesty added, "Seeing I " know you neither want learning, travel, nor experience, and " that I have had so real a testimony of your faithfulness and " abilities to manage an Ambassage, I have sent for you to de-" clare my purpose; which is, to make use of you in that kind hereaster (c)." The King then knighted him, and some time after nominated him as Ambassador to the Republic of Venice; whither he went, accompanied by Sir Albertus Morton, his nephew, who was his Secretary, and Mr. William Bedell, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland, who was his Chaplain.

Sir Henry Wotton continued many years in King James's favour, and was indeed never out of it for any time, although he

once had the misfortune to displease his Majesty. The affair was this. At his going Ambassador to Venice, as he passed through Germany, he staid some days at Augsburgh; where happening to spend an evening in merriment with some ingenious and learned men, whom he had formerly known in his travels, one Christopher Flecamore requested him to write some fentence in his Album, which is a book of white paper the German gentry usually carry about with them for that purpose. Sir Henry Wotton confenting to the motion, took occasion from fome incidental discourse of the company, to write a pleasant definition of an Ambassador in these words, LEGATUS EST VIR BONUS, PEREGRE MISSUS AD MENTIENDUM REIPUBLICÆ CAUSA ( d ). But the book in which this was written falling afterwards into the hands of Gaspar Scioppius, a zealous Papist, of a reftless spirit and malicious pen, he laid hold of this sentence which was written in jest, and printed it in a book against King James, as a principle of the religion professed by that King, and his Ambassador Sir Henry Wotton. This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be fuch an overfight, fuch weakness, or worse, that he expressed much anger against him; which caused Sir Henry to write two apologies in Latin: one to Velserus at Augsburgh, which was dispersed into the cities of Germany; and another to the King. And they pleased James so much, that he entirely forgave Sir Henry, declaring publicly, " that he had commuted fufficiently for a " greater offence."

Sir Henry Wotton was afterwards sent twice more Ambassador to Venice, once to the States of the United Provinces, twice to the Duke of Savoy, once to the united Princes of Upper Germany, and also to the Archduke Leopold, to the Duke of Wittembergh, to the Imperial cities of Strasburgh, and Ulm, and lastly to the Emperor Ferdinand II. He brought with him to England from abroad many servants, of whom some were German and Italian artists. But notwithstanding the many public services in which Sir Henry had been employed, it appears that he had by no means improved his fortune; on the contrary, his

finances

(d) Mr. Walton tells us, that "Sir "Henry Wotton could have been to content this fentence should have been thus englished: An Embassa-ble interpretation of the content was to the hinge on which the conceit was to the trun) was not so express in Latin, as would admit, in the hands of an convey the enemy especially, so fair a configuration as Sir Henry thought in "English to turn) was not so express in Latin, as would admit, in the hands of an enemy especially, so fair a configuration as Sir Henry thought in meaning.

"English." It is, however, somewhat extraordinary, that because the English sentence is capable of a double interpretation, Sir Henry Wotton should have expected foreigners to understand his Latin sentence in a sense that it will by no means bear. In the English the pun passes very well; but the Latin words cannot in any respect convey the sense which Mr. Walton supposes to have been Sir Henry's meaning.

finances were fometimes at a very low ebb. This arose chiefly from the liberality of his temper, and his want of economy.

In 1623, Sir Henry had the Provoftship of Eaton-College given him; a station which was very agreeable to him, as he was now defirous of retiring from the buftle of life, and fpending the evening of his days in studious ease and tranquility. And as the statutes of this College required the Provost to be in Holy Orders, he was made a Deacon. His usual course of life now was, after his customary public devotions, to retire into his fludy, and there daily spend some hours in reading the Bible, and Authors in Divinity, closing his meditations with a private prayer. This was his usual employment in the forenoon: but his afternoons he spent partly in philosophical studies, and partly in chearful converse with his friends, or in some innocent and healthful recreation, particularly angling, of which he was very fond. He was a great lover of his neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his table; where his meat, fays Mr. Walton, was choice, and his discourse better. He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in the school, in whom he found either diligence or genius; and he would particularly exhort them not to neglect Rhetoric; because, said he, " Almighty GOD has left mankind affections to be wrought " upon." And he would add, that " none despised eloquence, " but fuch dull fouls as were not capable of it (e)."

He had proposed to himself, before he entered into his collegiate life, to write the Life of Martin Luther, and in it the History of the Reformation, as it was carried on in Germany; for which design he had many advantages by his several Embassies into those parts, and his interest with the several Princes of the Empire, by whose means he had access to the records of all the Hans Towns, and the knowledge of many secret transactions that fell not under common view. And he had made a good progress in this Work, when he was stopped from further proceeding in it by King Charles I. who persuaded him to lay aside his design respecting Luther, and undertake the History of England, by a promise of allowing him sive hundred pounds a year while he was engaged in it. But he did not live long

enough to proceed far in this defign.

About five months before his death, Sir Henry lived in a still more retired and contemplative manner; and in that time he was often visited by the learned John Hales, who was then a Fellow of Eaton College; and to whom, on a certain occasion, he spoke as follows: "I have in my passage to my grave met with most of those joys of which a discoursive soul is capatible; and been entertained with more inferior pleasures than the souls of men are usually made partakers of, Neverthe-

<sup>&</sup>quot; less, in this voyage I have not always floated on the calm fea

"of content; but have oft met with cross winds and storms, and with many troubles of mind, and temptations to evil. And yet, though I have been, and am a man compassed about with human frailties, Almighty GOD hath by his grace prevented me from making ship-wreck of faith and a good conscience, the thought of which is now the joy of my heart, and I most humbly praise him for it. And I humbly acknowledge, that it was not myself, but he that hath kept me to this great age, and let him take the glory of his great mercy. And, my dear friend, I now see that I draw near my harbour of death: that harbour that will secure me from all the suture florms and waves of this ressless world; and I praise GOD I am willing to leave it, and expect a better; that world wherein dwelleth righteousness; and I long for it (f)."

Sir Henry Wotton died in December, 1639, and was buried in the chapel belonging to Eaton-College. The following inscription was put over his grave, by his own direction:

Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus Author, Disputandi Pruritus Ecclesiæ Scabies. Nomen alias quære.

That is, "Here lies the first Author of this sentence, The Itch of Disputation is the Scab of the Church. Seek his name elsewhere."

Sir Henry Wotton was a man of eminent learning and abilities, and greatly esteemed by his cotemporaries. Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, who knew him well, gave this testimony of him: That he was a man of as florid a wit, and as elegant a pen, as any age hath produced. And it appears evidently from his Writings, that he was well versed in classical learning, in poetry, oratory, painting, statuary, architecture, music, and indeed every branch of polite literature. Soon after his death, Mr. Cowley wrote an elegy on him, which begins with the following lines:

- " What shall we say, since silent now is he,
- "Who, when he fpoke, all things would filent be?
- " Who had so many languages in store,
- " That only fame shall speak of him in more."

He was a great enemy to wrangling and disputes about religion; and used to cut enquiries short with smart replies. Thus,

to one who asked him, " Whether a Papist may be saved?" he replied, "You may be faved without knowing that: look to " yourself." To another, who was railing at the Papists with more zeal than knowledge, he gave this admonition, "Pray, Sir, " forbear, till you have studied the points better : for the wife " Italians have this proverb, HE THAT UNDERSTANDS AMISS, " concludes worse; and beware of thinking, that the fur-" ther you go from the Church of Rome, the nearer you are to " GOD."

Mr. Walton tells us, that he was once in company with Sir Henry Wotton, when a person present spoke in very bitter terms against Arminius, of whom Sir Henry on this occasion gave the following honourable testimony: " In my travel towards Ve-" nice, as I passed through Germany, I rested almost a year at " Leyden, where I entered into an acquaintance with Arminius, " then the Professor of Divinity in that University, a man much "talked of in this age, which is made up of opposition and controversy: and, indeed, if I mistake not Arminius in his " expressions, (as so weak a brain as mine is may easily do) then "I know I differ from him in some points; yet I profess my " judgment of him to be, that he was a man of most rare learn-" ing, and I knew him to be a man of a most strict life, and of a " most meek spirit."

A friend of Sir Henry's, who was defigned to be employed as an Ambassador, came once to Eaton, and requested from him fome experimental rules for his prudent and fafe carriage in his negociations; to whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible aphorism: " That to be in safety himself, and serviceable to " his country, he should always, and upon all occasions, speak " the truth; for (fays Sir Henry) you shall never be believed; " and, by this means, your truth will fecure itself, if you shall " ever be called to any account; and it will also put your ad-" versaries, who will still hunt counter, to a loss in all their dis-

" quifitions and undertakings."

A pleasant Priest of Sir Henry's acquaintance at Rome, invited him one evening to hear their vesper music; and seeing him flanding in an obscure corner of the church, fent a boy to him with this question, written upon a small piece of paper, "Where was your religion to be found before Luther?" Whereupon Sir Henry immediately under-wrote, and fent back, "My " religion was to be found then, where your's is not to be found " now, in the written word of GOD." Another evening, Sir Henry fent a boy of the choir with this question to his friend the Priest, "Do you believe those many thousands of poor Chris-" tians damned, who were excommunicated because the Pope " and the Duke of Venice could not agree about their tempo-" ral power ?" The Priest under-wrote in French, " Excusar " MOY, MONSIEUR," Excuse me, Sir.

#### 224 The Life of Sir HENRY WOTTON.

After Sir Henry's death, feveral Pieces written by him were published together in 8vo. under the following title : " Reli-" quiæ Wottonianæ : or, a Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems; with the characters of fundry Personages, and other incompa-" rable pieces of language and art. By the curious pencil of " the ever-memorable Sir Henry Wotton." The fourth Edition, printed at London in 1685, is the best; because in that were first added some long letters written by our Author to Lord Zouch from Vienna and Florence. In this collection of Sir Henry's Pieces, there are, among others, the following: 1. The Elements of Architecture, first published separate in 1624, in 4to. and which was also translated into Latin, and printed with Vitruvius. 2. A Parallel between Robert Earl of Essex, and George Duke of Buckingham. 3. Philosophical survey of Education, or moral Architecture. 4. Aphorisms of Education.



## The Life of Sir ROBERT COTTON, Bart.

OBERT COTTON was fon to Thomas Cotton. Esq; and was born at Denton, near Connington, in Huntingdonshire, on the 22d of January, 1570. He was educated at Trinity College in Cambridge, where in 1585 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Having quitted the University, he went and lived some time with his father in the country : but finding he there wanted many opportunities of improvement, which he could have in a more public place, he came to London. And his knowledge and ingenuity having foon made him known, he was admitted into a fociety of Antiquarians then established in London, and which was composed of feveral very learned and eminent persons. He now applied himself to the study of antiquities with great diligence and fuccess; and it was in the eighteenth year of his age that he began to collect antient records, charters, and other manuscripts.

About the year 1600, Mr. Cotton accompanied Mr. Camden to Carlisle, who acknowledges himself to have received from his singular courtesy great light in some of the most obscure and intricate matters treated of in his Britannia. The same year Mr. Cotton wrote "A brief Abstract of the Question of Precedency between England and Spain." This was occasioned by Queen Elizabeth's desiring the thoughts of the Antiquarian Society upon that point, at the time when Sir Henry Nevile was sent Ambassador to Boulogne, to treat of a peace with the Archduke

Albert.

Upon the accession of King James I. to the Throne of England, Mr. Cotton received the honour of Knighthood: and during this whole reign, his learning and merit occasioned him to be much caressed and esseemed by the greatest men in the kingdom; and he was consulted, as an oracle, by the Frivy Counsellors and Ministers of State, upon difficult points relating to our constitution; particularly upon the union of England and Scotland, the laws of England before the conquest, the dignity and precedency of the Knights of the Bath, about embasing the coin, and the taxes granted from time to time to our Kings, &c.

In 1608, Sir Robert Cotton was appointed one of the Commissioners to enquire into the state of the navy, which had been much neglected since the death of Elizabeth; and he drew up a Vol. IV. 6.

memorial of their proceedings, to be presented to the King. In the year 1609, he wrote "A Discourse of the lawfulness of " combats to be performed in the presence of the King, or the " Constable and Marshal of England." This was printed at London in 1651, and in 1672. He drew up also the same year, "An Answer to such motives as were offered by certain military " men to Prince Henry, to incite him to affect arms more than " peace." About this time fundry projects were contrived to repair the Royal Revenue, which had been prodigally fquandered; but none pleased the King so much, as the creating a new Order of Knights, called Baronets (g); and Sir Robert Cotton, who had done great fervice in the management of this affair, was chosen to be one, being the twenty-ninth Baronet that was created (b).

When the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain was in agitation, Sir Robert Cotton was employed by the House of Commons to shew, by a short examination of the treaties between England and the House of Austria, the unfaithfulness and infincerity of the latter; and to prove, that in all their transactions they aimed at nothing but universal Monarchy. This is printed in the Cottoni Posthuma, under the title of

" A Remonstrance of the Treaties of Amity, &c."

In 1621, he drew up "A Relation to prove, that the Kings " of England have been pleased to consult with their Peers in the great Council, and Commons in Parliament, of marriage, " peace, and war." He also wrote, " An answer to certain " arguments raised from supposed antiquity, and urged by some " Members of the lower House of Parliament, to prove that " ecclefiastical laws ought to be enacted by temporal men." He was a Member of the first Parliament of King Charles I. and joined in the complaints of the grievances which the nation then laboured under: but he was always for mild and moderate measures. He was consulted by the Court about a project then fet on foot to enhance the value of the coin, in order to raife money for the King, when he could not obtain what he wanted from his Parliaments: but this project Sir Robert Cotton opposed to the utmost of his power; and in a speech before the Privy Council, on the 2d of September, 1626, he shewed what a dishonour such an alteration would be to the King, and how great a loss and prejudice to the subject.

rank; and it was computed that by this scheme James might easily raise of maintaining these soldiers, it was an hundred thousand pounds. For settled, that each Baronet should pay each of the perions who were created Baronets, was to maintain thirty foot foldiers in Ireland for three years, at the rate of eight-pence a day each,

(g) This was to be an hereditary and to pay the wages of one year, upon passing the patent. But instead 10951. as a composition to the Crown. (b) Biograph. Britan, and New

and Gen. Biog. Dict.

Sir Robert Cotton having long lived in great reputation, at length died of a fever in his house in Westminster, on the 6th of May, 1631, in the fixty-first year of his age, and was buried in the fouth chancel of Connington church. He married Elizabeth, one of the daughters and co-heirs of William Brocas, of Thedingworth, in the county of Leicester, Esq; by whom he left one only fon, Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart.

Sir Robert Cotton was a man of great learning and application, and uncommonly skilled in the History and Antiquities of this country. He was also a generous patron of all lovers of Antiquities, and his house and library were always open to ingenious and inquifitive perfons. Among his friends and acquaintance were many persons of high rank, and men of the greatest eminence in the Republic of letters, both Englishmen and foreigners. The chief of them in the British dominions were Henry Earl of Northampton, Thomas Earl of Arundel, Henry Earl of Bath, Edward Earl of Manchester, Archbishop Usher, Henry Lord Boughton, James Montague, Bishop of Winchester, Sir John Dodderidge, Sir John Davis, Richard Carew, William Burton, Roger Doddesworth, Arthur Agard (i), and Sir James Ware. And in foreign countries, Janus Gruterus, Francis

(i) ARTHUR AGARD was the fon of Clement Agard, of Tofton in Derbyshire, and was born in 1540. He was bred to the law, and became a Clerk in the Exchequer Office. In 1570, he was appointed Deputy-Chamberlain in the Exchequer, an office which he held forty-five years. His fondness for English antiquities led him to make large and laborious collections, and his office gave him an opportunity of acquiring great skill in that study. A conformity of taste brought him acquainted with Sir Robert Cotton, and most of the learned and eminent men in the kiugdom: and he was one of the earliest and most industrious members of the fociety of Antiquarians. Mr. Hearne published fome of the essays composed by that society: and those of Mr. Agard's, printed in that collection, are as follows: 1. Of what antiquity shires were in England? In this discourse various antient manuscripts are cited, and Mr. Agard suppofes that King Alfred was the Author of this division, because it plainly

was delivered in Easter-term, 1591. 2. On the dimensions of the lands of England. 3. Of the authority, office, and privileges, of Heralds in England. 4. Of the antiquity and privileges of the Houses or Inns of Court, and of Chancery. 5. Of the diversity of names of this island.

Mr. Agard made the Dooms-day book his peculiar study : he composed a large and learned Work on purpose to explain it, under the title of TRAC-TATUS DE USU ET OBSCURIORIBUS VERBIS LIBRI DE DOMESDAY; i.e. A Treatife of the use and true meaning of the obscure words in the Dooms-day book. This was preferved in the Cotton library. He fpent likewise three years in compiling a book for the benefit of his successors in office: it confifted of two parts, the first containing a catalogue of all the records in the four Treasuries belonging to his Majesty; the second, an account of all leagues, and treaties of peace, intercourfes, and marriages, with foreign nations. This he depofited with the Officers of his Majeity's appears that the leffer divisions were Receipt, as a proper Index for fucmade by that Prince. This discourse ceeding Officers. He also directed by Francis Sweertius, Andrew Duchesne, John Bourdelot, Peter

Puteanus, and Nicholas Fabricius Peireskius.

Besides the Pieces written by Sir Robert Cotton already mentioned, he was also the Author of the following: 1. A Relation of the proceedings against Ambassadors, who have miscarried themselves, and exceeded their commission. 2. That the Sovereign's person is required in the great councils or assemblies of the States, as well at the consultations as at the conclusions.

3. The

his will, that cleven other manufcript treatifes of his, relating to Exchequer matters, should, after a small reward paid to his executor, be delivered up to the office. All the rest of his collections, containing at least twenty Volumes, he bequeathed to his friend Sir Robert Cotton. He died on the 22d of August, 1615, and was interred near the chapter-door, in the cloister of Westminster-Abbey.

Sir JAMES WARE (whom we have also mentioned as one of Sir Robert Cotton's friends, though he was many years younger,) was descended from an antient family in Yorkshire, but born in Castle-street, Dublin, in 1594. His father caused him to be weil instructed in the Latin and Greck languages; and in the fixteenth year of his age entered him a Fellow Commoner of Trinity-College, Dublin; where he made a very uncommon proficiency, and took the degrees in Arts. When he had been fix years in the University, he quitted it, and profecuted his studies at his father's house with the utmost diligence. Here he became acquainted with the famous Dr. James Ufher, then Bishop of Meath, who discovering in him a great propenfity to the ftudy of antiquities and records, encouraged him to continue to profecute that fort of learning, in which he fo much delighted himself; and a close and intimate friendship henceforward continued between them. He had already begun to gather manuscrips, and make collections from the libraries of Irish Antiquaries and Genealogists, and from the registers of cathedrals and monafleries, in which he spared no ex-pence. He had recourse, when he pleased, to the choice collections made

by Bishop Usher, as well as those of Daniel Molyneux, Ulfter King at Arms. And when he had gleaned all he could for his purpose at home, he refolved to take a journey to England, not doubting but he should reap a plentiful harvest by confulting the libraries both public and private there. He arrived at London in April, 1626, where he had the fatisfaction to find his friend Dr. Usher, then Archbishop of Armagh, who introduced him to the acquaintance of Sir Robert Cotton, and obtained for him a ready accels to his curious and valuable library. Sir Robert entertained him with much friendship, and kept up a constant correspondence with him the five remaining years of his life. Having furnished himself with many materials from Sir Robert's library, and from many other places, particularly from the records in the Tower of London, (great collections from all which places, in his own hand-writing, are now in Dublin College library,) he returned to Ireland, in company with Archbishop Usher.

In the latter end of the year 1628, he again went over into England, and carried with him fome manufcripts which he knew would be acceptable to Sir Robert Cotton. In this journey he added confiderably to his collections; and having been made acquainted with Mr. Selden, and other learned and eminent men, he returned home about the end of the fummer in the year 1629. Soon after, he received the honour of Knighthood from the Lords Justices of Ireland, Sir Adam Loftus, Lord Chancellor, and Richard Boyle, Earl of Corke, Lord Treafurer.

In 1632, his father dying fuddenly, he succeeded him both in his estate,

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3. The argument made by the command of the House of Commons, out of the Acts of Parliament, and authority of law expounding the same, at a conference with the Lords, concerning the liberty of the person of every freeman. 4. A brief discourse concerning the power of the Peers and Commons of Parliament, in point of judicature. These four are printed in Cottoni Posthuma. 5. A short view of the long life and reign of Henry III. King of England, written in 1614, and presented to King James I. This was published in 1627, in 4to. and reprinted in Cottoni Posthuma.

Sir Robert Cotton wrote also several other Pieces, some of which are preserved in manuscript: but what has rendered his name the most samous, is his valuable and curious LIBRARY, confissing of a fine collection of manuscripts, relating chiefly to the History and Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland, though

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and in his office of Auditor-General. In 1639, he was made one of the Privy Council in Ireland; and when contents afterwards commenced between the King and the Parliament, he connected himfelf with the Royal party. In 1644, the Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom, fent him with two Noblemen to Charles I. who was then at Oxford, about affairs of importance; which being concluded to their minds, they returned. But in their return they were taken on the feas by a Parliament ship, and all committed prifoners to the Tower of London, where they were detained eleven months.

Sir James afterwards returned to Dublin, where he continued for fome time, and was one of the hoftages for the delivery of that city to Colonel Michael Jones, for the use of the Parliament of England: but Jones thinking it not convenient, on account of his attachment to the King, that Sir James Ware should remain there, commanded him to depart. He, therefore, travelled into France, and refided fometimes at Caen, and fometimes at Paris, where he contracted an acquaintance with fome eminently learned men, particularly with the famous Samuel Bochart, with whose agreeable conversation he was so much delighted, that, it is faid, he could have been contented to have fpent the remainder of his life in his company.

After having continued in France about two years, he left it in 1651;

and by licence from the Parliament of England, came to London, where he had some business to settle. He staid in London near two years, and then returned to Ireland to look after his estate; the war in that country being ended, and all things quiet. At the Restoration, in 1660, he was re-instated in his office of Auditor-General; and a Parliament being affembled in 1661, the University of Dublin elected him one of their Representatives, as they had done also once before. offered a Peerage by King Charles II. but he declined it. He died on the first of December, 1666, when he was just entered into his seventy third year. He was buried in the church of St. Werberg in Dublin, in a vault belonging to his family, without ei-ther stone or monumental inscription. He married Mary, daughter of Jacob Newman, of Dublin, Efq; by whom he had ten children, of which only two fons and two daughters arrived at maturity.

Sir JAMES WARE was the Author of many valuable Works, chiefly relating to the Hiflory and Antiquities of Ireland. But his performances being in feveral feattered Volumes, of different fizes, and written in Latin, most of them was translated into English, and collected together in one Volume, Folio, by his fon Robert Ware, Efq; and others, and published at London in 1705. But a much more complete, clegant, and valuable Edition of them, hath been fince published by

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the ingenious collector refused nothing that was curious or valuable in any branch of learning. This library was placed by Sir Robert Cotton in his own house at Westminster, near the House of Commons, and very much augmented and enlarged by his son and grand-son, Sir Thomas and Sir John Cotton. In the twelfth year of King William's reign, an Act of Parliament was made for the better fecuring and preferving this library in the name and family of the Cottons, for the benefit of the public; that it might not be fold, or otherwise disposed of, and em-Sir John, great grand-fon of Sir Robert Cotton, having fold Cotton-house to Queen Anne, to be a repository for the Royal as well as the Cottonian Library, an Act was made for the better fecuring of her Majesty's purchase of that house; and both house and library were settled and vested in trustees. The books were then removed into a more convenient room, the former being very damp; and Cotton-house was set apart for the use of the King's library keeper, who had there the Royal and Cottonian Libraries under his care. Some years after, the Cottonian Library was removed into a house near Westminster-Abbey, purchased by the Crown of the Lord Ashburnham : but on the 23d of October, 1731, this valuable collection suffered greatly by fire; by which ninety-nine Volumes were destroyed, and an hundred and eleven much damaged. It was thereupon removed to the New Dormitory, and afterwards to the Old Dormitory, belonging to Westminster-school. But agreeable to a late Act of Parliament, the Cottonian Library is now placed in the British Museum.

the learned Walter Harris, Efq; who married Sir James Ware's great grand-He hath divided them daughter. into three Volumes, Folio, of which the first contains the History of the Bishops of Ireland, and of the civil and ecclefiaftical matters in which they were concerned, from the first propagation of Christianity in that kingdom, to the year 1739. The fe-cend Volume contains, The Antiquities of Ireland. Bilhop Nicholfon obferves, that this treatife was Sir James's mafter-piece. He stiles him, upon account of it, "The Camden of Ire-" land;" and fays, that " this kingof dom is everlattingly obliged to him as for the great pains he took in col-

" lecting and preferving their feat-

" tered monuments and antiquities;" and that this Work " will be a last-" ing proof of his indefatigable in-" dustry and confummate judgment, " both in his enquiries and disco-" veries." The third Volume contains the History of the Writers of Ireland, in two books. 1. Of fuch Writers who were born in Ireland. 2. Of fuch Writers, who, though foreigners, enjoyed preferments or offices in Ireland, or had their education in it. In this Edition of Sir James Ware's Works, there are very confiderable additions and improvements by Mr. Harris. - Vid. Biograph. Britan. and New and Gen. Biograph. Dict.

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## The Life of WILLIAM BEDELL, Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland.

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ILLIAM BEDELL was born at Black Norley in Essex, in the year 1570. After he had passed thro' the usual course of a grammar-school education, he was sent to Emmanuel College in Cambridge, where he acquired a very eminent character both for learning and piety. He was chosen Fellow of his College in 1593, and took

the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in the year 1599.

Having entered into Holy Orders, he was removed from the University to the town of St. Edmondsbury in Suffolk, where he preached with great diligence and success. But he and his affociate in the Ministry here were of such different characters, that whereas it was said of Bedell, that he made the most difficult places of Scripture appear plain; it was said of his collegue, that he made the plainest passages appear difficult. Mr. Bedell's reputation being well established both in the University and in Suffolk, he was appointed Chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, when he was sent Ambassador to Venice, at the time when that Republic was laid under an interdict by the Pope ( k).

He continued eight years at Venice, during which time he contracted a friendship with the famous Father Paul, who affisted him in acquiring the Italian tongue, of which Bedell became such a master, that he spoke it as one born in Italy. And in return for the instructions which he had received from Father Paul in Italian, he drew up a grammar of the English tongue for the use of that learned man, and for some others who defired to learn it, that they might be able to understand our books of Divinity; and he also translated the English Common-Prayer

Book into Italian.

The intimacy between Father Paul and Mr. Bedell was fo great and fo public, that when Paul was wounded by those astassins who were set on by the Court of Rome to destroy him, upon the failure of which attempt a guard was set on him by the Senate, and much precaution was used before any were admitted to come to him, Bedell was excepted out of those rules, and had free access to him at all times. And Father Paul declared, that he had learnt more from Mr. Bedell in all parts of Divinity,

<sup>(</sup> k ) Burnet's Life of Bifhop Bedell, Edit. 1685. P. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Divinity, than from any person he had ever before conversed

Whilst he resided at Venice, he also greatly improved himself in the Hebrew language, by the affistance of the famous Rabbi Leo, who taught him the Jewish pronunciation, and other parts of rabbinical learning; but, in exchange, he communicated to him that (fays Burnet) which was much more valuable, the true understanding of many passages in the Old Testament, with which that Rabbi often expressed himself to be highly satisfied. And once in a folemn dispute, he pressed the Rabbi with such clear proofs that JESUS CHRIST was the true MESSIAS, that he, and feveral others of his brethren, had no other way to escape, but to fay that their Rabbins did every where expound those prophecies otherwise, according to the tradition of their fathers. By Rabbi Leo's means, he purchased a very fine manuscript of the Old Testament, which he gave to Emmanuel College, and which is faid to have cost him its weight in filver.

Mr. Bedell also became acquainted at Venice with the famous Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalata, whom he assisted confiderably in correcting and finishing his treatise De Republica Ecclesiastica. Father Paul was much concerned when Bedell left Venice; and at his departure he made him a present of his picture, together with a Hebrew Bible without points, and a small Pfalter. He gave him also the manuscript of his celebrated History of the Council of Trent, with the Histories of the Interdict and Inquisition, and a large collection of letters which he had received from Rome, during the dispute between the Je-

fuits and Dominicans, concerning the efficacy of Grace.

On his return to England, he immediately retired to his charge at St. Edmundsbury, and there went on with his ministerial labours. He also employed himself in translating into Latin the two last books of the History of the Council of Trent, the two first having been done by Sir Adam Newton. He likewise translated into the same language, the Histories of the Interdict and Inquifition, which he dedicated to the King. But no notice was taken of him, and he continued to live in privacy and obfcurity. Bishop Burnet observes, that he had a foul of too generous a composition, to stoop to those servile compliances, which are

(1) Dr. Burnet, after taking notice that Mr. Bedell and Father Paul had many and long discourses concerning religion, proceeds to tell us, that the former found Father Paul "had read over the Greek New Testament with fo much exactness, that having used to mark every word when he had fully weighed the importance of it as he went through it, he had by going often over it, and observing what he past

over in a former reading, grown up to that at last, that every word was marked of the whole New Testament. And when Bedell fuggested to him critical explications of fome paffages that he had not understood before, he received them with the transports of one that leaped for joy, and that valued the ciscoveries of Divine Truth beyond all other things,"--- Life of Bishop Bedell, P. o.

often expected by those who have the distribution of preferments in their power. He thought that was an abjectness of spirit that became not a Christian Philosopher, much less a Clergyman, who ought to shew a contempt of the world, a content-edness with a low condition, and a resignation to the dispensations of Providence; and not to give that advantage which Insidels and Libertines take, from the covetousness and ambition of some of the Clergy, to scoff at religion, and to call the Priesthood a trade. He was content to deserve preferment, and did not envy others, who upon less merit, but more industry, ar-

rived at it (m).

But though he was neglected at Court, yet a gentleman of note in Suffolk, Sir Thomas Jermyn, who was a Privy Counfellor, and Vice-Chamberlain to King Charles I. took fuch a liking to Mr. Bedell, that as he continued during his whole life to pay him a particular respect, so a considerable Living that was in his gift falling void, he presented him to it in the year 1615. When he came to the Bishop of Norwich to take out his title to it, that Prelate demanded large fees for his institution and induction: but Bedell would give no more than what was fufficient gratification for the writing, the wax, and the parchment, and refused to pay the rest. He considered it as simony in the Bishop to demand more; and as contrary to the command of CHRIST, who faid to his Apostles, " Freely ye have received, and freely " give." He thought it was a branch of the fin of fimony to fell spiritual things to spiritual persons; and since whatsoever was asked, which was more than a decent gratification to the fervant for his pains, was asked by reason of the thing that was granted, he thought this was unbecoming the Gospel, and that it was a fin both in the giver and in the taker. And he had obferved, that nothing was more expressly contrary to the primitive rules. For these reasons Mr. Bedell resolved rather to lose his presentation to the Parsonage of Horingsheath, than to purchase his title to it by doing that which he thought simony : and accordingly he left the Bishop and went home. But some few days after, the Bishop sent for him, and gave him his titles without exacting the fees of him.

Mr. Bedell now removed to his new Living, where he continued twelve years, and discharged the duties of his profession in a very pious and exemplary manner. He laboured, says Burnet, not as an hireling that only raised a revenue out of his parish, and abandoned his slock, trusting them to the cheapest mercenary that he could find; nor did he satisfy himself with a slight performance of his duty; but he watched over his slock, like one that knew he was to answer to God for those souls committed to his charge. He preached to the understandings and consciences of his parish, and catechised constantly: and as the Vol. IV. 6.

whole course of his own most exemplary behaviour was a continued fermon, fo he was very exact in the more private parts of his function, visiting the fick, and dealing in secret with his people, to excite or preserve in them a deep sense of religion. This he made his delightful work; and he followed it so close, and lived so much at home, that he was so little known, or so much forgotten, that when Diodati came over into England, at which time Mr. Bedell had been some years in possession of this Living, that learned foreigner could hear of him from no person that he met with, though he was acquainted with many of the Clergy. He was much amazed at this, to find that fo extraordinary a man as Bedell, who was so much admired at Venice, and by fuch good judges, should not be so much as known in his own country: however, he was out of all hope of finding him out, when by mere accident he met him in the streets of London, at which there was a great deal of joy on both fides. And upon that Diodati presented him to Morton, Bishop of Durham, and told him how great a value Father Paul fet on Mr. Bedell; upon which the Bishop treated him with much civility and respect.

But though Mr. Bedell was neglected at home, his fame was fpread into Ireland; and though he was not perfonally known either to the famous Archbishop Usher, or to any of the Fellows of Trinity College in Dublin, yet he was chosen by their unanimous cousent, to be the Head of their College, in the year 1627. And as that worthy Primate, together with the Fellows of the College, wrote to him, inviting him to come and accept of that office; so an address was made to the King, desiring that he would command him to go over. And that this might be the more successful, application was made to Sir Henry Wotton, to give his Majesty an account and character of Mr. Bedell, and

which he accordingly did in the following letter:

#### " May it please your most gracious Majesty,

"Having been informed, that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, been directed thither, with a most humble petition unto your Majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedell, now resident upon a small Benesice in Susfolk, Governor of your College at Dublin, for the good of that society: and myself being required to render unto your Majesty some testimony of the said William Bedell, who was long my Chaplain at Venice, in the time of my employment there; I am bound in all conscience and truth (so far as your Majesty will accept of my poor judgment) to assire of him, that, I think, hardly a fitter man could have been propounded to your Majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular crudition and piety, contormity to the rites of the Church, and zeal to advance the glory of God; wherein his travels abroad were not obscure,

"in the time of the excommunication of the Venetians. For may it please your Majesty to know, that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took, I may say, into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had practised in his days: of all which the passages were well known unto the King your father, of blessed memory. And so with your Majesty's good favour, I will end this needsels office: for the general same of his learning, his life, and Christian temper, and those religious labours which himsels hath dedicated to your Majesty, do better describe him than I am able.

# "Your Majesty's most humble and faithful servant, HENRY WOTTON."

Mr. Bedell did not, however, discover any great readiness to accept of this preferment. On the contrary, in a letter written by him on this occasion, he declared himself perfectly satisfied with his present situation. "I have no want, says he, I thank " my GOD, of any thing necessary for this life; I have a com-" petent Living of above a hundred pounds a year, in a good " air and feat, with a very convenient house near to my friends, " a little parish, not exceeding the compass of my weak voice. " I have often heard it, that changing feldom brings the better, " especially to those that are well. And I see well, that my " wife (though refolving, as she ought, to be contented with " whatfoever God shall appoint,) had rather continue with her " friends in her native country, than put herself into the ha-" zard of the feas, and a foreign land, with many cafualties in " travel, which she, perhaps, out of fear, apprehends more than "there is cause (n)." However, he expressed his willingness to go any where, if he could by that means better promote the cause of virtue, and the interests of Christianity: and the King laying his positive commands on him to accept the office, he chearfully obeyed; and arriving at Dublin, on the 16th of August he was sworn Provost of Trinity College. He soon began to apply himself with great vigour of mind to the government of his College : he corrected fuch abuses as he found there, and he fet fuch excellent rules to the students, and saw them so well executed, that it foon appeared how happy a choice had been made: and as he was a great promoter of learning among them, so he thought his particular province was to instruct the house aright in the principles of religion. In order to this, he catechised the youth in the College once a week, and preached once every Sunday, though he was not obliged to it by his office: 2 G 2

and that he might acquaint them with a plain and particular body of Divinity, he divided the church catechism into two and fifty parts, one for every Sunday, and explained it in a way fo mixed with speculative and practical matters, that his sermons were both learned lectures of Divinity, and excellent exhortations to virtue and piety. Many took notes of them, and copies of them were much enquired after: for as they were fitted to the capacity of his hearers, fo they contained much matter in

them, for the entertainment of the most learned ( o ).

When he had been about two years in this employment, a patent was fent him to be Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, two contiguous Sees in the province of Ulster. He was confecrated on the 13th of September, 1629, in St. Peter's church at Drogheda, by Archbishop Usher and three other Prelates. He was now in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and he discharged the duties of his new station in a very upright and conscientious man-He found his two Dioceses in great disorder, and applied himself with vigour to reform the abuses therein. He began with that of plurality of Benefices. To this end he convened his Clergy; and, in a fermon which he preached on the occasion, he laid before them the institution, nature, and duties of the ministerial employment; and, after sermon, he discoursed to them upon the same subject in Latin, and exhorted them to reform To prevail on them the better, he told them he rethat abuse. folved to shew them an example in parting with one of his Bishoprics; and accordingly he refigned Ardagh, though it is faid the revenues of both Sees did not exceed a competency.

His ordinations were public and folemn: he took great care to be well informed of the moral and religious qualities of those he ordained, as well as fatisfied himself by his examination of their capacity and knowledge. He had always a confiderable number of his Clergy affifting him at his ordinations, and he always preached and administered the Sacrament on those occafrons himself: and he never ordained one a Presbyter, till he had been at least a year a Deacon, that so he might have a good account of his behaviour in that lower degree, before he raifed him higher. He confidered the power of ordination as the most sacred part of a Bishop's trust, and therefore used all the precaution that was possible for him in so important an affair; and never was prevailed on by any recommendations or importunities to ordain those whom he thought not qualified. He wrote certificates of ordination and other instruments with his own hand,

and fuffered none who received them to pay any fees. He was very diligent in inspecting the behaviour of his Clergy: he knew the lives of churchmen had generally much more efficacy than their fermons, or other labours could have; and, therefore, he applied himself much to watch over their manners, and was very sensibly touched, when an Irishman said once to him in open court, "That the King's Priests were as bad as the Pope's Priests." And he never gave a Benefice to any, without obliging them by oath to perpetual and personal residence, and that they should never hold any other Benefice with that.

When Bishop Bedell had been for many years carrying on the reformation of his Diocese, he convened a synod of his Clergy, in which he made some excellent Canons, which are still extant (p). There were some, who looked upon this synod as an illegal assembly, and considered his presuming to make Canons as against law; so that there was some talk of bringing him before the Star-Chamber, or High Commission Court; but his Archdeacon, who was afterwards Archbishop of Cashell, gave such an account of the matter as satisfied the people in power. And Archbishop Usher advised those who were very earnest for bringing him to answer for his conduct, to let him alone, lest he should otherwise be provoked to say more for himself, than any

of his accusers could fay against him.

Our Prelate had observed, that the ecclesiastical court in his Diocese was a great abuse, it being governed by a Lay-Chancellor, who had bought the place from his predecessor, and for that reason thought he had a right to all the profits he could raise: Bishop Bedell, therefore, removed the Chancellor, and resuming the jurisdiction of a Bishop, sat in his own courts, and heard causes with a select number of his Clergy, by whose advice he gave fentence. By this method fo many causes were dismissed, and fuch a change was wrought in the whole proceedings of the court, that instead of being any more a grievance to the country, none were now aggrieved but the Chancellor, and the other Officers of the court, who faw their trade was funk, and their profits were falling. The Chancellor upon this brought a fuit against the Bishop into Chancery, for invading his office. Bolton, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, confirmed the Chancellor's right, and gave him an hundred pounds costs against the Bishop; and when Bedell asked him how he could give such an unjust decree, he answered, that all his father had left him was a register's place, and therefore he thought he was bound to support those courts, which must be ruined if some check was not given to the Bishop's proceedings. The Chancellor, however, gave him no farther disturbance, nor did he ever call for his costs, but named a Surrogate, whom he ordered to obey the Bishop. And we are also told that he afterwards declared, that he thought there was not fuch a man on the face of the earth as Bishop Bedell was; that he was too hard for all the Civilians in Ireland; and that if he had not been borne down by mere force, he had totally over-

thrown the confistorial courts (q).

Bishop Bedell laboured much to convert the Irish Papists, and particularly their Clergy, and in this he had great success. He procured a translation of the Common-Prayer-Book into Irish, and caufed it to be read in his cathedral every Sunday. New Testament had also been translated by William Daniel, Archbishop of Tuam, and, at the Bishop's desire, the Old Testament was first translated into the same language by one King; but as he was ignorant of the original tongue, and did it from the English, Bedell revised and compared it with the Hebrew. and the best translations. He took care likewise to have some of Chryfostom's and Leo's Homilies, in commendation of the Scriptures, to be rendered both into English and Irish, that the common people might fee, that in the opinion of the antient Fathers, they had not only a right to read the Scriptures as well as the Clergy, but that it was their duty fo to do. When he found the Work was finished, he resolved to be at the expence of printing it; but his defign was interrupted by a cruel and iniquitous profecution carried on against the translator, who not only lost his Living, but was also unjustly attacked in his character. The Bishop supported Mr. King as much as he could; and the translation being finished, he would have printed it in his own house, If the troubles of Ireland had not prevented him. It happened, however, that the translation escaped the hands of the rebels, and was afterwards printed at the expence of Mr. Robert Boyle.

When the rebellion broke out in Ireland, in October, 1641, Bishop Bedell did not at first feel the violence of its effects; for the very rebels had conceived a great veneration for him; and they declared, he should be the last Englishman they would drive cut of Ireland. His was the only house in the county of Cavan that was unviolated, and it was filled with the people who fled to him for shelter. About the middle of December, however, the rebels, pursuant to orders received from their Council of State at Kilkenny, required him to difmiss the people who were with him, which he refused to do, declaring he would share the same fate with the rest. Upon this they seized him, his two fons, and Mr. Clogy, who had married his daughter-in-law, and carried them prisoners to the castle of Lochwater, surrounded by a deep water, where they put them all, except the Bishop, in irons; after fome time, however, this part of their feverity was abated. When they had been confined for about three weeks, the Bishop and his two sons, and Mr. Clogy, were exchanged for two of the O'Rourkes; but though it was agreed that they should be safely conducted to Dublin, yet the rebels would never faffer them to be carried out of the country, but fent them to

the house of Dennis Sherridan, an Irish Minister, and convert to the Protestant religion. Our Prelate died soon after he came here, on the 7th of February, 1641. The Irish did him unusual honours at his burial; for the Chief of the rebels gathered their forces together, and with them accompanied his body from Mr. Sherridan's house to the church-yard of Kilmore, where he was interred.

Bishop BEDELL was in his person tall and graceful, and had femething in his looks and carriage which created a veneration for him. He had an unaffected gravity in his deportment, and in his apparel there was a decent fimplicity. He wore no fills, but his drefs was plain stuffs; he had a large beard, and grey and venerable hair. His strength continued firm to the last; so that the week before his last fickness, he walked as vigorously and nimbly as any of the company, and leaped over a broad ditch; infomuch that his fons, who were amazed at it, had enough to do to follow him. A few years before his death, he had fome fevere fits of the stone, occasioned by his sedentary life. The remedy he used for it was to dig in the garden until he heated himself, and that mitigated the pain. His judgment and memory, which were extraordinary, remained with him to the last. He always preached without notes, but often wrote down his meditations after he had preached them. He did not affect to shew any other learning in his fermons, but what was proper for opening his text, and clearing the difficulties in it; which he did by comparing the originals with the most antient versions. His tile was clear and full, but plain and simple; for he abhorred all affectation of pompous rhetoric in fermons, as contrary to the simplicity of CHRIST. His fermons all aimed at the great defign of infufing into the minds of his hearers just apprehensions, and a strong sense of the importance, of the great truths of the Christian religion; which he did with fo much the more authority, because it appeared that he was deeply impressed himself with those doctrines which he delivered to others (r).

When not engaged in the business of his function, he was diligently employed in his studies. He chiefly applied himself to the study of the facred text. He read the Hebrew and the Septuagint so much, that they were as familiar to him as the English translation. Every day, after dinner and supper, there was a chapter of the Bible read at his table, whosoever were present, Protestants or Papists, and Bibles were laid before every one of the company; and before himself either the Hebrew or Greek, and in his latter years the Irish translation; and he usually explained

the difficulties that occurred.

His table was well covered, according to the plenty that was in that country, but there was no luxury at it. Great refort was made

made to him, and he observed a true hospitality in his house-keeping. Many poor Irish families about him were maintained out of his kitchen: and in Christmas-time the poor always eat with him at his own table. He was not forward to speak, and he expressed himself in very sew words in public companies. Indeed, at public tables he usually sat silent. Once at the Earl of Strafford's table one observed, that while they were all talking, Bishop Bedell said nothing. The Primate answered, "Broach him, and you will find good liquor in him." Upon which the person proposed a question in Divinity; in answering which the Bishop shewed his abilities so well, and puzzled the other so much, that all at table, except the Bishop, fell a laughing at the other.

It appears, fays Bishop Burnet, that he had a true and generous notion of religion, and that he did not look upon it merely as a system of opinions, or a set of forms, but as a Divine Discipline that reforms the heart and life: and, therefore, when some men were valued upon their zeal for lesser matters, he had these words of St. Augustine often in his mouth, "It is not leaves, but fruit that I seek." He preached constantly twice every Sunday in his cathedral, and catechised always in the afternoon before sermon. In his family he always prayed three times a day; in the morning, before dinner, and after supper. And he never turned over this duty, or the short devotions before and after meals, on

his Chaplain; but was always his own Chaplain (1).

The greatness of his mind, and the undauntedness of his spirit, appeared in many transactions of his life; but though that height of mind is often accompanied with a great mixture of pride, nothing of that appeared in Bishop Bedell. He behaved to all persons with a most engaging humility; and he lived with his Clergy as if they had been his brethren. At his vifitations he made his Clergy all fit when he did, and be covered whenever he himself was covered: for he did not approve of the state in which others of his Order made their visitations, nor the distance in which they kept their Clergy. And he had this Canon often in his mouth, "That a Presbyter ought not to be let stand, after " the Bishop was fat." And in the course of his visitations he would not accept of the invitations that were made him by the great men of the country; but would always eat with his brethren in fuch poor inns, and of fuch coarse fare, as the places afforded. He avoided all affectation of state in his carriage; and, when in Dublin, always walked on foot, attended only by one fervant, except on public occasions, which obliged him to ride in procession among his brethren. He never thought of changing his See, or of rifing up to a more advantageous Bishopric; but confidered himself as under a tye to his See, that could not cafily

eafily be dissolved. So that when the translating him to a Bishopric in England was proposed to him, he refused it, and said he should be as troublesome a Bishop in England, as he had been in Ireland.

Bishop BEDELL wrote many treatises, but his Writings were all lost in the Irish rebellion.—He married a Lady of the family of the L'Estrange's, who proved to be in all respects a very sit wife for him. She was exemplary in her life, humble and modest in her habit and behaviour, and was singular (says Burnet) in many excellent qualities, particularly in a very extraordinary reverence that she paid him. She bore him sour children, three sons and a daughter; but only two of his sons survived him.



## The Life of Dr. JOHN DONNE.

OHN DONNE was born in the city of London, in the year 1573. His father, who was a merchant, was of an antient family in Wales; and his mother was descended from the famous Sir Thomas More. He was educated in his father's house, under a private tutor, till the eleventh year of his age, and was then fent to the University of Oxford; where it was observed of him, as it had formerly been of the famous Picus Mirandula, that "he was rather born wife, than made fo " by fludy." He was admitted a Commoner of Hart-Hall, together with his younger brother, in Michaelmas-term, 1584; but he declined taking his first degree, by the advice of his relations, who, being of the Romish religion, disliked the oath ten-

dered upon that occasion.

After he had continued three years at Oxford, he removed to Cambridge; and from thence, about three years after, to Lincoln's Inn in London, with a view of studying the law. Here (fays Mr. Walton) "he gave great testimonies of his wit, his " learning, and of his improvement in that profession; which " never served him for other use than an ornament and self-" fatisfaction (t)." About this time he lost his father, who left him a fortune of three thousand pounds. His mother and friends used their utmost endeavours to keep him firm to Popery, and for that end provided him with tutors of that perfuasion. But Donne was naturally a free enquirer; and therefore, when he was about nineteen years of age, he fet himself to examine with great seriousness, attention, and care, the points in controverfy between the Protestants and the Papists, resolving to embrace the truth, on which fide soever he should find it. He has given himself some account of the difficulties which attended him in this examination, in the Preface to his PSEUDO-MAR-" I had a longer work (fays he) to do in this inquiry, " than many other men: for I was first to blot out certain im-" pressions of the Roman religion, and to wrestle both against " the examples and against the reasons by which some hold was " taken, and some anticipations early laid upon my conscience, " both by perions who by nature had a power and superiority " over my will, and others, who, by their learning and good

<sup>(</sup>t) Life of John Donne, late Dean of St. Paul's, London, P. 12.

er life, feemed to me justly to claim an interest for the guiding " and rectifying of mine understanding in these matters." When he fet about this enquiry, he applied himself to examine the Works of Cardinal Bellarmine, whom he believed to be the best defender of the Romish cause: and when he was about twenty years of age, he had marked all the Cardinal's Works with observations under his own hand, which he shewed to the then Dean of Gloucester, and at his death bequeathed as a legacy to one of his friends. The refult of this enquiry was a thorough conversion to Protestantism: to which, says he, " I " was not transported by any sudden and violent determination, " till I had, to the measure of my poor wit and judgment, sur-" veyed and digested the whole body of Divinity controverted " between our's and the Roman Church. In which fearch and " disquisition, that GOD, which awakened me then, and hath " never for faken me in that industry, as he is the Author of that " purpose, so he is a witness of this protestation, that I behaved " myself, and proceeded therein with humility and diffidence in " myself, and by that, which, by his grace, I took to be the or-" dinary means, which is frequent prayer, and equal and in-" different actions."

In the years 1596 and 1597, Mr. Donne accompanied the Earl of Essex in his expeditions against Cadiz and the Azores islands. He did not return to England with that Nobleman, but staid fome years in Spain and Italy, acquiring the languages of those countries, and making observations on the laws, government, and manners of the people. He intended to have gone to the Holy Land, but he was prevented, though he was then in the farthest part of Italy, by the disappointment of company and a

fafe convoy.

Soon after his return to England, he was appointed by Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord-keeper of the Great Seal, his chief Secretary, in which post he continued five years: during which time he fell in love with Anne, the daughter of Sir George More, Chancellor of the Garter, and Lieutenant of the Tower, who lived in the Lord-keeper's family, being niece to his Lady. Mr. Donne married her privately in the year 1602; but this marriage brought upon him many troubles and inconveniencies. For Sir George More so much resented his daughter's marriage without his confent (u), that he most earnestly solicited the Lord-keeper to turn Mr. Donne out of his place; and being joined in his fuit by the Lord-keeper's Lady, he prevailed : however, the Lord-keeper, at Mr. Donne's dismission, said, " he 2 H 2 " parted

(u) When Sir George first heard to weaken their regard for each other, that his daughter had conceived an af- but without success; for having mufection for Mr. Donne, he removed tually engaged themselves, they found her to his own house in Surrey, and means to consummate a private mar-

the friends on both fides endeavoured riage.

" parted with a friend, and such a Secretary, as was fitter to ferve a King than a subject (w)." But Sir George's anger was not yet pacified; he never rested till Mr. Donne, and his fellow Collegian, Mr. Samuel Brooke, afterwards Master of Trinity-College in Cambridge, who married him, and his brother, Christopher Brooke, who gave Mrs. Donne in marriage, and witnessed it, were all committed to three several prisons. Mr. Donne himself was first set at liberty; but he never ceased his endeavours, till he had procured the enlargement of his two friends. However, his wife was detained from him; and he was obliged to recover her by a long and tedious suit at law.

Mr. Donne's extraordinary merit and winning behaviour did at length fo far subdue Sir George More's resentment, that he now folicited the Lord-keeper for his re-admission into his place: but his Lordship answered, that, "though he was unfeignedly " forry for what he had done, yet it was inconfistent with his " place and credit to discharge and re-admit servants, at the re-" quest of passionate petitioners." But notwithstanding that Sir George was in some degree r conciled to his son-in-law, he allowed him nothing towards his support; and Mr. Donne's fortune was greatly diminished by the expence of his foreign travels, the generofity of his temper, and his late law-fuit: however, his wants were in a great measure supplied by the seasonable bounty of his kinfman, Sir Francis Wooly, who entertained Mr. Donne and his wife several years at his house at Pirford in Surrey, where he had feveral children born to him. During his stay here, he applied himself with great diligence to the study of the civil and canon laws; and about this time he was folicited by Dr. Morton, Dean of Gloucester, and afterwards Bishop of Durham, to enter into Holy Orders, and to accept of a very good Benefice, which the Dean would have generously refigned to him. Mr. Donne declined this offer for several reasons, but chiefly, as he expressed it, "because some former irregularities " of his life had been too notorious, not to expose him to the " censure of the world, and perhaps bring dishonour on the sa-" cred function. And besides, he said, it being determined by " the best casuists, that GOD's glory should be the first end, and " a maintenance the fecond motive, to embrace that calling,

Mr. Donne lived with Sir Francis Wooley till the death of that gentieman, by whose mediation a perfect reconciliation had been some time before effected between him and his father-in-law, Sir George More, who now engaged to pay Mr. Donne Sool. on a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 201. quarterly for their maintenance, as the interest for it, till that por-

" his present condition was such, that he feared it would not re-

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tion was paid (x). After the death of Sir Francis Wooley. Mr. Donne took a house at Mitcham in Surrey, where his wife and children resided; but he also took lodgings for himself near Whitehall in London, whither he often went, and where he was much visited and careffed by the Nobility, and persons of rank, from whom he fometimes received presents, which contributed somewhat towards his subsistence. And his character was so well established as a man of learning, wit, and genius, that he was visited, and his company was fought after, by foreign Minifters, and other foreigners of distinction ( , ).

When Mr. Donne had rented his house at Mitcham about two years, during which time he appears to have been very much straitened in his circumstances, he removed his family to London; where Sir Robert Drury, " a gentleman (says Mr. Wal-" ton) of a very noble estate, and a more liberal mind, assigned " him and his wife an useful apartment in his own large house " in Drury-lane, and not only rent-free, but was also a cherisher " of his studies, and such a friend as sympathized with him and " his in all their joys and forrows." In April, 1610, Mr. Donne was incorporated Master of Arts in the University of Oxford, having before taken the same degree in Cambridge; and about two years after he accompanied Sir Robert Drury to Paris ( 2 ).

Before his journey into France, and after his return, many of the Nobility and others folicited the King to confer some secular employment on Mr. Donne. His Majesty himself had, indeed, formerly given him some hopes of preferment in the State; for he was known to James, who appeared to be much pleased with his company and conversation, when he appeared at Court. And among others who folicited Donne's advancement, was the Earl

(x) Walton, P. 24.

(y) Walton, P. 25. (z) During his stay at Paris, Mr. Donne is faid to have had a most extraordinary vision, which is so particularly related, that we must not omit it; but the reader will give what degree of credit to it he thinks proper. Mr. Walton tells us, that when Sir Robert Drury requested Mr. Donne to go with him into France, Mrs. Donne, who was then with child, and under an ill habit of body, expressed an unwillingness, saying, that " her " divining foul boded some ill in his " absence :" but, upon Sir Robert's being importunate, she at last confented. Two days after their arrival at Paris, Mr. Donne was left alone in a room, where himfelf, Sir Robert,

and some friends, had dined together: to which Sir Robert returning in an hour, as he left, so he found Mr. Donne alone, but in such an extasy, and so altered in his countenance, that Sir Robert could not look upon him without amazement. He asked him, in GOD's name, what had befallen him in the short time of his absence : Mr. Donne was not able to answer directly; but, after a long and perplexed pause, he at last said, " I have seen a dreadful vision since I saw you: I " have seen my dear wife pass twice " by me through this room, with her " hair hanging about her shoulders, " and a dead child in her arms. This "I have feen fince I faw you." To which Sir Robert answered, " Sure, " Sir, you have flept fince I went of Somerset, at that time in the greatest height of Royal savour; who being at Theobalds with the King, and one of the Clerks of the Council dying there, dispatched a messenger for Mr. Donne to come thither immediately, and, at our Author's coming, said to him, "To testify the reality of my assection, and my purpose to prefer you, stay in this garden till I go up to the King, and bring you word that you are Clerk of the Council: doubt not my doing this; for I know the King loves you, and know the King will not deny me." But it happened otherwise; for the King denied the Earl's request, and replied, "I know Mr. Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a learned Divine, and will prove a powerful preacher; and my desire is to prefer him that way, and in that way I

" will deny you nothing for him."

Some time before this, some disputes having been agitated concerning the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, King James discoursed with Mr. Donne upon that subject, and was so pleased with his clearness in stating the objections made to the taking those oaths, and his answers to them, that he commanded him to draw up the objections and answers in form, and bring them to him; which Mr. Donne accordingly did, and the book was afterwards published, in 4to. under the title of " Pseudo-Martyr : " wherein, out of certain propositions and gradations, this con-" clusion is evicted; that those, which are of the Roman reli-" gion in this kingdom, may and ought to take the oath of al-" legiance." He dedicated this to the King, who pressed him very earnestly to enter into Holy Orders. Mr. Donne, however, deferred complying with the King's defire, till about three years after; and in the mean time he applied himself with great diligence to the study of Divinity, and also endeavoured to attain a more thorough knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. At length he was ordained, in 1614, when he was in the 42d year of his age, by Dr. John King, Bishop of London, who was his old acquaintance, having been Chaplain to the Lord-keeper Egerton, at the time that Mr. Donne was his Secretary.

He

" out; and this is the refult of fome "melancholy dream, which I defire "you to forget, for you are now awake." Mr. Donne replied, "I cannot be furer that I now live, than that I have not flept fince I faw you; and am as fure, that at her fecond appearing fhe ftopt, looked me in the face, and vanished." A fervant was immediately dispatched to England, to know whether Mrs. Donne was living, and, if alive, in what condition; who brought word, that he found and left her very sad and sick in bed, and that

after a long and dangerous labour, she had been delivered of a dead child. And, upon examination, the abortion proved to be on the same day, and about the same hour, that Mr. Donne affirmed he saw her pass by him in the room. Mr. Walton observes, that though he had not this story from Mr. Donne himself, yet he had it from a person of honour, and of the stricted and closes intimacy with Mr. Donne, who affirmed the truth of it with the most solemn affeverations.—See Walton's Lives, P. 29, 30, 31, 32.

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He preached his first fermon at Paddington: but the King foon after making him one of his Chaplains in ordinary, appointed a day for him to preach before himself at Whitehall. And though on this occasion much was expected from Mr. Donne's known eloquence and abilities, he was yet fo happy as not only to equal, but to exceed, the expectations of his auditors. this time he attended the King to the University of Cambridge, where he was created Doctor in Divinity, at his Majesty's recommendation.

Immediately after his return from Cambridge, he had the miffortune to lose his beloved wife; by which he was left, says Mr. Walton, "a man of a narrow unfettled estate, and, having bu-" ried five, the careful father of feven children then living, to " whom he gave a voluntary affurance, never to bring them un-" der the subjection of a step-mother; which promise he kept " most faithfully, burying, with his tears, all his earthly joys in " his most dear and deserving wife's grave (y); and betook

" himself to a most retired and solitary life."

Some idea may be formed of the great and general esteem in which Dr. Donne was held, and of the high opinion which was formed of his abilities, by this remarkable circumstance; that within the first year of his taking Orders, he had no less than fourteen advowsons of Benefices offered him (f); but as they lay in the country, he refused them all, being unwilling to leave London, the place of his nativity, and where most of his friends and acquaintance chiefly refided.

At the latter end of the year 1617, he was chosen preacher of the fociety of Lincoln's-lnn; and two years after, by his Majesty's appointment, attended the Earl of Doncaster in his Embassy to Germany. In the year 1621, he was made Dean of St. Paul's; which preferment was conferred upon him by the King in the following manner: When the Deanery became vacant, his Majesty sent for Dr. Donne, and ordered him to attend him the next day at dinner. And when James was fat down, before he had

(y) Mr. Walton also observes, that it is not " hard to think, as passions " may be both changed and heightened " by accidents, but that that abun-" dant affection which once was be-" twixt him and her, who had long been the delight of his eyes, and " the companion of his youth; her with whom he had divided fo " many pleafant forrows, and con-" tented fears, as common people are " not capable of; not hard to think " but that she, being now removed " by death, a commeasurable grief " took as full a possession of him as

" joy had done; and fo indeed it did: " for now his very foul was elemented " of nothing but sadness; now, grief " took to full a possession of his heart, " as to leave no place for joy; if it did, it was a joy to be alone. " His first motion from his house was " to preach, where his beloved wife " lay buried, in St. Clement's church, " near Temple-bar, London; and his " text was a part of the Prophet Je-" remiah's lamentation: Lo, I am the " man that bave feen offiteston." -- Lives, P. 42, 43. (f) Walton, P. 41.

had begun to eat, he said pleasantly, "Dr. Donne, I have invited you to dinner; and though you sit not down with me,
yet I will carve to you of a dish that I know you love well;
for knowing you love London, I do therefore make you Dean
to of Pouls, and when I have direct then do you take your ha

of Paul's; and when I have dined, then do you take your beloved dish home to your study; say grace there to yourself,

" and much good may it do you ( z )."

Soon after, the Vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West, and another Benefice, fell to Dr. Donne; the advowson of the former having been given him by the Earl of Dorset, and that of the latter by the Earl of Kent; by which means he was enabled to be charitable to the poor, and kind to his friends, and also to make some provision for his children. In 1624, he was chosen Prolocutor of the Convocation; on which occasion he spoke a Latin oration as his inauguration speech, which is still extant, it

being published with his poems.

Dr. Donne having feveral times been appointed by King James to preach occasional fermons at St. Paul's Crofs, and in other places, it was represented to the King, that he had on some of those occasions infinuated, that his Majesty was inclined to Popery, and also advanced things tending to the dishonour of Government. The King hereupon fent for the Doctor, and defired him to answer the accusations against him; which he did in fo clear and fatisfactory a manner, that the King faid " he was " right glad he rested no longer under the suspicion." When the King had faid this, Dr. Donne kneeled down and thanked his Majesty, and protested his answer was faithful and free from all collusion; and therefore defired that " he might not rife, " till, as in like cases he always had from GOD, so he might " have from his Majesty, some assurance that he stood clear and fair in his opinion." At which the King raised him up from his knees, and protested that he believed him; and faid, that " he knew he was an honest man, and doubted not but that he " loved him truly." And then difmiffing him, he faid to some Lords about him with much earnestness, " My Doctor is an ho-" nest man; and, my Lords, I was never better satisfied with an " answer, than with that which he hath now made me; and I " always rejoice, when I think that by my means he became a " Divine (a)."

He was about this time seized with a dangerous sickness, but he recovered from it, and published upon that occasion a book of Devotions, which he had composed in his illness. The second Edition, printed at London in 1624, in 12mo. is entitled, "Devotions upon energent occasions in several steps of his sickness." Mr. Walton tells us, that the latter part of Dr.

"fickness." Mr. Walton tells us, that "the latter part of Dr.
Donne's life may be said to have been a continual study; for
as he usually preached once a week, if not oftener, so after his

fermon.

fermon he never gave his eyes rest, till he had chosen out a new text, and that night cast his sermon into a form, and his

text into divisions; and the next day betook himself to confult the Fathers, and so commit his meditations to memory,

which was excellent. But upon Saturday he usually gave him-

felf and his mind a rest from the weary burthen of his week's meditations, and usually spent that day in visitation of friends,

or fome other diversions of his thoughts; and would fay, that

he gave both his body and mind that refreshment, that he might be enabled to do the work of the day following, not

' faintly, but with courage and chearfulness ( b).'

Dr. Donne, after his recovery from that fit of illness which we have lately mentioned, continued to enjoy a good state of health till the 59th year of his age; when, being with his eldest daughter, Mrs. Harvey, at Abery Hatch in Essex, in August, 1630, he was taken with a sever, which brought on a consumption. He remained in a lingering state for some time; however, he returned to London, and though he was extremely weak, he preached in his turn as usual at Court, on the first Friday in Lent (c). But he was never able to preach, or to go abroad more; but prepared himself, with great piety and resignation, for his approaching dissolution (d). He died on the 31st of March, 1631, and was buried in the cathedral church of St. Paul, where a monument of white marble was crected to his memory.

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Dr.

( b ) This Writer also observes, that it was not Dr. Donne's age only that was fo industrious, " but in the most " unsettled days of his youth, his bed " was not able to detain him beyond " the hour of four in a morning; and " it was no common bufiness that " drew him out of his chamber till past ten. All which time was em. " ployed in fludy, though he took " great liberty after it; and if this " feem strange, it may gain a belief by the visible fruits of his labours; " fome of which remain as testimo-" nies of what is here written: for " he left the refultance of fourteen " hundred Authors, most of them " abridged and analysed with his " own hand; and also fixscore fer-" mons, all written with his own " hand." -- Lives, P. 59, 60.

(c) His text upon this occasion was, To God the Lord belong the issue from death, Pf. lxviii. 20. It was printed at London in 1633, in 4to. un-

der the title of "Death's Duel, or a "Confolation to the Soul against the "Dying Life and Living Death of the Body, &c. Being his laft fermon, and called by his Majethy's houthold "The Dottor's own Funeral Sermon."

(d) Mr. Walton informs us, that among other preparations for death, Dr. Donne made use of the following remarkable one. He ordered an urn to be cut in wood, on which was to be placed a board of the exact height of his body. This being done, he caused himself to be tied up in a winding sheet, in the same manner as dead bodies are. Being thus throuded, and flanding with his eyes shut, and with just fo much of the theet put afide as might discover his thin ,pale, and death-like face, he cauled a fkilful painter to take his picture This pièce, being finished, was placed near his bed fide, and there remained as his constant remembrancer to the hour of his death.

Dr. Donne (fays Mr. Walton) " was of stature moderately " tall, of a strait and equally proportioned body, to which all " his words and actions gave an inexpressible addition of come-" linefs. The melancholy and pleafant humours were in him " fo contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and " made his company one of the delights of mankind. His " fancy was inimitably high, equalled only by his great wit; " both being made useful by a commanding judgment. His " aspect was chearful, and such as gave a silent testimony of a " clear knowing foul, and of a conscience at peace with itself. " His melting eye shewed that he had a soft heart, full of noble " compassion; of too brave a soul to offer injuries, and too " much a Christian not to pardon them in others. He was by " nature highly passionate, but more apt to reluct at the excesses " of it. A great lover of the offices of humanity, and of fo " merciful a spirit, that he never beheld the miseries of mankind " without pity and relief (e)."

Amongst Dr. Donne's most intimate friends were Sir Henry Wotton, Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich (f), and Dr. Henry King, Bishop of Chichester. To these may be added the pious Mr. George Herbert, between whom and our Author, Mr. Walton tells us, "there was a "long and dear friendship, made up by such a sympathy of

" inclinations,

( e ) Lives, P. 78.

(f) JOSEPH HALL was born on the first of July, 1574, in Bristow Park, within the parish of Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire. He was educated at Emmanuel College in Cambridge, of which, after taking his degrees, he became Fellow. He often disputed and preached before the University; and he read also the rhetoric lecture in the public schools for two years with great applause. He distinguished himself as a wit and poet in this early season of his life; for in 1597, when he was in the 23d year of his age, he published "Virigidemiarum: Satires, in six books." He was, as he himself afferts in his prologue, the first Satirist in the English language.

" I first adventure, follow me who list,

" And be the second English Satirist."

These satires have considerable merit, and were re-printed at Oxford in 1753, in 8vo.

After fix or feven years flay at College, he was presented to the Rec-

tory of Halsted in Suffolk by Sir Robert Drury; and being thus settled, married a wife, with whom he lived happily forty-nine years. In 1605, he accompanied Sir Edmund Bacon to the Spa; and he had an opportunity, in this journey, of informing himself with his own eyes of the state and practices of the Romish Church; and at Brussels he entered into a conserence with Coster the Jesuit.

After his return, having some misunderstanding with his patron about the rights of his Living, he refolved to quit it, as foon as he conveniently could; and while he was confidering. about this, Edward Lord Denny, afterwards Earl of Norwich, gave him the Living of Waltham Holy Cross in Esfex. In 1612, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity. He had been made Chaplain a little before to Prince Henry, who was much taken with fome meditations which Hall had published, and with two sermons which he had preached before him, and on that account conferred this honour on him. He was also made Prebendary of the collegiate church

" inclinations, that they coveted and joyed to be in each other's " company; and this happy friendship was still maintained by

" many facred endearments."

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Befides

of Wolverhampton; and being afterwards appointed to attend the Earl of Carlifle, who was fent on an Embaffy to France, during his absence the King. conferred upon him the Deanery of Worcester. In 1617, he attended the King into Scotland, and the following year he was fent, with other English Divines, to the fynod of Dort. Indisposition obliged him to return home very foon: however, before his departure, he preached a Latin fermon to that famous affembly, who by their President and assistants took a folemn leave of him; and the Deputies of the States dismissed him honourably, and presented him with a

gold medal.

In 1624, he was offered the Bi-shopric of Gloucester, which he declined; however, three years after he accepted the Bishopric of Exeter; and, in 1641, he was translated to the See of Norwich. But on the 30th of December following, he having joined with other Bishops in the protestation against the validity of all laws made during their forced absence from the Parliament, he was voted amongst the rest to the Tower, and committed thither the 30th of January. June, 1642, he was released upon giving 5000 l. bail, and withdrew to Norwich, where he lived in tolerable quiet till April, 1643. But then all his revenues were sequestered, and he had nothing to live on but what the Parliament allowed him; he all the while fuffering great inconveniencies, which he has given an account of in a Piece, intitled, his "Hard Measure." In the year 1647, he retired to a little estate, which he rented at Higham, near Norwich; and in this retirement he ended his life on the 8th of September, 1656, in the 82d year of his age. He was buried in the churchyard of that parish, without any memorial: for in his will he has this passage, " I do not hold GOD's house " a meet repository for the dead bo-" dies of the greatest Saints."

Bishop HALL was a man of wit and learning, and of great meekness, modesty, and piety, but somewhat tinctured with superstition. Works, besides Satires, make in all five Volumes in Folio and Quarto; and " are filled, fays Mr. Boyle, with " fine thoughts, excellent morality, " and a great deal of piety." Among this Prelate's other Writings, there is an Apology for the Church of Eng-land against the Brownists: but notwithstanding his opposition to them, Bishop Hall paid a proper regard in this treatife to the abilities of the famous Henry Ainsworth, who was of this fect, and of whom we shall here give some account.

HENRY AINSWORTH having joined himself to the Brownists, diftinguished himself amongst them about the year 1590. It is not known when, or in what part of England he was born, or where he was educated. However, it appears that he had justly acquired the character of a very learned man; but his connecting himfelf with the Brownists having brought him into great troubles, after struggling with them for fome years, he at length quitted his country, and retired into Holland, where most of the eminent Nonconformists, who had incurred the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth's Government, had taken refuge before. At Amiterdam Mr. Johnson and he erected a church, of which Mr. Ainsworth was the Doctor, or teacher. In conjunction with Johnson, he published, in 1602, a Confession of Faith of the people called Brownists; but being men of warm tempers, they fplit into parties about some points of discipline; and Johnson excommunicated his own father and brother for trifling matters, after having rejected the mediation of the Presbytery of Amsterdam. divided the congregation, half whereof joining with Amfworth, they excommunicated Johnson, who made the

Besides the Pieces already mentioned, there are extant the fol-

lowing Works of Dr. Donne:

I. Poems: confifting of fongs and fonnets, epigrams, elegies, epithalamiums, fatires, letters, funeral elegies, and holy fonnets.

like return to that party. The contest grew at length fo violent, that Johnfon and his followers removed to Embden, where he died foon after, and his congregation dissolved. Nor did Mr. Ainfworth and his followers live long in harmony, for in a short time he left them, and returned to Ireland; but when the spirits of his people were quieted, he returned to Amsterdam, and continued with them as long as he lived. His learned Writings were effected even by his adverfaries; who, at the fame time trat they opposed some of his opimons, yet paid a proper deference to his abilities. His death was sudden, and not without fuspicion of violence; for it is reported, that having found a diamond of great value, he advertised it; and when the owner, who was a Jew, came to demand it, he offered him any gratuity he would defire; but Ainsworth, though poor, requested only of the Jew, that he would procure him a conference with some of his Rabbins, upon the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to the MESSIAH, which the Jew promised; but not having interest enough to obtain such a conference, it was thought that he contrived to get Ainsworth poisoned.

Mr. AINSWORTH was a man of profound learning, particularly skilled in the Oriental Tongues, and the Jewish Antiquities, and deeply read in the Works of the Rabbins. He had a strong understanding, quick penetration, and wonderful diligence. He published occasionally several treatises, some of which made a great noise in the world. But what obtained him the greatest reputation, were his excellent commentaries on a considerable part of the Sacred Writing.

His Annotations were printed at feveral times, and in feveral fizes. Those on the Pfalms in 4to. in 1612; those on the five books of Moses, in two Volumes in 4to. in 1621; and all

these together were published in three Quarto Volumes. But, in 1627, all his Annotations were printed in one Volume in Folio; and again in 1639, under the following title: " Annotations " upon the five books of Mofes, the " book of the Pfalms, and the Song " of Songs, or Canticles. Wherein " the Hebrew words and fentences " are compared with, and explained " by, the antient Greek and Chaldee " versions, and other records and " monuments of the Hebrews; but chiefly by conference with the Holy Scriptures, Mofes his words, laws, and ordinances, the facrifices, and " other legal ceremonies heretofore " commanded by GOD to the Church of Israel, are explained; " with an advertisement, touching " fome objections made against the " fincerity of the Hebrew text, and " allegations of the Rabbins in thefe " annotations; as also tables, &c." In this Edition, the first thing that occurs is, a preface or discourse on the Life and Writings of Moses, which is fubscribed by the Author; then follow the five books of Moses, translated literally from the Hebrew, with Annotations chiefly from Rabbinical Writers; and by comparison of texts. At the end of the Pentateuch, there is a little treatife, intitled, An Advertisement touching some objections made against the fincerity of the Hebrew text, and allegation of the Rabbins in the former Annotations; to which are added, fome other short differtations. Then follow, Annotations upon the book of Pfalms; to which is prefixed, an excellent Life of David. Laftly, we have the Song of Solomon, with a literal translation from the Hebrew in profe, and another in verse, as also Annotations. This learned Work was translated into Dutch, and it is frequently cited by the best Commentators.

The feet of the BROWNISTS, with whom this learned man connected himfelf, took their name from Robert

Brown,

These were published at different times, and afterwards printed together in one Volume, 12mo. at London, in 1719, with the

addition of elegies upon the Author by feveral persons.

II. Paradoxes, Problems, Essays, Characters, &c. To which is added, a book of epigrams, written in Latin by the same Author, and translated into English by J. Maine, D. D. And also Ignatius's Conclave, a satire translated out of the original copy, written in Latin by the same Author. London, 1653, 12mo. Some of the Pieces in this collection had been published separately, and at different times before.

III. Three Volumes of Sermons, in Folio; the first printed in

1640, the second in 1649, and the third in 1660.

IV. Essays in Divinity, &c. being several disquisitions, interwoven with meditations and prayers, before he went into Holy

Orders. London, 1651, 12mo.

V. Letters to feveral persons of honour. London, 1654, 4to. published by his son. There are several of Dr. Donne's letters, and others to him, from the Queen of Bohemia, the Earl of Carlisse, Archbishop Abbot, and Ben Johnson, printed in a book, intitled.

Brown, and made a great noise in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. They did not much differ from the Church of England in articles of faith, but chiefly in points of discipline. They maintained, that every church ought to be confined within the limits of a fingle congregation; and that the government should be democratical. And when a church was to be formed, the method among them was, that fuch as defired to be members made a confession of their faith in the presence of each other, and figned a covenant, obliging themfelves to walk together in the order of the Gospel, according to certain rules and agreements therein contained. The whole power of admitting and excluding members, with the decision of all controversies, was lodged in the brotherhood. Their church Officers for preaching the word, and taking care of the poor, were chosen from among themselves, and separated to their feveral offices by falling, prayer, and imposition of hands of some of the brethren. They did not allow the Priesthood to be a distinct Order, or to give any indelible character; but as the vote of the brotherhood made a man a Minister, and gave authority to preach the word, and administer the Sacraments among them; fo the fame

power could discharge him from his office, and reduce nim to the state of a private brother. As they maintained the bounds of a church to be no greater than what would contain as many as could meet together in one place, and join in one communion, fo the power of their Officers was preferibed within The Minister, or the fame limits. Pastor of a church, could not adminiller the Sacrament to, nor baptize the children of, any but those of his own society. They declared against all prescribed forms of prayer. Any lay brother had the liberty of prophelying, or giving a word of exhortation in their church assemblies; and it was usual, after fermon, for some of the brotherhood to ask questions, and confer with each other upon the doctrines that had been delivered; but as for church censures, they were for an entire separation of the ecclesiastical and civil fword. In fhort, every church or fociety of Christiansmeet ing in one place, was, according to the Brownitts, a body corporate, having full power within itself to admit and exclude members, to chuse and ordain Officers; and, when the good of the fociety required it, to depose them, without being accountable to classes, convocations, fynods, councils, or any jurisdiction whatsoever.

intitled, " A Collection of Letters made by Sir Tobie Matthews. " Knight," 1660. 8vo.

VI. Biathanatos: or, a declaration of that paradox or thefis. that felf homicide is not so naturally a fin, that it may not be

otherwise. London, 1644, 1648, &c. 4to.

Lord Falkland stiles Dr. Donne "one of the most witty and " most eloquent of our modern Divines." And Mr. Dryden has given him the character of "the greatest wit, though not the " greatest poet of our nation." But he asks, " Would not Donne's fatires, which abound with fo much wit, appear more charming, if he had taken care of his words and of his numbers ?" Whether Mr. Pope took the hint from this question, or not, is uncertain; but he has shewn the world, that when translated into numbers and English, as Mr. Dryden in another place expresses it, they are not inferior to any thing in that kind

Dr. Donne had a fon, John Donne, who was educated at Westminster-school, and removed from thence to Christ-church in Oxford in the year 1622. He afterwards travelled abroad, and took the degree of Doctor of Laws at Padua; and on the 30th of June, 1638, was incorporated in the same degree in the Univerfity of Oxford. He died in 1662, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Paul, Covent-Garden. Anthony Wood fays, that he was a man of fenfe and parts; but in other respects he gives

him a very indifferent character.



## The Life of WILLIAM LAUD, Archbishop of Canterbury.

ILLIAM LAUD was the fon of a clothier of Reading in Berkshire, where he was born on the 7th of October, 1573. He was instructed in grammar learning at the free-school in that town; and, in 1589, he was removed to St. John's College in Oxford, and was chosen Scholar in 1590, and Fellow in 1593. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1594, and that of Master in 1598, in which year he was grammar reader. And Anthony Wood tells us, that at this time "he was esteemed by all that knew him a

" very forward and zealous person (g)."

He was ordained Deacon in 1600, and Priest in 1601; and the year following he read a Divinity-lecture in his College. In some of his chapel-exercises, he maintained the constant and perpetual visibility of the Church of Christ, derived from the Apostles to the Church of Rome, and continued in that Church, as in others of the East and South, till the Reformation. Dr. Abbot, Master of University-College, and Vice-Chancellor, traced it, on the contrary, from the Berengarians to the Albigenses, from the Albigenses to the Wicklissites, from these to the Hussites, and from the Hussites to Luther and Calvin. And this opposition of sentiment between Abbot and Laud occasioned, in the course of the disputes upon the subject, a great animosity between them (b).

In the year 1603, he was one of the Proctors of the University; and, on the 3d of September that year, he was appointed Chaplain to Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire. In 1604, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity; and in the exercise which he performed on this occasion, he maintained these two points. "1. The necessity of baptism: 2dly, That there could be no true church without Diocesan Bishops." For his last position he was attacked by Dr. Holland, the Divinity Professor, as one who endeavoured to sow diffention between the Church of England, and the foreign reformed Churches. And as to what he advanced on the first position, it was alledged against him, that he had taken the greatest part of it out of the Works of

Cardinal

<sup>(</sup>g) Athenæ Oxonienses, Edit. 1692. Vol. II. Fol. 30. (b) Vid. Heylin's Lite of Archbishop Laud, Folio, Edit. 1668. P. 53.

Cardinal Bellarmine. Indeed, Laud was by many in the University said to be strongly inclined to Popery; and, according to Heylin, Dr. Abbot " so openly branded him for a Papist, or at least very Popishly inclined, that it was almost made an heresy for any one to be seen in his company, and a misprission of he-

" refy to give him a civil falutation as he walked the streets ( k)." In 1605, he married his patron the Earl of Devonshire to Penelope, the wife of Robert, Lord Rich; but who had been divorced from the latter Nobleman for adultery; and Laud in this affair yielded to the defires of his patron, from the opinion, as it is faid, that in case of a divorce, both the innocent and guilty may lawfully re-marry. However, his concern in this affair created him much trouble and uneafiness, and exposed him to great censure; which made so deep an impression upon him, that he ever after kept the 26th of December, the marriage-day, as a day of fasting and humiliation. Laud's opponent, Archbishop Abbot, tells us, that King James did for many years take Laud's share in this marriage so ill, "that he would never hear of any " great preferment of him; infomuch that the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Williams, --- many times faid, that when he made " mention of Laud to the King, his Majesty was so averse from or promoting him, that he was conftrained oftentimes to fay, "That he would never defire to ferve that master, which could

"not remit one fault unto his fervant."

The Archbishop also says, that Laud's "life in Oxford was to pick quarrels in the lectures of the public readers, and to advertise them to the then Bishop of Durham, that he might fill the ears of King James with discontents against the honest men that took pains in their places, and settled the truth (which he called Puritanism) in their auditors (1)."

The first preferment which he obtained was the Vicarage of Stanford in Northamptonshire, into which he was inducted on the 13th of November, 1607; and in April, 1608, he obtained the Advowson of North Kilworth in Leicestershire. On the 6th of June following he proceeded Doctor in Divinity: and his patron the Earl of Devonshire being dead, he was in 1608 made Chaplain to Richard Neile, Bishop of Rochester. And that he might be near his new patron, he exchanged North Kilworth for the Rectory of West Tilbury in Essex; into which he was inducted on the 28th of October, 1609. The year following Bishop Neile gave him the Living of Cuckstone, in Kent, whereupon he resigned his Fellowship, lest Oxford, and settled at Cuckstone. But the unhealthiness of that place having thrown him into an ague, he exchanged it soon after for Norton, a Benefice of less value, but in a better air.

In

<sup>(</sup> k ) Life of Archbishop Laud, P. 54. ( ! ) Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. I. P. 440.

In 1611, Dr. Laud was elected President of St. John's College in Oxford; but he did not obtain this without confiderable opposition, and it is said that Archbishop Abbot employed his interest against him; however, when some of Laud's competitors appealed to King James, his Majesty not only confirmed the election, but also made him one of his Chaplains on the 3d of November ensuing, upon the recommendation of Bishop Neile.

Dr. Laud having thus fet foot within the Court, flattered himfelf with hopes of great and immediate preferment; but his expectations were for some time disappointed, which he imputed to Archbishop Abbot; and after three years fruitless waiting, he was upon the point of leaving the Court, and retiring wholly to his College; when his friend and patron Bishop Neile, who was now translated to the See of Lincoln, prevailed with him to wait, with as much patience as he could, for one year longer. And, in the mean time, to keep up his spirits, the Bishop gave him the Prebend of Bugden, in the church of Lincoln, in 1614, and the

Archdeaconry of Huntingdon the year following.

In 1616, the King appointed Dr. Laud Dean of Gloucester. Heylin fays, that this preferment was " of no very great value, " but fuch as kept him in reputation, and made men fee he was " not fo contemptible in the eyes of the King as it was generally "apprehended (m)." When James conferred this Deanery upon Laud, he defired him to reform and fet in order what was amiss in that cathedral. He, therefore, hastened to Gloucester, where he found the church, it is faid, in great decay, and many things, in his opinion, out of order; particularly the communion-table standing almost in the middle of the choir, contrary to the position of it in other cathedrai churches, and in the King's Laud confidered the rectification of this as a matter of chapel. very great importance; and therefore immediately called a chapter of the Prebends, and, with their concurrence, gave orders for the reparation of the church, and caused the communion-table to be removed to the east-end of the choir, and placed against the wall. And this transposition being made, he recommended to the members of that church, the making their humble reverence to GOD, not only at their first entrance into the choir, but at their approaches towards the holy table. But Laud's alterations and behaviour gave great umbrage to many, and particularly to Dr. Miles Smith, then Bishop of Gloucester (n), who, it is said, never fet foot again in the church as long as he lived.

About the same time, Dr. Laud was instrumental in procuring fome Royal directions to be fent to Oxford for the better government of that University, and with a view to prevent the spreading of Calvinistical opinions, both with respect to faith and disci-Vol. IV. 6. pline.

as any in the last translation of the Bible, as a reward for which he received his Bishopric,

<sup>(</sup> m ) Life of Archbishop Laud, P. cian, and one that took as much pains (n) We learn from Dr. Heylin, that this Prelate was a great Hebri-

pline. He was appointed also to attend the King in his journey to Scotland in 1617, when it was intended, among other things, to attempt bringing the Church of Scotland to an uniformity with that of England, which was a favourite scheme of Dr. Laud's. But "the Scots were Scots, says Heylin, and resolved "to go their own way, whatsoever came of it." So that the King gained nothing by this expensive journey, but the neglect

of his commands, and a contempt of his authority.

On his return from Scotland, Dr. Laud was inducted to the Rectory of Ibstock in Leicestershire, belonging to the patronage of the Bishop of Rochester, of whom he had it in exchange for Norton; and, in 1620, he was installed into a Prebend of Westminster, of which Bishop Neile had procured him a grant ten years before. He was foon after nominated to the Bishopric of St. David's, though the King was at first averse to raising him to this dignity, but was prevailed on by the Lord-keeper Williams, at the infligation of the favourite Buckingham, to whom Laud had recommended himself. Of this affair Bishop Hacket gives us the following account. Buckingham (fays he) conjured the Lord-keeper to commend Dr. Laud strenuously and importunately to the King's good opinion, to fear no offence, neither to defift for a little fform. Accordingly he watched when the King's affections were most still and pacificous; and befought his Majesty to think considerately of his Chaplain the Doctor, ' who had deferved well when he was a young man in his zeal against the millenary petition (o): and for his incorruption in religion, let his fermons plead for him in the Royal hearing, of which no man could judge better than fo great a scholar as his ' Majesty. " Well, (fays the King) I perceive whose Attorney " you are, Stenny (p) hath fet you on. You have pleaded the " man a good Protestant, and I believe it : neither did that slick " in my breaft, when I stopt his promotion. But was there not " a certain Lady, that forfook her husband, and married a Lord, " that was her paramour? Who knit that knot? Shall I make " a man a Prelate, one of the Angels of my church, who hath a "flagrant crime upon him?"---" Sir, (fays the Lord-keeper)
you are a good master, but who dare serve you, if you will not pardon one fault, though of a scandalous fize, to him that " is heartily penitent for it? I pawn my faith to you, that he is " heartily penitent; and there is no other blot that hath fullied " his good name. Velleius faid enough to justify Murena that " had committed but one fault, SINE HOC FACINORE POTUIT " VIDERI PROBUS." --- "You press well, (fays the King) and I " hear you with patience; neither will I revive a trespass any " more

<sup>(</sup> o ) See Vol. III. P. 368. (p) An appellation often given by King James to his favourite Buckingham.

" more, which repentance hath mortified and buried. And be-« cause I see I shall not be rid of you, unless I tell you my un-" published cogitations; the plain truth is, that I keep LAUD " back from all place of rule and authority, because I find he "hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring things to a pitch of " reformation floating in his own brain, which may endanger " the stedfastness of that which is in a good pass, GOD be " praised. I speak not at random; he hath made himself known " to me to be fuch a one. For when three years fince I had ob-" tained of the affembly of Perth, to confent to five articles of " order and decency in correspondence with this Church of " England, I gave them promise by attestation of faith made, " that I would try their obedience no farther in ecclefiastic af-" fairs, nor put them out of their own way, which custom has " made pleasing unto them, with any new encroachments. Yet " this man hath pressed me to invite them to a nearer conjunc-" tion with the Liturgy and Canons of this nation; but I fent " him back again with the frivolous draught he had drawn. It " feems I remembered St. Augustin's rule better than he, Ipfa " mutatio consuetudinis, etiam quæ adjuvat utilitate, novitate pertur-" bat, Ep. 118. For all this he feared not mine anger, but af-" faulted me again with another ill-fangled platform, to make " that stubborn kirk stoop more to the English pattern: but I " durst not play fast and loose with my word. He knows not "the stomach of that people, but I ken the story of my grandmother the Queen-regent, That after she was inveigled to " break her promise made to some mutineers at a Perth meeting, " she never saw good day, but from thence, being much beloved " before, was despised of all the people. And now your impor-" tunity hath compelled me to shrive myself thus unto you, I " think you are at your farthest, and have no more to say " for your client." -- " May it please you, Sir, (says the Lord-" keeper) I will speak but this once : you have indeed convicted " your Chaplain of an attempt very audacious, and very unbe-" feeming; my judgment goes quite against his. C. Gracchus " mended nothing, but loft himself in his Tribuneship, Qui nihil " immotum, nibil tranquillum, nibil quietum, nibil denique in eodem " statu relinquebat. I am affured, he that makes new work in a " church, begets new quarrels for fcribblers, and new jealoufies " in tender consciences. Yet I submit this to your sacred judg-" ment, that Dr. Laud is of a great and tractable wit. He did " not well fee how he came into this error; but he will pre-" fently fee the way how to come out of it. Some diseases which " are very acute, are quickly cured." --- " And is there no whoe, " but you must carry it (says the King)? Then take him to " you, but on my foul you will repent it." And so went away in. 2 K 2

' in anger, using other sierce and ominous words, which were divulged in the Court, and are too tart to be repeated (q).

Dr. Laud was confecrated Bishop of St. David's on the 18th of November, 1621, by the Bishops of London, Worcester, Chichester, Ely, Landass, and Oxford. The day before his consecration, he refigned the Prefidentship of St. John's College, on account of his oath, and the strictness of the College statutes, which he would not violate. But he was permitted to keep his Prebend of Westminster in commendam; and the King some time after gave him also in commendam the Rectory of Creeke

in Northamptonshire.

In 1622, Bishop Laud had a conference with Fisher the Jesuit, before the Marquis of Buckingham and his mother, in order to confirm the latter in the Protestant religion, in which she was then wavering. An account of this conference was afterwards printed. It appears that there was now a very close intimacy and connection between Laud and Buckingham. And in our Pre-late's Diary we find the following passage: "June 9, (1622.) " Being Whitfunday, my Lord Marquis Buckingham was " pleased to enter upon a near respect to me. The particulars "are not for paper. June 15, I became C. (r) to my Lord of Buckingham. And June 16, being Trinity Sunday, he received the Sacrament at Greenwich (s)." And it appears that Buckingham left Laud as his agent at Court, when he went over with Prince Charles into Spain (t), and frequently corresponded with him from thence.

Our Prelate continued to increase in credit with the favourite, and came to be of great power and authority with him. " Info-" much (fays Heylin) that when Buckingham fell fick of an " ague in the beginning of May, (1624.) he was extreme im-" patient in his fits till Laud came to vifit him; by whom he " was so charmed and sweetened, that at first he endured his fits " with patience, and by that patience did so break their heats " and violences, that at last they left him. From this time for-

" wards

(q) Life of Archbishop Williams, by John Hacket, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, P. 63, 64. --This Prelate, after what is faid above, goes on to observe, that ' so the Lord-keeper' procured to Dr. Laud his first rochet, and retained him in his Prebend of Westminster, a kindness which then he mightily valued, and gave him about a year after a Living of about 1201. per annum in the Diocefe of St. David's, to help his revenue: which being unfought, and brought to him at Durham-House by Mr. William Winne, his expref-

" fion was, " Mr. Winne, my life will

(r) By the letter C. here, both Prynne and Heylin understand Con-FESSOR to be meant; and the former fays, that Laud himfelf confessed this, and faid he held it to be his great honour ... Vid. Prynne's Breviate, P. 3. and Heylin, P. 101.

(s) Laud's Diary, as published by

Henry Wharton, P. 5.

(t) Life of Archbishop Williams, by Ambrose Philips, P. 150.

<sup>&</sup>quot; be too short to requite your Lord's " goodness." But how those scores were paid, is known at home and abroad.

"wards he was not used only as a Confessor, but as a Counsel"lor also employed by him (u)." And Archbishop Abbot,
who it must be remembered was no friend to our Prelate, says,
"This man (Laud) is the only inward Counsellor with Buckingham, sitting sometimes privately with him whole hours,

" and feeding his humour with malice and spite ( w)."

At the coronation of King Charles I. on the 2d of February, 1626, Bishop Laud officiated as Dean of Westminster, in the room of Bishop Williams, who was then out of favour at Court; and on this occasion he is said to have altered the coronation outh; but this charge appears not to be well supported (x). Soon after Charles's accession, Laud was appointed to deliver in an account to the King of the principles of the most eminent Divines in the kingdom, that his Majesty might know who were the proper men to be preferred (y). The same year he was also translated from St. David's to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells, and also appointed Dean of the Royal Chapel. In 1627, he was sworn of the Privy Council; and, in 1628, he was promoted to the See of London.

Bishop Laud was in the commission for exercising archiepiscopal jurisdiction during Archbishop Abbot's sequestration; and he had now for some time been almost entirely trusted by the King in the conferring all ecclesiastical preferments. In the third Parliament of King Charles, he was voted to be one of the favourers of the Armenians, and one suspected to be unsound in his opinions, and accordingly his name was inserted as such in the re-

monstrance

(u) Life of Archbishop Laud, P.

(w) Rushworth's Hist. Coll. Vol. I.

P. 440.

(x) It appears, however, that Laud was concerned in making some alterations and additions in the coronation ceremonies; and in particular the following address to the King, in behalf of the Clergy, was added on his being conducted to the Throne. "Stand, " and hold fait from henceforth the " place to which you have been heir " by the succession of your fore-fa-" thers, being now delivered to you " by the authority of Almighty God, " and by the hands of us and all the " Bishops, and servants of Goo: and " as you fee the Clergy to come nearer " to the Altar than others, fo remem-" ber that in place convenient you " give them greater honour; that the " Mediator of Gop and man may " establish you in the kingly Throne, " to be the Mediator between the " Clergy and the Laity, that you may

"reign forever with JESUS CHRIST, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen."----Heylin's Life of Laud, P. 142.

(y) Roger Coke fays, "Though "all must stoop to mighty Bucking-" ham, yet that he might stand furer, who must be his only support but " Laud, Bishop of St. David's; who " from picking quarrels in lectures at " Oxford, and being an informer before, now is become Vice-Gerent " to Buckingham. A lift of all the " eminent men for promotion in the " church is given in; those whom " Laud would have promoted were " noted O. for Orthodox, and those " whom he liked not were marked " P. for Puritans: thefe two flopped " up both the King's ears from any " other doctrines in Church or State, " but what was infused by them." Detection of the Court and State of England, &c. Vol. I. P. 187.

monstrance of the House of Commons. And as it was known that he was closely connected with the Duke of Buckingham, and that he laboured to support that favourite's administration, which was exceedingly unpopular, great clamours were raised against him; and he was so obnoxious to the people, that his life was even threatened ( a ). There was also now much animosity between him and Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, though that Prelate had so much contributed towards raising Laud to the

episcopal dignity.

About this time our Prelate lost his good friend the Duke of Buckingham, who was stabbed by John Felton, a Lieutenant, at Portsmouth. And Laud could not be convinced, but that some of the Members of Parliament, or some of the Puritans, were privy to the murder. He, therefore, threatened Felton, at the Council-board, with the rack, to induce him to discover his accomplices. But the other calmly replied, "that if he was racked, he did not know whom the extremity of torture might force him to name; perhaps Laud himself." This sensible hint did not daunt our Prelate; for he prevailed with Charles to send to the Judges for their opinion, "whether, by law, Felton might not be racked?" But Crown-law was, on this occasion, more favourable to the subject than Crown-Divinity; for the Judges returned their opinions, "That according to the laws of

" England, Felton could not be racked (a)."

As Laud had now very great influence both in Church and State, he was also a leading man, and extremely active, in the High Commission Court, the arbitrary and severe proceedings of which were justly odious to the nation. Of the extreme rigour and cruelty of this Court, the following is a remarkable instance. Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scotch Divine, had published "An " Appeal to the Parliament; or, Zion's Plea against Prelacy:" in which he had spoken not only with freedom, but with great asperity, against the Bishops and the Hierarchy. For the publication of this, Leighton was brought before the High Commiffion Court on the 4th of June, 1630. He acknowledged himfelf the Author of the book, but alledged that he wrote it with no ill intention; his design, he said, being only to lay those things before the next Parliament, for their confideration. However, the Court decreed that, for this offence, "The Doctor " should pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and be degraded " from his Ministry; that he should be brought to the pillory at " Westminster,

" world, &c. And affure thyfelf, neither GOD nor the world can en-

" dure fuch a vile Counsellor to live, or fuch a whisperer; or to this ef-

<sup>(</sup>z) He informs us himself in his Diary, that a paper was found in the Dean of St. Paul's yard to this purport. "Laud, look to thyself; be affured thy life is fought. As thou are the fountain of all wickedness, repent thee of thy monitrous sins, before thou be taken out of the

affured thy life is fought. As thou "fect."

art the fountain of all wickedness, (a) Guthrie's History of England, repent thee of thy monstrous sins, Vol. III. P. 890.

"Westminster, while the Court was sitting, and be there " whipped; after which he should be set upon the pillory a con-" venient time, and have one of his ears cut off, one fide of his " nofe flit, and be branded in the face with S. S. as a fower of " fedition; that then he should be carried back to prison, and " after a few days be pilloried a fecond time in Cheapfide, and be there likewise whipped, and have the other side of his nose "flit, and his other ear cut off; and then be shut up in the pri-fon of the Fleet for the remainder of his life." When this merciless sentence was pronounced, the pious and humane Bishop Laud pulled off his cap, and gave GOD thanks for it! Between the time of passing the sentence and execution, Dr. Leighton made his escape out of prison, but was re-taken, and brought back to the Fleet (b). On Friday, November 26, part of his fentence was executed upon him at Westminster; and on that day fe'nnight, his fores upon his back, ear, nofe, and face, being not yet cured, he was again whipped at the pillory at Cheapside, and had the remainder of his fentence executed upon him. He was then carried back to prison, where he continued in close confinement for ten years, till he was released by the long Parliament. Dr. Leighton was a man of learning and abilities; but his fufferings, and long and close confinement, had so impaired his health, that when he was released he could hardly walk, see, or hear (c). It is sufficiently evident from this transaction, as well

(b) Laud, in his Diary, (as published by Wharton, P. 45.) fays, "Nov. 
9. Tuefday, That night Leighton broke out of the Fleet. The Warden fays, he got or was helped over the wall; the Warden professes, he knew not this till Wednesday noon. 
He told it not me till Thursday night. He was taken again in Bedfordshire, and brought back to the

" Fleet within a fortnight."

(c) Neale's Hift. of the Puritans, Vol. II. P. 217, 218, 219. 8vo. Edit. The Dr. Leighton, spoken of above, was father to ROBERT LEIGHTON, Archbishop of Glasgow, of whom Bishop Burnet speaks so largely, and gives so extraordinary a character of, in his History of his own times. That Prelate, after informing us that he was educated in Scotland, and that he was remarkable for his early piety, says, the had great quickness of parts, a lively apprehension, with a charming vivacity of thought and expression. He had the greatest command of the purch Latin that ever I knew in any

man. He was a matter both of Greek and Hebrew, and of the whole compass of theological learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the rest was, he was possessed with the highest and noblest sense of Divine things that I ever faw in any man. He had no regard to his person, unless it was to mortify it by a constant low diet, that was like a perpetual fast. He had a contempt both of wealth and reputation. He seemed to have the lowest thoughts of himfelf possible, and to defire that all other persons should think as meanly of him as he did himfelf. He bore all forts of ill ufage and reproach, like a man that took pleasure in it. He had so subdued the natural heat of his temper, that in a great variety of accidents, and in a course of twenty-two years intimate conversation with him, I never obferved the least fign of passion, but upon one fingle occasion. He brought himself into so composed a gravity, that I never faw him laugh, and but feldom

as from many others in which Laud was concerned, that Lord Clarendon was in the right when he observed of this Prelate, that "he intended the discipline of the church should be FELT, as "well as spoken of." But can the advocates for Laud's memory really suppose him to have been so wrong-headed, as to think such cruelties as these, agreeable to the mild, merciful, and bene-

volent principles of the Christian religion?

But though Laud frequently paid little attention to the dictates of humanity and mercy, he was always fufficiently attentive to the external rites and ceremonies of the church, and pressed a firich conformity to them, even those of the most trifling and infignificant kind, with the greatest zeal and ardour. He caused the churches in different parts of the kingdom to be adorned with pictures, images, and altar-pieces; and procured orders to be given, and rigorously insisted on, that the communion-table should be removed from the middle of the area, where it hitherto flood in most churches, except in cathedrals; and it was now to be placed in the east end, railed in, and denominated an altar. Kneeling at the altar, and the using of copes, a species of embroidered vestment, in administering the sacrament was also enjoined. And the violence and heat with which these ceremonies and alterations were enforced, occasioned great clamours in most parts of the kingdom; and the more fo, as they were generally confidered as so many steps towards the introduction of Popery.

As a remarkable instance of Laud's fondness for superstitious ceremonies, we shall give an account of the manner in which he is said to have confecrated St. Catherine Creed Church. It had been lately repaired, and was therefore suspended from all Divine service, till it was confecrated anew. Accordingly, on Sunday the 16th of January, 1631, Bishop Laud came thither about nine in the morning, attended with several of the high commission,

and

feldom smile. And he kept himself in fuch a constant recollection, that I do not remember that ever I heard him fay one idle word. There was a visible tendency in all he faid to raise his own mind, and those he conversed with, to ferious reflections. He feemed to be in a perpetual meditation. And though the whole courfe of his life was strict and ascetical, yet he had nothing of the fourness of temper that generally possesses men of that fort. He was the freest from superstition, of censuring others, or of imposing his own methods on them possible .- -- His thoughts were lively, often out of the way and furprizing, yet just and genuine. And he had laid together in his memory the greatest treasure of the best and wifest of all the antient

fayings of the Heathens as well as Christians, that I have ever known any man mafter of: and he used them in the aptest manner possible .--- His preaching had a fublimity both of thought and expression in it. The grace and gravity of his pronuncia-tion was such, that few heard him without a very fensible emotion. I am fure I never did. His stile was rather too fine: but there was a Majesty and beauty in it that left so deep an impression, that I cannot yet forget the fermons I heard him preachthirty years ago." This excellant man was made Archbishop of Glasgow in 1670. He died in England in 1684 .-- Vid. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. P. 134, 135, 288, 289, 588, 589. Edit, Fol, 1724.

and some Civilians. At his approach to the west door of the church, which was shut, and guarded by halberdeers, some who were appointed for that purpose, cried with a loud voice, " Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of glory may come in!" Immediately the doors of the church flew open, and the Bishop entered, with his attendants. Then falling upon his knees, with eyes elevated and arms expanded, he uttered these words: " This place is holy; the ground is holy: in the name " of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy." Then walking up the middle isle, towards the chancel, he, several times, took up from the floor some of the dust, and threw it into the air. When he approached, along with his attendants, near to the communion-table, he bowed frequently towards it; and on their return, they went round the church, repeating as they marched along, some of the Pfalms; and then said a form of prayer, which concluded with these words: " We consecrate " this church, and separate it unto thee as holy ground, not to " be profaned any more to common uses." After this, the Bishop, standing near the communion-table, solemnly pronounced many imprecations upon such as should afterwards pollute that holy place by musters of soldiers, or keeping in it profane lawcourts, or carrying burthens through it. On the conclusion of every curse, he bowed towards the East, and cried, "Let all the " people fay, Amen." The fermon succeeded; after which, the Bishop consecrated and administered the Sacrament in the following manner. As he approached the communion-table, he made many lowly reverences: and coming up to that part of the table where the bread and wine lay, he bowed feven times. After the reading of many prayers, he approached the facramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin, in which the bread was laid. When he beheld the bread, he fuddenly let fall the napkin, flew back a step or two, and bowed three several times towards the bread; then he drew near again, and opened the napkin, and bowed thrice as before. Next, he laid his hand on the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was full He let go the cup, fell back, and bowed thrice toof wine. wards it. He approached again; and lifting up the cover, looked into the cup. Seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, started back, and bowed as before. Then he received the Sacrament, and gave it to others. And many prayers being faid, the folemnity of the confectation ended (d).

In 1630, Bishop Laud was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to which he was a great benefactor. In 1631, he was active in causing St. Paul's cathedral to be repaired and beautified, in a very expensive and magnificent manner; for which Vol. IV. 6.

<sup>(</sup>d) Hume's Hist. of Great Britain, Vol. I. P. 202, 203. 4to. Edit. Edinb. 1754. Vid. also Appendix to Welwood's Memoirs, No. VII. and Neale's Hist, of the Puritans, Vol. II. P. 219, 220, 221.

purpose a subscription and contribution was appointed all over the kingdom. Several houses and shops adjoining to the cathedral were, by an order of council, directed to be pulled down, and the owners were to accept of a reasonable satisfaction: but if they would not comply, the Sheriff of London was required to fee them demolished. Laud's heart was in this work; and to Support the expence, he is faid to have given way to many oppreffions, and unjustifiable methods of raising money, by exorbitant fines in the Star-Chamber and High Commission Courts, compofitions with recusants, and commutations of penance; insomuch that it became a proverb, that "St. Paul's was repaired with the

" fins of the people (e)."

In 1632, he procured Dr. Juxon, Dean of Worcester, the office of Clerk of the King's Closet. In his Diary, he assigns his reafons for foliciting this preferment for this friend of his. I obtained it for him, fays he, "That I might have one that I might trust near his Majesty, if I grow weak or insirm; as I must " have a time." About this time he made some declarations before the King at Woodstock, relative to the marriage of the Clergy, which strengthened the suspicions that had been entertained of his inclination to Popish doctrines. He declared, that in the dispofal of all ecclefiaftical preferments, he should give the preference to fingle men before those who were married, supposing their abilities to be otherwise equal. This exposed him to much censure: to put a stop to which, he himself negociated a marriage between Mr. Thomas Turner, one of his Chaplains, and a daughter of his friend Francis Windebank; and he also performed the marriage ceremony himself in his own chapel at Lon-And shortly after he obtained for Windebank the

Office of Secretary of State (f).
On the 13th of May, 1633, Bishop Laud set out from London, to attend the King on his journey into Scotland, where he went in order to be crowned in that kingdom, which ceremony was performed by Archbishop Spotswood (g) in the abbey-church of

Halyrood-

P. 223.

(f) Heylin's Life of Laud, P. 224,

(g) JOHN SPOTSWOOD was descended from an antient family in Scotland, and born in the year 1565. He was educated at the University of Glasgow: and, in 1601, attended Lodowick, Duke of Lenox, as Chaplain, in his Embaffy to the Court of France, and returned in the Ambassador's retinue through England. In 1603, upon the accession of James I. to the Throne of England, he was appointed, among other eminent persons, to at-

(e) Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. II. tend his Majesty into that kingdom; and the same year was advanced to the Archbishopric of Glasgow, and made one of the Privy Council in Scotland. In 161c, he prefided in the affembly at Glasgow; and the same year, upon the King's command, repaired to London about ecclefiastical affairs.

He was fo active in matters which concerned the recovery and welfare of the episcopal Church of Scotland, that during the course of his Ministry, he is supposed to have made no less than fifty journies from thence to London, chiefly on that account. Having filled the See of Glasgow eleven years,

Holyrood-House. Our Prelate preached in the Royal Chapel at Edinburgh, which scarcely any Englishman had ever done before in the King's presence; and his discourse was principally, says Lord Clarendon, upon the benefit of conformity, and the reverend ceremonies of the church. Indeed, Laud was very folicitous to bring the Church of Scotland to an exact conformity with that of England; but his endeavours for this purpose were without fuccess. However, on the 15th of June he was sworn a Privy Counsellor for that kingdom, and on the 26th of July he came

back to his palace at Fulham.

Within about a week after the King's return from Scotland, Archbishop Abbot died at Croydon. The King took very little time to confider who should be his successor; but the very next time that Bishop Laud came to him, (and the Prelate took care at this crifis not to be long absent from Court) his Majesty addressed him in these terms, "My Lord's Grace of Canterbury, "you are very welcome;" and gave orders the same day for the dispatch of all necessary forms for the translation: so that within about a month after the death of the other Archbishop, Laud was completely invested in this high dignity, and fettled in his palace at Lambeth ( b ). About this time he was twice offered, in private, by a person who avowed he had ability to persorm it, to be made a Cardinal; but he declined the offer, his answer each time being, as he himself says in his Diary, "that some-" what dwelt within him, which would not fuffer that, till Rome " were other than it is."

This year, 1633, our new Archbishop was also elected Chancellor of the University of Dublin. And in 1634, he began his metropolitical visitation, in which an exact conformity to all the ecclefiaftical rites and ceremonies which were now enjoined, was enforced with great rigour. In this visitation, the Dutch and 2 L 2 Walloon

St. Andrews; and thus became Primate and Metropolitan of all Scotland. The year following, he prefided in the affembly of Aberdeen; as he did likewise in several other assemblies which met with a view of bringing the Church of Scotland to an uniformity with that of England. He continued in high efteem with King James I. during his whole reign; nor was he less valued by King Charles I. In 1635, he was made Chancellor of Scotland; which post he had not held full four years, when the confusions breaking out there obliged him to retire into England. Being broken with age, and grief, and fickness, he went first to Newcastle; and continued there, till by the care of the physicians he had

he was translated in 1615 to that of recovered strength enough to travel to London: where he no fooner arrived than he relapfed, and died the 26th of November, 1639. He was folemnly interred in Westminster-Abbey, and an infcription upon brafs was fixed over his grave.

In 1655, was published at London, in Folio, Archbishop Spotswood's " History of the Church of Scotland, " beginning from the year of our " Lord 203, and continued to the end " of the reign of King James VI." This History has by many Writers been much commended; but Burnet charges it with partiality.

(b) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, and Civil Wars in England, Vol. I. P. 91. Edit. 8vo.

1712.

Walloon congregations were fummoned to appear; and injoined, fuch of them as were born in England, to repair to the feveral parish churches where they inhabited, to hear Divine service, and perform all duties and payments required in that behalf: and such of them, Ministers or others, who were Aliens born, were to use the English Liturgy, translated into French or Dutch. But many, rather than comply, chose to leave the kingdom, to the

great detriment of our manufactures.

Our Archbishop caused fundry Clergymen to be deprived and filenced, for refusing to read the King's declaration concerning lawful fports to be used on Sundays after Divine service. Among others, Mr. Thomas Wilson, of Otham, was fent for to Lambeth; and being asked, whether he had read the book of Sports in his church, answered, No; whereupon Archbishop Laud replied immediately, "I suspend you for ever from your office and Benefice till you read it;" and fo he continued four years, being cited into the High Commission Court, and articled against for the same offence. And Mr. Laurence Snelling, Rector of Paul's Cray, was not only suspended for four years, but deprived and excommunicated, for not reading the declaration. pleaded in his own defence, the laws of GOD, and of the Realm, and the authority of Councils and Fathers. He added, that the King's declaration did not enjoin Ministers to read it, nor authorize the Bishops or High Commissioners to suspend or punish Ministers for not reading it; that it being a mere civil, not an ecclefiaffical declaration enjoined by any Canons or authority of the church, no ecclefiastical court could take cognizance of it. All which Mr. Snelling offered to the Commissioners in writing, but our Archbishop would not admit it, but said in open court, that "whofoever should make such a defence, it should be burnt " before his face, and he be laid by the heels." Upon this, Mr. Snelling was perfonally and judicially admonished to read the declaration within three weeks; which he refusing, was at length deprived, and continued under that fentence many years ( b ).

Laud was also very severe against such, who from their attachment to Puritan principles, did either preach or write any hing to the prejudice of the established Hierarchy. Among other instances of severity of this kind in which he was concerned, the following is mentioned. Mr. John Haydon, of Devonshire, having by his preaching offended his ecclesiastical superiors, was forced to abscond; but he was apprehended in the Dioce's of Norwich by Bishop Harsnet; who, after he had taken from him his horse and money, and all his papers, caused him to be shut up in close prison for thirteen weeks. After which, when the Justices would have bailed him at the quarter-sessions, this Prelate sent him up to the High Commissioners, who deprived him of his Ministry and Orders, and set a sine upon him for preaching

" against

\*\* against decorations and images in churches." However, in the year 1634, Mr. Haydon again ventured to preach occasionally without being restored: upon which he was apprehended again, and sent to the Gate-house by Archbishop Laud, and from thence to Bridewell, where he was whipped, and kept to hard labour. And here he was confined in a cold dark dungeon for a whole winter, being chained to a post in the middle of a room, with irons on his hands and feet, having no other food but bread and water, and a pad of straw to lie upon. And before his release, he was obliged to take an oath, and give bond, that he would preach no more, but depart the kingdom in a month, and not return again (i).

In 1635, our Prelate was put into the great committee of trade, and the King's revenue, and shortly after was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, upon the death of Weston, Earl of Portland. But he sometimes fell into very warm disputes with Lord Cottington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is said to have taken all opportunities of imposing upon him (k). After having continued a year Commissioner of the

Treasury,

(i) Neal, as before, P. 232, 233. ( k) To this purpose a remarkable flory is related by Lord Clarendon, which we shall here insert. The Noble Historian introduces it with some observations on the warmth and hastinefs of Archbishop Laud's temper, who, he fays, 'never abated any thing of his feverity and rigour towards ' men of all conditions; or of the harpness of his language, and ex-' pressions, which was so natural to him, that he could not debate any thing without some commotion, when the argument was not of moment, nor bear contradiction in debate, even in the Council, where all · men are equally free, with that patience and temper that was necelfary; of which they who wished him not well, took many advantages, and would therefore contradict him, that he might be tranf-' ported with some incident passion; which, upon a short recollection, he was always forry for, and most rea-dily and heartily would make ac-knowledgment. No man fo wil-' lingly made unkind use of all those occasions as the Lord Cottington, who, being a mafter of temper, and of the most profound distinulation, knew too well how to lead him into a mittake, and then drive him into choler, and then expose him upon the matter, and the manner, to the judgment of the company; and he chose to do this most, when the King was present; and then he would dine with him the next day.

The King, who was excellively affected to hunting, and the sports of the field, had a great defire to make a great park for red, as well as fallow deer, between Richmond and 4 Hampton-court, where he had large · wastes of his own, and great parcels of wood, which made it very fit for the use he designed it to : but as fome parishes had commons in those waites, so many gentlemen and farmers had good houses, and good farms, intermingled with those waftes, of their own inheritance, or for their lives, or years; and without taking of them into the park, it could not be of the largenels, or for the ule propoled. His Majelly defired to purchase those lands, and was very willing to buy them upon higher terms than the people could fell them at to any body elfe, if they had occasion to · part with them; and thought it no unreasonable thing, upon those terms, to expect this from his subjects; and so he employed his own furveyor, and other of his Officers, to

Treasury, he procured the Lord-Treasurer's staff for his friend Dr. Juxon, now Bishop of London. Laud considered this as a great

\* treat with the owners, many whereof were his own tenants, whose farms

would at last expire.

The major part of the people were in a short time prevailed with, · but many very obstinately refused; and a gentleman, who had the best eftate, with a convenient house and gardens, would by no means part with it; and the King being as e great noise, as if the King would take away men's cstates at his own pleasure. The Bishop of London, who was Treasurer, and the Lord · Cottington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, were, from the first entera ing upon it, very averse from the delign, not only for the murmur of · the people, but because the purchase of the land, and the making a brick wall about fo large a parcel of ground, for it is near ten miles · about, would cost a greater fum of · money than they could cafily pro-· vide, or than they thought ought to · be facrificed to fuch an occasion: and the Lord Cottington, who was more folicited by the country peoople, and heard most of their murmurs, took the bufiness most to heart, and endeavoured by all the ways he could, and by frequent importunities, to divert his Majesty from purfuing it, and put all delays he could well do in the bargains · which were to be made; till the · King grew very angry with him, and told him, " he was refolved to go "through with it, and had already caused brick to be burned, and " much of the wall to be built upon " his own land:" upon which Cot-· tington thought fit to acquiesce.

· The building of the wall before · people confented to part with their · land, or their common, looked to them as if by degrees they should be shut out from both, and increased · the murmur and noise of the people · who were not concerned, as well as of them who were: and it was too near London not to be the common discourse. Archbishop Laud (who

defired exceedingly that the King should be possessed as much of the hearts of the people as was possible, at least that they should have no just cause to complain) meeting with it, resolved to speak with the King of it; which he did, and received fuch an answer from him, that he thought his Majesty rather not informed enough of the inconvenien-cies and mischiefs of the thing, than positively resolved not to desitt from it. Whereupon one day he took the Lord Cottington afide, (being informed that he difliked it, and, according to his natural custom, spake with great warmth against it,) and told him, "he should do very well " to give the King good counsel, and to withdraw him from a refolution, " in which his honour and justice " was fo much called in question." 'Cottington answered him very gravely, " that the thing defigned was very lawful, and he thought " the King resolved very well, fince " the place lay fo conveniently for his " winter exercise, and that he should 6 by it not be compelled to make fo " long journies, as he used to do, in " that scason of the year, for his sport, " and that no body ought to disfluade

" him from it." ' The Archbishop, instead of finding a concurrence from him, as he expected, feeing himfelf reproached upon the matter of his opinion, grew into much passion, telling him, " Such men as he would ruin the " King, and make him lofe the af-" fections of his subjects; that for his own part, as he had begun, so " he would go on to dissuade the "King from proceeding in fo ill a " counsel, and that he hoped it would " appear who had been his Counfel-lor." Cottington, glad to fee him ' fo foon hot, and refolved to inflame him more, very calmly replied to him, "that he thought a man could " not, with a good conscience, hinder " the King from pursuing his resolu-" tions, and that it could not but pro-" ceed from want of affection to his " person,

great advantage, and a matter of triumph, to the Church. takes notice in his Diary, that no Churchman had held this post fince Henry the Seventh's time. He adds, " I pray GOD blefs " him to carry it fo, that the Church may have honour, and the " King and the State service and contentment by it. And now " if the Church will not hold up themselves under GOD, I can do no more." But whatever pleasure this appointment of Juxon to be Lord-Treasurer gave Laud, it was beheld by others with very different emotions. Lord Clarendon tells us, that the putting the Treasurer's staff " into the hands of the Bishop of "London, a man fo unknown, that his name was scarce heard of " in the kingdom, who had been, within two years before, but a " private Chaplain to the King, and the President of a poor " College in Oxford, inflamed more men than were angry before, and no doubt did not only sharpen the edge of envy and " malice against the Archbishop, (who was the known architect " of this new fabric) but most unjustly indisposed many towards " the church itself; which they looked upon as the gulph ready " to swallow all the great offices, there being others in view, of " that robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the rest."

Among the many fevere perfecutions in which Archbishop Laud was concerned, and which were carried on at his infligation, those of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, made a great noise, and of which therefore we shall give some account. WILLIAM PRYNNE, Esq; Barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, in 1632, published a Piece, intitled, "Hystrio-mastyx: the players scourge and actors

" tragedy."

" person, and he was not sure that it " with the Lord Cottington, bitterly " might not be high treason." The other, upon the wildness of his difcourfe, in great anger asked him, Why? from whence he had re-ceived that doctrine?" He said, ' with the fame temper, " they who " did not wish the King's health, could not love him; and they who went about to hinder his taking re-" creation, which preferved his health, " might be thought, for ought he " knew, guilty of the highest crimes." · Upon which the Archbishop in great rage, and with many reproaches, left him, and either prefently, or upon the next opportunity, told the King, "That he now knew who was the " great Counsellor for making his " park, and that he did not wonder " that men durst not represent any arguments to the contrary, or let his " Majesty know how much he suf-" fered in it, when fuch principles in "Divinity, and law, were laid down to terrify them." And so he re-

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inveighing against him and his doctrine, mentioning him with all the fharp reproaches imaginable, and befeeching his Majefty that his counfel might not prevail with him, taking some pains to make his conclusions appear very false and ridi-

The King faid no more, but, " My Lord, you are deceived; Cot-" tington is to hard for you; upon " my word he hath not only diffuaded " me more, and given more reasons " against this business, than all the " men in England have done, but " hath really obstructed the work by " not doing his duty, as I commanded " him, for which I have been very " much displeased with him : you see "how unjustly your passion hath transported you." By which reprehension he found how much he had been abused, and resented it accordingly.'----Hift. of the rebellion, Vol. I. P. 99, 100, 101, 103. Edit. 8vo. 1712.

tragedy." This book, which was written against plays, masques, dancing, and other entertainments of that kind, gave great offence to the Court. Whitlocke informs us, that this Work was licensed by Archbishop Abbot's Chaplain: but " be-" ing against plays, and a reference in the table of the book to this effect, Women actors notorious whores, relating to some women actors mentioned in his book, as he affirmeth; it happened, that about fix weeks after this, the Queen acted a part in a Pastoral, at Somerset-House, and then the Archbishop Laud, and other Prelates, whom Prynne had angered, by some books of his against Arminianism, and against the jurisdiction of the Bishops, and by some prohibitions which he had es moved, and got to the High Commission Court; these Pre-14 lates, and their instruments, the next day after the Queen had acted her Pastoral, shewed Prynne's book against plays to the "King, and that place of it, Women actors notorious whores; and they informed the King and Queen, that Prynne had purpofely written this book against the Queen, and her Pastoral, whereas " it was published fix weeks before that Pastoral was acted (1)." However, Mr. Prynne was committed prisoner to the Tower of London; and, in 1633, he received the following fentence in the Star-Chamber; to pay a fine of five thousand pounds; to be expelled the University of Oxford, and the fociety of Lincoln's-Inn; to be degraded, and for ever difabled from exercifing his profession of the law; to stand in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside, and to lose both his ears, one in each place; to have his book publicly burnt before his face by the hands of the common hangman; and to fuffer perpetual imprisonment. fentence was executed with great rigour in May, 1634. However, during his confinement, in 1635, 1636, and 1637, he wrote and published several books, particularly one, intitled, "News "from Ipswich," in which he severely reslected on Archbishop Land, and some other Prelates. For this he was cited a second time into the Star-Chamber: whereupon he drew up an answer to the charge now brought against him, but could get no Council to fign it, the gentlemen of the long robe being unwilling to offend the Court. Mr. Prynne, therefore, petitioned the Court, that, according to antient precedent, he might put in his answer figned with his own hand; and declared, that he would abide by the censure of the Court, if he did not make good what was contained therein. But this was refused by the Court: having, therefore, no other remedy, he left his answer at the Star-Chamber-Office, figned with his own hand; but was nevertheless proceeded against pro confesso, as if he had confessed. Accordingly he was fentenced in the Star-Chamber, in June, 1637, to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, to lose the remainder of his ears in

<sup>(1)</sup> Memorials of the English affairs during the reign of K. Charles the First, P. 18. Edit. 1682.

the pillory, to be branded on both cheeks with the letters S. L. for a schissmatical libeller, and to be perpetually imprisoned in Caernaryon castle. This sentence was executed soon after (m).

Vol. IV. 7.

(m) WILLIAM PRYNNE was born at Swainswick in Somersetshire, in the year 1600; and educated at a grammar school in the city of Bath. He became a Commoner of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1616; and after taking a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1620, removed to Lincoln's-Inn, where he studied the law, and was made fucceffively Barrifter, Bencher, and Reader. At his first coming to that Inn, he is faid to have been a great admirer and follower of Dr. John Preston, an eminent Puritan, who was Lecturer there; and he published several books against what he thought the enormities of the age, & concerning the doctrine and discipline of the Church; and at length fell under the fevere profecutions which are above related. When, in consequence of his second fentence, he had been some time imprifoned in Caernarvon castle, he was removed to Mount Orgueil castle in the isle of Jersey, where he wrote several books. In November, 1640, an order was issued out by the House of Commons for his releasement from prison; and the same month he entered with great triumph into London. He was foon after elected a Member of Parliament for Newport in Cornwall, and opposed the Bishops, and especially Archbishop Laud, with great vigour both by his speeches and Writings. He was the chief manager of the Archbishop's trial; and it appeared by his behaviour on this occasion, that he had not forgotten how much he had fuffered by this Prelate's means.

In 1647, he was one of the Parliamentary visitors of the University of Oxford. During his sitting in the long Parliament, he was very zealous for the Presbyterian cause; and when the Independents began to gain the ascendant, shewed himself a warm opposer of them, and promoted the King's interest. He made a long speech in the House of Commons, concerning the satisfactorines of the King's answers to the propositions of peace; but two days after, was resuled entrance into the House by the

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army. Upon this, he became a bitter enemy to the army, and their
leader Cromwell; and attacked them
with great feverity in his Writings.
Defying Cromwell in a very open
manner, he was, on the first of July,
1650, committed close prisoner to
Dunster-castle in Somersetshire. He
thereupon insisted strongly upon
Magna Charta, and the liberty of
the subject; which, though now of
no great weight with Cromwell,
seems to have set him free.

In 1659, Mr. Prynne, as a secluded Member of the House of Commons, being restored to sit again, became instrumental in recalling King Charles the Second, in which he shewed great In 1660, he was chosen for zeal. Bath to fit in the healing Parliament; and after the refloration, made chief Keeper of his Majesty's records in the Tower, with a falary of 500l. per annum. He was again elected for Bath in 1661; and, in July that year, he published a paper against a new intended bill " for governing and re-" forming corporations;" of which, being discovered to be the Author, he was obliged to beg pardon of the House, in order to escape further profecution. He died at his chambers in Lincoln's-Inn, on the 24th of October, 1669, and was interred under the chapel there.

The Writings of Mr. Prynne are extremely numerous; and, indeed, more numerous than valuable. Many of them are enumerated by Anthony Wood, in the Athenae Oxonienses. He gave his Works bound up toge . ther, in forty Volumes in Folio and Quarto, to the Library of Lincoln's-Inn. His greatest Work goes under the title of RECORDS, in three Volumes, Folio; another is called, PAR-LIAMENTARY WRITS, in four Parts. 4to. He likewise published Sir Robert Cotton's abridgement of the Tower Records, withamendments and additions, Folio; and observations on the fourth part of Coke's Institutes, Folio.

In 1633, Dr. John Bastwick, a physician, printed in Holland a treatife, entitled, " Elenchus Religionis Papisticæ," with an appendix, called " Flagellum Pontificis et Episcoporum Latia-" lium;" i.e. A Confutation of Popery, and a Scourge for the Pope and the Latin Bishops. This Work, which was dispersed in London, and other parts of England, was in effect an answer to one Short, a Papist, who maintained the mass, the Papal supremacy, and the Romish religion. And the Author, in his epistle to the reader, declared, that he intended nothing against fuch Bishops, as acknowledged their authority from Kings and Emperors. But it feems, as Fuller observes, "he confined not his character so to the Latin Bishops beyond the Alps, but that our English Prelates counted themselves touched therein. Dr. Bastwick, therefore, being cited before the High Commission Court for writing this book, in 1633, was fined a thousand pounds, fentenced to be excommunicated, debarred his practice of physic, his books to be burnt, to pay costs of suit, and to remain in prifon till he made a recantation. In pursuance of this sentence, he was committed two years to the Gate-house; and during his confinement there, he wrote Apologeticus ad Prafules Anglicanos, &c. An Apology for himself, addressed to the Bishops, and another book called the New Litany, wherein he greatly reflected upon the Bishops, taxed them with an inclination to Popery, and exclaimed against the severity and injustice of the High Commission Court's proceedings against him. For these books he was again cited to appear in the Star-Chamber, at the same time with Prynne and Burton: he drew up an answer to the charge against him, but no Council would sign it, and the Court would not receive it without. However, after having earnestly entreated them to receive it, he added, " If your Honours shall refuse it, " then I protest before men and Angels this day, that I will put " this answer of mine in Roman buff, (i. e. in Latin) and fend it " through the whole Christian world, that all men may see my " innocency, and your illegal proceedings, and this I will do if I " die for it;" and then he threw it into the Court. Nevertheless, sentence was passed on him the same day, the 14th of June, 1637, that he should pay a fine of five thousand pounds, stand in the pillory in the Palace-yard, Westminster, and there lose his ears, and suffer perpetual imprisonment in a remote part of the kingdom. The sentence was rigorously executed, and he was fent prisoner to Launceston castle in Cornwall, but was afterwards removed to St. Mary's castle in the isle of Scilly. His wife was not permitted to have any access to him, though she often petitioned for that purpose, nor was even suffered to set foot in the island in which he was confined (n). In

( n ) JOHN BASTWICK was born Cambridge, in the year 1614, where

at Writtle in Esfex, in the year 1593. he continued but a short time; and He was entered in Emmanuel College, leaving that University without a de-

In 1636, Mr. Henry Burton, Rector of St. Matthew's church in Friday-street, London, having preached two fermons in his own church, on the 5th of November, in which he had reflected on the Bishops, and pointed out several innovations lately introduced by them into the public worship, he was cited to appear before one of the Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, who tendered him the oath ex officio, to answer to certain articles prefented to him. But Mr. Burton refused to take the oath; and instead of answering, appealed to the King. However, notwithflanding his appeal, a special High Commission Court being called foon after at Doctors-Commons, he was suspended by them in his absence, both from his office and Benefice. Upon this, he thought fit to conceal himself in his own house: and in that time published his two fermons, with an apology to justify his appeal. But on the first of February, a Serjeant at Arms, with feveral Pursuivants, and other armed Officers, by virtue of a warrant from the Star-Chamber, broke open his doors, fearched his study, and carried him to prison; from whence the next day, by an order from the Privy Council, he was conveyed to the Fleet, and there kept feveral weeks close prisoner. During his confinement in this place, he wrote an Epistle to his Mijesty, another to the Judges, and " A Letter to the true-hearted Nobi-" lity;" for which, as well as for his two fermons before-mentioned, he was proceeded against in the Star-Chamber as a sedi-2 M 2

space of nine years, and at Padua was made Doctor of physic. Upon his return to England, he settled at Colchester, where he practifed physic for fome time. At length he was profecuted in the High Commission Court for the treatife before-mentioned, which was written in very good Latin. And having suffered the rigorous sentence which was paffed on him, and been confined in the ifle of Scilly about three years, it was ordered by the House of Commons, that he should be brought back to London. Accordingly, Dr. Bastwick landed at Dover on the 4th of December, 1640. He had his charges borne all the way to London, was loaded with prefents, and received every where by vast numbers of people with great acclama-tions of joy; particularly before he came to Southwark, he was met by great crowds of Londoners, with boughs and flowers in their hands, and conducted by them to his lodging in the city: for the people univerfally tellified their indignation at the cruelty supposed that he died at Colchetter. and injustice with which he had been

gree, he travelled beyond fea for the treated, and expressed the greatest joy at his deliverance. On the 21st of February following, the House of Commons voted, That the feveral proceed-ings against Dr. Bastwick were illegal, unjust, and against the liberty of the subject; that the sentence passed upon him should be reversed, his fine be remitted, and he be restored to his profession; and that, for reparation of his losses, he ought to have 50001, out of the estates of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the High Commissioners, and those Lords who had voted against him in the Star-Chamber. But the enfuing confusion of the times prevented the payment of the money. However, to make him fome amends, we find that in 1644, his wife had an allowance ordered for her own, and her husband's maintenance. And in 1648, there was a debate in the House of Commons about ordinances for him to have reparation for the illegal fentence against him in the Star-Chamber. What became of Dr. Baltwick afterwards, does not appear; but it is

tious libeller (a). And he received sentence, at the same time with Prynne and Bastwick, that he should pay a fine of five thousand pounds; be deprived of his ecclesiastical Benefice, degraded from his ministerial function, and degrees in the Univerfity; be fet on the pillory, and have both his ears cut off there : and be confined to perpetual imprisonment in Lancaster castle. and be debarred the access of his wife, or any other, except his This fenkeeper, and denied the use of pen, ink, and paper. tence was executed with extreme severity; in particular, his ears were cut off with circumstances of great barbarity; but he endured all his fufferings with the utmost fortitude ( p ).

These prosecutions were manifestly illegal, and equally cruel and oppressive: and such barbarous and unjust treatment of men of each of the three liberal professions of Law, Physic, and Divinity, naturally inflamed the people against all who were concerned in these proceedings, and particularly against Archbishop Laud, who was confidered as the chief author of all the fufferings of these men .--- Since the Revolution, we have had no profecutions of this kind equally oppressive and cruel with these;

though

( o ) It appears that there were fome thoughts at first of proceeding against Baftwick and Burton for high treason, if it could have been brought to hear. But as they could find nothing in their books whereon to ground an indictment for treason, they were obliged to content themselves with proceeding against them in the Star-Chamber. And Archbishop Laud afterwards magnified the CLEMENCY with which they were treated, " in a Court of " MERCY, as well as justice."

(p) HENRY BURTON was born at Birdfall in Yorkshire, in the year 1579, and educated at St. John College in Cambridge, where he took the degrees in Arts. In 1612, he was in-corporated Master of Arts at Oxford. He took afterwards his degree of Bachelor of Divinity. The first employment he had, was that of tutor to the fons of Robert Lord Carey, afterwards Earl of Monmouth. He was afterwards made Clerk of the closet to Prince Henry; and after his death to Prince Charles. But foon after the accession of the latter to the Throne, Mr. Burton appears to have been out of favour at Court. About the year 1625, he was presented to the Rectory of St. Matthews in Friday-street, Lon-

Living about eleven years, he fell under those severe prosecutions in the Star-Chamber, which are mentioned

When he had been about twelve weeks confined in Lancaster castie, he was removed by an order of Council to Cornet-castle, in the isle of Guernfey, where he remained a close prifoner almost three years. But on November the 7th, 1640, his wife, Sarah Burton, presented a petition to the House of Commons, complaining of the severe sentence of the court of Star-Chamber against her husband, and also that by a particular order she was not to be permitted to come and visit him. Whereupon the House ordered, that her husband should be forthwith feat for to London; and accordingly Mr. Burton, and Mr. Prynne, (who was now also released from his confinement in the isle of Jersey), landed at the same time at Dartmouth, on the 22d of November, where they were received and entertained with extraordinary demonstrations of affection and esteem; attended by a great conflux of people, and their charges not only borne, but liberal prefents given them. During their whole journey, great numbers met them at don, And when he had held this their entrance into all towns, and

though there have been, in late times, persons prosecuted for what have been termed seditious libels, with more rigour than perhaps they ought to have been, in a country which boasts of the Liberty of the Press. And, indeed, it were greatly to be wished, that the mode of prosecution in the case of seditious libels, or what Ministers of State and time-serving Lawyers may think proper to sile so, was more thoroughly purged from the dregs of the Star-Chamber, and more agreeable to that free constitution of Government, which is established in this kingdom.

In 1636, Archbishop Laud, as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, invited the King and Queen, together with the Prince Elector Palatine and his brother, to an academical entertainment there. At Christ-Church the King was received with an oration by the University Orator, and the University presented his Majesty, agreeable to their custom, with a pair of gloves, the Queen with an English Bible, the Prince Elector with Hooker's books of Ecclefiattical Polity, and his brother Prince Rupert with an English translation of Cæsar's Commentaries. His Majesty was lodged in Christ-Church College, in the great hall of which he was entertained, together with the Queen, the two Princes, and the rest of the Court, with an English Comedy, intitled, " Pas-" fions calmed, or the fettling of the floating islands." next morning, after a fermon, the Archbishop, as Chancellor, called a Convocation, in which he admitted the Prince Elector, his brother Prince Rupert, and many of the chief Nobility, to the degree of Masters of Arts. After which, he attended the King and Queen to St. John's College, where in the new gallery, which was of his own building, he entertained the King and Queen,

waited upon them out, with acclamations of joy. When they came near London, multitudes of people of fe-. veral conditions, some on horseback, others on foot, met them fome miles from the town; and they came into the city attended by above ten thoufand persons, the people every where expressing great joy for their deli-verance and return. On the fifth of December, Mr. Burton presented a petition to the House of Commons, wherein he fet forth his fufferings : in confequence of which, the House resolved, on the 12th of March following, that the suspending of him, the breaking open his house, and arrefting him without any cause shewn, and his imprisonment thereupon, and the fearthing and feizing of his books and papers, was against law, and the liberty of the subject; and that he ought to have reparation and recompence, for the damages fullained by

those proceedings. And on the 24th of the same month, it was also further refolved, that the fentence against him was illegal, and ought to be reversed; that he should be freed from the fine of five thousand pounds, and from imprisonment, and be reflored to his degrees in the University, Orders in the Ministry, and to his ecclehaltical Benefice in Friday-street, London. And also have recompence for his imprisonment, and for the loss of his ears; which, on the 20th of April, they voted to be fix thousand pounds. But the enfuing confusions in the kingdom, prevented his re-ceiving that fum; however, in 1642, he was reftored to his Living of St. Matthew's. Mr. Burton died in the beginning of the year 1648. He published many other theological tracts, besides those for which he was profecuted in the Star - ChamQueen, and the two Princes, with all the Lords and Ladies of the Court. The Archbishop had provided on this occasion a very elegant and sumptuous dinner; after which he entertained his principal guests with a "pleasant Comedy," which was exhibited in the public hall. His Royal and Noble Guests then honoured him with their company to supper; after which he entertained them with another Comedy, called "The Royal Slave." The next morning the Court removed; but that day the Archbishop entertained all the heads of houses at a sprendid feast; orders being given at his departure, says Heylin, that the three Comedies should be acted again for the content and satisfaction

of the University (q).

Archbishop Laud was a great enemy to the Liberty of the Press: for he could very ill bear the freedom with which his proceedings and character, and the arbitrary measures of the Court, were treated in the publications of his time. He, therefore, procured a decree to be made in the Star-Chamber, in 1637, which ordained, that the number of printers should be limited; and that those who were allowed, should not from thenceforth print any book or books of Divinity, Law, Physic, Philosophy, or Poetry, till the faid books should be licensed, either by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London for the time being, or by their appointment, or otherwise by the Chan-cellors or Vice-Chancellors of the Universities, upon pain of the printer's being disabled from his profession for the future, and further profecuted in the Star-Chamber, or High Commission Court. Every merchant or bookseller who should import any printed books from abroad, was to deliver a catalogue of them to the Archbishop or Bishop of London; and none were to be delivered, or exposed to sale, till these Prelates, or their Chaplains, had read and approved them. It was also further ordained, that no person should cause to be printed beyond sea any English book or books, whether formerly printed or not; nor was any book to be re-printed, though formerly licensed, without a new licence (r).

This arbitrary and illegal restraint of the Press, which Heylin himself attributes to Laud, and indeed mentions with approbation, was not only subversive of liberty, but of the most pernicious tendency with respect to the progress of truth, and the advancement of science. The freedom of the Press is so closely and necessarily connected with every branch of civil liberty, that it cannot be too tenaciously maintained; nor can we be too vigilant in guarding against, or too zealous in opposing, every attempt, by whomsoever made, to deprive us of this invaluable

advantage (s).

The

<sup>( 9 )</sup> Life of Archbishop Laud, P. 318, 319. ( r ) Heylin, P. 362, 363.

<sup>(</sup>s) Mr. Hume has made fome obfervations respecting the importance of the Liberty of the Press, which do

The extreme rigour with which a conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the church was now enforced, occasioned great numbers, both of Clergy and Laity, to quit the kingdom, many of whom went to New England. But this displeasing the Court and the Prelates, a proclamation was issued out on the 30th of April, 1637, to the following purpose. "The King being informed, that great numbers of his subjects are yearly transported into New England, with their families and whole estates, that they may be out of the reach of ecclesiastical authority; his Majesty therefore commands that his Officers of the several ports should suffer none to pass, without licence from the Commissioners of the Plantations, and a testimonial from their Minister, of their conformity to the orders and discipline

him honour. 44 It is fufficiently known (fays this ingenious Writer) that despotic power would soon steal in upon us, were we not extreme watchful to prevent its progress; and were there not an easy method of conveying the alarm from one end of the kingdom to the other. The spirit of the people must frequently be roused to curb the ambition of the Court; and the dread of roufing this spirit must be employed to prevent that ambition. Nothing is so effec-tual to this purpose as the Liberty of the Prefs, by which all the learning, wit, and genius of the nation, may be employed on the fide of Liberty, and every one be animated to its defence. As long, therefore, as the Republican part of our Government can maintain itself against the Monarchical, it must be extreme jealous of the Liberty of the Prefs, as of the utmost importance to its preservation.

" The Liberty of the Press is attended with fo few inconveniencies, that it may be claimed as the common right of mankind, and ought to be indulged them almost in every Government, except the ecclefiaffical, to which indeed it would be fatal. We need not dread from this Liberty any fuch ill consequences as sollowed from the harangues of the popular Demagogues of Athens, and Tribunes of Rome. A man reads a book, or pamphlet, alone, and coolly. There is none prefent from whom he can catch the passion by contagion. He is not hurried away by the force and

energy of action. And should he be wrought up to never fo feditious a humour, there is no violent refolution presented to him, by which he can immediately vent his pallion. The Liberty of the Press, therefore, however abused, can scarce ever excite popular tumults or rebellion. And as to those murmurs, or secret difcontents, it may occasion, it is better they should get vent in words, that they may come to the knowledge of the Magistrate before it be too late, in order to his providing a remedy against them. Mankind, it is true, have always a greater propension to believe what is faid to the difadvantage of their governors, than the contrary; but this inclination is inseparable from them, whether they have Liberty or not. A whisper may fly as quick, and be as pernicious as a pamphlet; nay, it will be more pernicious, where men are not accustorned to think freely, or diffinguish between truth and fallehood.

"It is a very comfortable reflection to the lovers of Liberty, that this peculiar privilege of Britain is of a kind that cannot easily be wretted from us, but must last as long as our Government remains in any degree free and independent. It is seldom that Liberty of any kind is lost all at once. Slavery has so frightful an aspect to men accustomed to Freedom, that it must steal in upon them by degrees, and must disguise itself in a thousand shapes, in order to be received. But if the Liberty of the

" of the church (t)." Dr. Heylin tells us, that in order to prevent the ill consequences which might arise from so many perfons going to New England, who were diffatisfied with the ecclefiaftical establishment, " it was once under consultation of the chief physicians, who were to take especial care of the Church's bealth, to fend a Bishop over to them for their better government; and back him with some forces to compel, if he were " not otherwise able to persuade obedience. But this design was strangled in the first conception, by the violent breakings out of the troubles in Scotland (u)." In much later times some of our Right Reverend Physicians have been very desirous of prescribing to the inhabitants of New England; but the people there feem now to be as little disposed to ecclesiastical physic administered by force, as they were in the days of Laud.

At the beginning of the year 1639, our Archbishop wrote a letter to his Suffragan Bishops, in which he exhorted them and their Clergy to contribute liberally towards the raising of the army which the King was affembling, in order to bring the Scots to obedience. For almost that whole nation had united together, in a vigorous opposition to episcopal authority, and the imposition of a Liturgy. But all Charles's measures for reducing the Scots were very unfuccessful. Laud was generally confidered as the chief author of the imprudent and violent steps which had been taken to compel the Scots to receive the Liturgy. And, therefore, when some news arrived from Scotland of the ill succefs of the King's affairs there, Archibald Armstrong, the King's fool, meeting the Archbishop going to the Council, says to him, " Whea's Feule now? Does not your Grace hear the news from " Striveling about the Liturgy?" But Laud, not being of the most forgiving disposition, complained of this usage to the Council; and Archibald was ordered to have his coat pulled

Press ever be loft, it must be lost at P. 300. Mr. Neale says, " This was once. The general laws against fedition and libelling are at prefent as thong as they possibly can be made. Nothing can impose a farther restraint, but either the Imprimatur upon the Prefs, or the giving very large diferetionary powers to the Court to punish whatever displeases them. But these conceifions would be fuch a bare-faced violation of Liberty, that they will probably be the last efforts of a despotic Government. We may consiude, that THE LIBERTY OF BRI-TAIN IS CONE FOR EVER, WHEN THESE ATTEMPTS SHALL SUC-CZED."

( : ) Hift, of the Furitans, Vol. II.

" a degree of feverity hardly to be " parallelled in the Christian world. When the edict of Nantes was re-" voked, the French King allowed " his Protestant subjects a convenient " time to dispose of their effects and " leave the kingdom; but our Pro-" testant Archbishop will neither let " the Puritans live peaceably at home, " nor take fanctuary in foreign coun-" tries; a conduct hardly confiltent " with the laws of humanity, much " less with the character of a Chris-" tian Bishop."

( u ) Life of Archbishop Laud, P.

over his ears, to be discharged the King's service, and banished

the Court ( w).

As Archbishop Laud had been a leading man in the most offensive measures of King Charles's Government, he was extremely obnoxious to the generality of the people, who often testified their dislike of him in a very open and public manner. And Whitlocke informs us, that on the 9th of May, 1640, a paper was posted up at the Old Exchange, exhorting the apprentices to rise, and sack the Archbishop's house at Lambeth on the Monday following; and on that night about sive hundred beset his palace: but the Archbishop having had notice of the paper, provided for his desence, so that they could make no entrance. However, a sew days after some of the persons concerned were taken, and tried for high-treason, upon the statute of the 25th of Edw. III. for levying war against the King, because they had a drum which beat up before them. The Judges resolved it to be treason; and one of their Captains, a cobler, was hanged, drawn, and quartered for it, and his limbs set on London

bridge (x).

But this feverity only inflamed the people the more against the Archbishop; and shortly after he felt the effects of the public indignation, in an attack which he was unable to refift. On Friday the 18th of December, 1640, Denzil Hollis, second son of John, Earl of Clare, by order of the House of Commons, impeached Archbishop Laud of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors, at the bar of the House of Lords; and acquainted their Lordships, that the Commons would make proof of their charge against him in convenient time, and defired that in the mean while he might be committed to fafe custody. Whereupon his Grace was ordered to withdraw; but before he did so, he spoke to this effect, That he was sorry for the offence which had been taken against him, but desired their Lordships to look upon the whole course of his life; which, he said, was such, that he did verily persuade himself, not one man in the House of Commons did believe in his heart that he was a traitor. Here he was interrupted by the Earl of Essex, who said, it was a fcandal upon the whole House of Commons, to suppose that they should charge him with so high a crime, of which themselves did not believe him guilty. The Archbishop then defired to be proceeded against in the antient parliamentary way: to which the Lord Say answered, he must not prescribe to them how they should proceed. His Grace then withdrew, and was foon after called in again to the bar, where he was delivered to the Gentleman-Usher of the Black Rod, to be kept in safe custody, till the House of Commons should proceed on their im-Vol. IV. 7. reachment. 2 N

<sup>(</sup>w) Hist of the Puritans, Vol. II. Appendix to Welwood's Memoirs, P. 322. See the Order of Council P. 278.

against Archibald the King's fool, for affronting Archbishop Laud, in the P. 33.

peachment. But at the Archbishop's request, he was permitted to go to Lambeth, attended by Mr. Maxwell, the Gentleman-Usher, to setch some papers that were necessary for his desence; and the Lords ordered, that no Member of their House should wish thim without leave of the House. To complete the missortunes of Laud, a strong remonstrance had been by this time drawn up, both against him and the Earl of Strassord, by the Scottish Commissioners, as being the two main agents who had endeavoured to subvert the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of Scotland. That against Laud is very strong, and seems to be well supported, and amounted to at least a proof, that he acted as something more than the Metropolitan of Scotland (y).

On Friday the 26th of February, 1640-1, fourteen articles of impeachment against the Archbishop were brought up from the House of Commons to the Lords by Sir Henry Vane the younger. In these articles it was alledged against him, That he had traiteroufly endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws, and introduce an arbitrary Government; and advised his Majesty, that he might levy money on his subjects without consent of Parliament, and affirmed, that this was warrantable by the law of GOD. That he had advised and procured divers fermons and discourses to be made and published, denying the authority of Parliaments, and the force of the laws, and establishing an absolute power, not only in the King, but himself, and other Bishops, above and against the law. That by threats and promises to the Judges, and other Ministers of justice, he had perverted the course of justice, so that the King's subjects had been deprived of their rights, and fubjected to his tyrannical will. That he had caused divers Canons to be composed, containing matters contrary to the King's prerogative, and the laws of this kingdom, and effablishing an unlawful authority in himself and his successors. That he affumed a Papal and tyrannical power in matters ecclefiallical and temporal, in derogation of the King's supremacy; and denied his ecclefiastical jurisdiction to be derived from the Crown. That he endeavoured to subvert the true religion, and introduce Popish superstition. That he had enjoined divers Popith ceremonies, and punished those who opposed the same with corporal punishments; and vexed others with ecclesiastical cenfures and excommunications, contrary to law. That he had abrogated the privileges granted to the French and Dutch Churches in this kingdom, endeavouring to cause discord between the Church of England, and other reformed Churches. That he had laboured to introduce divers Popish innovations into the kingdom of Scotland, in order to create a war between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and had advised his Majesty to fubdue the Scots by force of arms, and enforced the Clergy of this kingdom to contribute towards that war; and that when his Majelty

Majesty had made a pacification, he censured it as dishonourable, and so incensed his Majesty, that he entered into an offensive war against the Scots. And that to prevent his being questioned for his said traiterous proceedings, he had endeavoured to subvert the rights of Parliament, and incense his Majesty against them; and laboured to cause divisions between his Majesty and his people, to the ruin of himself, and his kingdoms.

In a short answer which the Archbishop made, after having heard these articles read, he observed to the Lords, That although there was a heavy charge against him, it was apparent to their Lordships, that it was but in generals, which indeed made a great noise, but afforded no proof: and when they should descend to particulars, he did not doubt but his innocence would furnish him with a sufficient answer to what he should be charged with.

The Archbishop had now been ten weeks confined in the house of Maxwell, Gentleman-Usher of the Black Rod ( 2); but three days after the articles were exhibited against him, he was fent to the Tower. On his way thither, the people gathered about his coach in great numbers, and went along with him, using much reproachful language against him, till he entered the Tower gate. In March and April, 1641, the House of Commons ordered him, jointly with all those who had passed sentence in the Star-Chamber against Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, to make satisfaction and reparation to them for the damages they had fuftained by their fentence and imprisonment. He was also fined twenty thousand pounds for his proceedings in the convocation held in 1640, in which fundry Canons had been made, which the House of Commons voted did contain in them " many matters " contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws " and statutes of this Realm, to the rights of Parliament, to the " property and liberty of the subject, and matters tending to fe-" dition, and of dangerous consequence (a)."

In June, 1641, Archbishop Laud refigned the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford. And on the 23d of October following, the House of Lords sequestered his archiepiscopal jurisdiction, putting it into the hands of his inferior Officers; and enjoined, that he should give no Benefice which was in his disposal, without first presenting to the House the names of such persons

(z) Dr. Heylin tells us, that during the time of his confinement at Maxwell's, "he gained to much on "the good opinion of the gentlewomman of the house, that she reported him to some of her godisps, to be one of the goodest men, and most

paffive obedience and non-refifance was strongly inculcated. And in an oath which they obliged all the Clergy to take, they swore, among other things, that they would never give their consent to after the government of the church by Archbithops, Bithops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c. as it stood then established. But the absurdity of obliging men to swear to an electera, was too striking to escape ridicule.

<sup>&</sup>quot; one of the goodest men, and most pious fouls, but withal one of the filliest fellows to hold talk with a Lady, that ever she met within all her life."---Life, P. 465.

<sup>(</sup>a) In these Canons the dostrine of ridicule.

fons as he nominated to it, to be approved of by the House before collation or inflitution. On the 20th of January, 1641-2, the Lords ordered the ordnance and arms which he had at Lambeth-palace to be taken away by the Sheriffs of London (b). And before the conclusion of that year, in pursuance of a resolution of Parliament, all the rents and profits of his Archbishopric were sequestered for the use of the Commonwealth. He afterwards petitioned the House for an allowance for his maintenance, but could not obtain an order for that purpose; nor even any part of above two hundred pounds worth of his own wood and coal at Lambeth, for his use in the Tower. And on the 9th of May, 1643, his goods and books in Lambeth-house were seized, and the goods fold for scarcely the third part of their value. This was undoubtedly very fevere, and indeed very unjust treatment, as he had not yet been brought to any trial, nor legally convicted of any crime.

Shortly after Mr. Prynne, by a warrant from the House of Commons, came and fearched the Archbishop's room for papers, and even examined his pockets; taking away his Diary (f), and private devotions, and twenty-one bundles of paper which he had prepared for his defence. And a few days after all the Temporalities of his Archbishopric were sequestered to the Parliament, and he was fuspended from his office and Benefice, and from all

jurisdiction whatsoever.

The Archbishop had now been upwards of three years confined in the Tower, during which time the differences between Charles and his Parliament had openly broke out into a civil war, which had been attended with various success. No man had more promoted the arbitrary and imprudent measures of the King, which had brought on this national calamity, than Laud. And on the 12th of March, 1643-4, he was brought to his trial, which

lasted twenty days.

Previous to his trial, he received a copy of ten additional articles which were exhibited against him, besides those which have been already mentioned. One of these new articles was, That for ten years past he had endeavoured to advance the power of the Council-table, the Canons of the church, and the King's prerogative, above the laws of the Realm; and particularly he had faid at the Council-table, "That as long as he fat there, he would " make them know an order of that board should be of equal " force with an Act of Parliament." And at another time, "That he hoped e're long the Canons of the church, and the "King's prerogative, should be of as great power as an Act of

(f) This was some time after pub-

" Parliament."

<sup>(</sup>b) The Archbishop says himself, that he had as many arms as flood him lifted; the doing which, in his lifein above three hundred pounds. See time, was undoubtedly a very ungence his own account of his troubles, as rous procedure. published by Wharton, P. 187.

"Parliament." And at another time, "That those who would not yield to the King's power, he would crush them to pieces."

The managers for the House of Commons of the evidence against the Archbishop, were Serjeant Wilde, Mr. Brown, Mr. Maynard, Mr. Nicholas, and Mr. Hill; and Mr. Prynne acted as Solicitor on this occasion; and the resentment which he retained against the Archbishop, for what he had suffered by his means, stimulated him to act against him with more alacrity, than fairness or candour. The Archbishop's Counsel were, Mr. Hearne,

Mr. Chute, Mr. Hales, and Mr. Gerrard.

The proceedings against the Archbishop were not carried on in that fair and equitable manner which might justly have been expected: fome of the charges against him were very indifferently supported; and much of the evidence against him was of a very trifling and infignificant nature. It sufficiently appeared, however, from the evidence which was produced, that he had laboured to extend the Royal prerogative, and the power of himself and the other Prelates, to a degree which was utterly inconfistent with the liberties of the people. It appeared, that he had been very active in enforcing the illegal claim of ship-money; that he had committed persons to prison, and punished them, without law (c); and that he had been guilty of many arbitrary and illegal actions. But as he had done many things of this fort as a Member of the Council, and to which the rest had affented, he often pleaded, that it was unfair to charge him with what was done by the whole Council-board; though it was fufficiently apparent, that he was the most active Member in proceedings of this kind. And if this plea were admitted, it would always be impracticable to bring a wicked Minister of State to justice, for any proceedings in the Privy Council to which the rest concurred, however arbitrary, oppressive, or illegal. The Archbishop made the same plea with respect to his proceedings in the Star-Chamber, and High Commission Court. But it may be here observed, that it would not be thought a proper justification of criminals of an inferior order, in any court of justice, if they were to alledge, that there were other persons accomplices with them in the crimes with which they were accused.

The Archbishop defended himself, through the whole of his trial, with uncommon eloquence, spirit, and acuteness, and with extraordinary presence of mind. Prynne himself says, that "he "made as full, as gallant, as pithy a defence of so bad a cause, and spake as much for himself, as was possible for the wit of

"man to invent; and that with much art, sophistry, vivacity, oratory, audacity and confidence, without the least blush or ac-

" knowledgment of guilt in any thing (d)."

Laud's

<sup>(</sup>c) Vid. Prynne's Hist. of the trial and condemnation of Archbishop Laud, P. 166, 188, 387, 388. (d) Hist. of the trial, P. 46c.

Laud's Counsel, who deferred what they had to say in his behalf till the close of the trial, then reduced the several articles against him to three general charges. 1. An endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of the Realm; and, instead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government, against law. 2. An endeavour to subvert the true religion by law established; and, instead thereof, to set up Popish superstition and idolatry. 3. That he had laboured to subvert the rights of Parliament, and the antient course of parliamentary proceedings, and by false and malicious flanders to incense the King against Parliaments (e). They then endeavoured to shew, that if these several charges brought against the Archbishop were admitted to be true, it did not amount to treason, by any established law of the kingdom. This justification of Laud by his Counsel, as to the matter of law, has been generally esteemed a good one; and it probably might be fo. This, however, we must observe, that it appears a great defect in the laws of a free and limited Government, that an attempt to subvert that constitution and mode of Government, should not be judicially deemed a capital offence, and punishable as fuch. For in a just and political sense, the man who endeavours to enflave his countrymen, to deprive them of their natural and legal rights and privileges, and instead of a free constitution of Government, to introduce one that is arbitrary and despotic; such a man is undoubtedly guilty of as high a crime, and is as much a traitor to his country, as he who attempts to deprive the Prince of the Crown, and ought to be punished with equal severity.

Though the whole of the evidence and the pleadings against the Archbishop was ended, and he had concluded his defence, the House of Peers adjourned, without either acquitting, or proceeding to give judgment against him. And soon after it was determined by the Commons to proceed against him by bill of attainder; " because (says Whitlocke) they perceived the Lords " not forward to give judgement for treason against him (f)." Accordingly an ordinance for his attainder being read in the House of Commons on the 13th of November, it passed on the 16th, and was immediately fent up to the Lords. There it fluck for fome time, but was at length passed on the 4th of January, 1644-5, in a very thin House. By this ordinance he was condemned to fuffer death as in cases of high treason; but upon his repeated petition, the fentence was altered to beheading, which he suffered with great sirmness, on the 10th of January, on a scaffold erected upon Tower-hill, being then in the seventy-second

year

<sup>(</sup>e) See the Hist. of the troubles and trial of Archbishop Laud, written by himself, and published by Hen. Wharton, P. 423, 424. (f) Memorials, P. 105.

year of his age (g). He was buried in the church of Allhallows Barking, London; but his remains being afterwards taken up, were deposited in the chapel of St. John's College in Oxford.

Archbishop LAUD was in his person of a low stature, but well and strongly made, and of a ruddy and chearful countenance. He was undoubtedly a man of considerable learning and abilities; but was, notwithstanding, in many respects, extremely weak and superstitious (b). He was also of a very warm, hasty,

(g) The very ingenious Author of the Rambler, in his poem, entitled, "The Vanity of Human Wishes," has the following lines:

"Nor deem, when learning her last prize bestows

"The glitt'ring eminence exempt from foes;

" See where the vulgar 'scape, despis'd or aw'd,

4 Rebellion's vengeful talons feize on LAUD.

" From meaner minds, tho' finaller fines content

"The plunder'd palace, or fequefter'd

" Mark'd out by dangerous parts he meets the shock,

" And fatal learning leads him to the

" Around his tomb let art and genius weep,

"But hear his death, ye blockheads, hear and fleep."

We have the highest esteem for the talents, the writings, and the character of Dr. Johnson. But we are notwithstanding of opinion, that in these lines he has not imputed the death of Laud to the real causes. It is on the contrary very evident, as we apprehend, that it was the activity of that Prelate in premoting arbitrary meafures of Government, his abfurd zeal for trifling ceremonies, his violent and unjust proceedings in the Star-Chamber, and High Commission Courts, and other particulars of this kind which brought him to the block; and that it is not by any means his genius or his learning, to which his untimely end can with propriety be attributed.

(b) Of this his Diary affords very pregnant inflances, fome of which we shall select for the entertainment of the reader. He was particularly attentive to his dreams, many of which he hath recorded with great care and exactness. The following passages are taken from the Edition of his Diary, published by Hen. Whatton, in 1695.

' 1623. Dec. 14. Sunday night, I did dream that the Lord Keeper was dead; that I passed by one of his men, that was about a monument for him: that I heard him fay, his lower lip was infinitely swelled and fallen, and he rotten already. This dream did trouble me.'

6 1625. July 3. Sunday, in my fleep 6 his Majesty King James appeared to 6 me. I saw him only passing by 6 swiftly. He was of a pleasant and 6 serene countenance. In passing he 6 saw me, beckoned to me, smiled, and 6 was immediately withdrawn from 6 my sight.

Aug. 21. That night, in my fleep,
it feemed to me, that the Duke of
Buckingham came into bed to me;
where he behaved himfelf with
great kindnefs towards me, after
that relt, wherewith wearied perfons are wont to folace themfelves.
Many also feemed to me to enter
thechamber, who saw this.

Not long before, I dreamed that I faw the Dutchess of Buckingham, that excellent Lady, at first very much perplexed about her husband, but afterwards chearful, and rejoicing, that she was freed from the fear of abortion, so that in due time the might be again a mother.

Sept. 4. Sunday. The night following I was very much troubled and passionate temper, and of a disposition somewhat vindictive; but, in other respects, his private life appears to have been free from reproach; though we can find in his actions but very sew evidences of that IMMENSE VIRTUE, which Lord Clarendon attributes to him. He was of very arbitrary principles both in Church and State; extremely active in the promotion of the most illegal and despotic measures of Government; and inclined to very severe methods in the ecclesiastical courts, especially against the Puritans, and all who made any opposition to the doctrines or ceremonies established by authority. As to his theological principles, though he could not with propriety be termed a Papist, it is nevertheless certain, that he was a great favourer of many of the doctrines maintained by the Church of Rome; and that the religion which he laboured to establish, partook largely of the nature and genius of Popery. Though he would not probably

in my dreams. My imagination ran altogether upon the Duke of Buckingham, his fervants, and family. All feemed to be out of order: that the Dutchefs was ill, called for her maids, and took her bed. Gon grant better things.

bed. Gon grant better things.' Sept. 26. Sunday. That night I 4 dreamed of the marriage of I know a not whom at Oxford. All that 4 were prefent, were clothed with · flourishing green garments. I knew 4 none of them but Thomas Flaxnye. · Immediately after, without any ine termission of sleep, (that I know of) " I thought I faw the Bishop of Worcefter, his head and shoulders co-vered with linen. He advised and · invited me kindly, to dwell with . them, marking outa place, where the · Court of the Marches of Wales was 4 then held. But not staying for my

could not live to meanly, &c.'
1626. Aug. 25. Friday. Two
Robin-red-breakts flew together
through the door into my fludy, as
if one purfued the other. That
fudden motion almost startled me.
I was then preparing a fermon on
Ephes. iv. 30. and studying.'

answer, he subjoined, that he knew I

day. In the night I dreamed, that my mother, long fine dead, flood by my bed, and drawing afide the clothes a little, looked pleafantly upon me; and that I was glad to fee her with fo merry an afpect.

man, long fince deceafed; whom,
while alive, I both knew and loved.
He feemed to lie upon the ground;
merry enough, but with a wrinkled
countenance. His name was Grove.
While I prepared to falute him, I
awoke.

' 1639. Feb. 12. Tuesday night. I dreamed that K. C. was to be mariced to a Minister's widow; and that I was called upon to do it. No fervice-book could be found; and in my own book, which I had, I could not find the order for marinage.'

'1640. Jan. 24. Friday. At night I dreamed that my father (who died forty fix years fince) came to me; and, to my thinking, he was as well, and as chearful, as ever I faw him. He afked me, what I did here? And after fome speech, I asked him, how long he would stay with me? He answered, he would stay till he had me away with him. I am not moved with dreams; yet I thought sit to remember this.'

1642. Nov. 2. Wednefday night.
I dreamed the Parliament was removed to Oxford; the church undone: force old Courtiers came in to fee me, and jeered: I went to St. John's, and there I found the roof off from fome parts of the College, and the walls cleft, and ready to fall down. God be merciful.'

Tuesday, Simon and Jude's Eve, I
 went into my upper flady, to see
 fome manuscripts which I was fead-

have chosen, that England should have been brought into subjection to the Pope, he appeared very desirous of being himself the

Sovereign Patriarch of three kingdoms (i).

He was a very generous and munificent benefactor to the University of Oxford. He bailt the inner quadrangle of St. John's College, extept part of the south-side of it, which was the old library. He also erected a stately building at the west-end of the Divinity-school and the Bodleian library; the lower part whereof was for the keeping of the Convocations and other public meetings of the University; and the upper part, opening into the public library, was for the reception of books. He gave to the University thirteen hundred manuscripts in Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Ægyptian, Æthiopian, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Russian, Chinese, Japonese, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Saxon, English, and Irish; which he had purchased at a prodigious expence. He also founded an Arabic lecture in this Vol. IV. 7.

' my picture, taken by the life; and coming in, I found it fallen down upon the face, and lying on the floor, the string being broken by which it was hanged against the I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in Parlia-· ment. God grant this be no omen.' On Wednelday, Sept. 4, 1644, as I was wathing my face, my nofe bled, and fomething plentifully, which it had not done, to my remembrance, in forty years before, fave only once, and that was just the fame day and hour, when my most honourable friend the Lord · Duke of Buckingham was killed at · Portsmouth, myself being then at · Westmintter. And upon Friday, as 6 I was washing after dinner, my nose bled again. I thank Goo I make on fuperstitious observation of this, or any thing elfe; yet I have ever " used to mark what and how any thing of note falls to me. And here · I after came to know, that upon · both these days in which I bled, there was great agitation in the House of Commons, to have me · fentenced by ordinance; but both times put off, in regard very few of that House had heard either my charge or defence.' --- See Diary, P. 7, 20, 22, 23, 24, 35, 56, 57, 59, 64, and 421.

(i) Mr. Hume observes, that "it libility, as the moderat must be consessed, that though Laud and perhaps more so."-deserved not the appellation of Pa- laud, Vol. III. P. 889.

ing to Oxford. In that study hung in my picture, taken by the life; and coming in, I found it fallen down upon the face, and lying on the stoom, the string broken by which it was hanged against the wall. I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in Parliament. God grant this be no omen. On Wednesday, Sept. 4, 1644, as I was washing my face, my nose bled, and something plentifully, which it had not done, to my remembrance, in forty years before, fave only once, and that was just the same day and hour, when my most honourable friend the Lord.

Mr. Guthrie fays, "The religion of Laud was neither Popith nor Pro-testant, but both; and he feems to have formed it upon the reconciliatory plan of James. Though he was not for a Papal, yet he was not against a Patriarchal Power in the Church. He held some of the ceremonies and fopperies of Popery to be effentials in religion; and, by his countenance, the Star-Chamber wore all the horrors, and exercised all the cruelties of an Inquisition. The difference, there-fore, betwixt Laud's religion and Popery, was rather in founds than in things. Want of charity, exercise of cruelty, and arrogance of dominion, were in common to both; and Laud was as abfurd in his notions of infallibility, as the moderate Papilts were, and perhaps more fo." --- Hift. of EngUniversity, which began to be read in 1636. He procured a large charter for Oxford, to confirm their antient privileges, and obtain for them new ones; and he obtained the advowson of the Living of St. Lawrence in Reading, for St. John's College. He likewise founded an hospital in Reading, which he endowed with revenues to the amount of 200 l. per annum, and he also procured

a charter for that town.

The Archbishop published in his life-time seven sermons, preached on public occasions, which were printed separately in 4to. and asterwards re-printed together at London in 1651, in 8vo. His account of the conserence between him and Fisher the Jesuit has passed through several Editions, and has been greatly commended. In 1695, Mr. Henry Wharton published the Archbishop's Diary, which had been before impersectly published by Prynne, together with the History of his troubles and trial, written by himself, in one Volume, Folio. And, in 1700, was also published, in Folio, "An Historical Account of all material transactions relating to the University of Oxford, from Archbishop Laud's being elected Chancellor to his resignation of that office. Written by himself."



## The Life of INIGO JONES.

HIS celebrated Architect was born about the year 1572, in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's in London, of which city his father, Ignatius (k) Jones, was a citizen and cloth-worker. According to the most probable accounts of his life, he was bound apprentice to a joyner; but even in that obscure situation, the brightness of his capacity burst forth so strongly, that he was taken notice of by one of the great Lords at Court: fome fay, it was the Earl of Arundel; but the greater number, that it was William, Earl of Pembroke. However, by one of these Lords, Inigo was sent to Italy to study landscape painting, to which his inclination then pointed, and for which that he had a talent, appears by a small Piece preferved at Chifwick-House, the colouring of which is very indifferent, but the trees freely and masterly imagined (1).

Inigo was no fooner at Rome, than he found himself in his fphere. He felt, fays Mr. Walpole, that nature had not formed him to decorate cabinets, but defign palaces. During his stay in Italy, he studied with the greatest attention the Works of the best antient and modern mafters, fuffering nothing which stood recommended by its antiquity or value, to escape his notice. He refided for a confiderable time at Venice, where he acquired fo great a reputation, that Christian IV. King of Denmark, sent for him from thence, and appointed him his Architect General (m).

What buildings he was employed in erecting in Denmark, we are not informed. He had continued some years in that kingdom, when King Christian, whose fister Anne had married King James I. made a vifit to England in 1606. Mr. Jones embraced this opportunity of returning home; and expressing a desire to continue in his native country, the Queen appointed him her Architect; and being not long after taken in the same capacity into the fervice of Prince Henry, he discharged his trust with so much fidelity and ability, that the King gave him the reversion of the place of Surveyor-General of his works. After the death of Prince Henry, in 1612, our Architect travelled once more to Italy, 202

<sup>(</sup>k) As INIGO in Spanish is the manufacture, some Spanish merchant New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo. might probably be his God-father.

<sup>(1)</sup> Anecdotes of Painting in Engfame with IGNATIUS, it has been land, by the Hon. Mr. Horace Walconjectured, that, as Inigo's father was a confiderable dealer in the woollen (m) Vid. Biograph. Britan. and

and affifted by ripeness of judgment, perfected his taste. But when the Surveyor's place fell, he returned to England; and as if architecture was not all he had learned at Rome, with an air of Roman difinterestedness, he gave up the profits of his office, which he found extremely in debt, and prevailed on the Comptroller and Pay-master to imitate his example, till the whole arrears were

cleared (n).

In 1620, King James calling at Wilton, the feat of the Earl of Pembroke, among other subjects, fell into a discourse about that furprizing group of stones, called STONE-HENGE, upon Salifbury-plain. Hereupon our Architect, who was well known to have carefully examined the antique buildings and ruins abroad, was fent for by the Lord Pembroke, and there received his Majesty's commands, to endeavour to make what discoveries he could concerning Stone-henge, and who were the founders of it. In obedience to this command, he prefer tly fet about the work; and having, with no little pains, taken an exact measurement of the whole, and diligently fearched the foundation, in order to find out the original form and aspect, he proceeded to compare it with other antique buildings which he had any where feen; and, after much reasoning and a long series of authorities, he concluded that this antient and flupendous pile must have been originally a Roman temple, dedicated to Cœlus, and built after the Tuscan order; that it was built when the Romans slourished in peace and prosperity in Britain, and, probably, betwixt the time of Agricola's government and the reign of Constantine the Great. This account, which he endeavoured to support by many reasons, he presented to the King (o); and the same year he was appointed one of the Commissioners for repairing St. Paul's cathedral

He

(o) Mr. Walpole observes, that Inigo's ideas ." were all romanized; consequently his partiality to his favourite people, which ought rather to have prevented him from charging them with that mais of barbarous clumfiness, made him conclude it a Roman temple. It is remarkable, that whoever has treated of that monument, has bestowed it on whatever class of antiquity he was peculiarly fond of; and there is not a heap of flones in these northern countries, from which nothing can be proved, but has been made to depose in favour of some of these fantastic hypo-Where there was fo much room for vision, the Phænicians could

not avoid coming in for their share of

the foundation; and for Mr. Toland's

part, he discovered a little Stong-henge

(n) Walpole, as before, P. 168.

in Ireland, built by the Druidess Gealcopa, (who does not know the Druidess Gealcopa?) who lived at Inifoen, in the county of Donnegal." Anecdotes of Painting in England, as before, P. 168. It is also observed in the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA, that almost all the different inhabitants of our island have had their advocates in claiming the honour of this antiquity. Mr. Samms, in his Britannia, will have the structure to be Phoenician; Jones and Webb believe it to be Roman; Aubrey thinks it to be British; Dr. Charleton derives it from the Danes; and Bithop Nicholfon fays, that if the true old writing of the name be STAN-HENGEST, as the Monasticon feems to tell us, he cannot fee why the Saxons may not have as just a title as any.

He was also employed to erect a new palace at Whitehall; and the Banquetting-House was finished by him about the year 1621; " a fmall part (fays Mr. Walpole) of the pile defigned for the palace of our Kings; but so complete in itself, that it stands a model of the most pure and beautiful tafte." -- Several plates of the intended palace of Whitehall have been given, (continues this ingenious Writer,) but, I believe, from no finished defign. The four great sheets are evidently made up from general hints; nor could fuch a fource of invention and tafte, as the mind of Inigo, ever produce so much fameness. The strange kind of Cherubims on the towers at the end are preposterous ornaments, and whether of Inigo or not, bear no relation to the reit. great towers in the front are too near, and evidently borrowed from what he had feen in Gothic, not in Roman buildings. The circular court is a picturefque thought, but without meaning or utility. The whole fabric, however, was fo glorious an idea, that one forgets for a moment, in the regret for its not being executed, the confirmation of our liberties obtained by a melanchoiy fcene that passed before the windows of that very Banquetting-House ( p )."

In 1623, Mr. Jones was employed at Somerfet-House, where a chapel was built for the Infanta of Spain, who was then intended for bride to the Prince of Wales. The chapel is still in being. The front of this palace to the river, part only of what was defigned, and the water-gate, were creeked afterwards on the de-

figns of Inigo, as was the gate at York-Stairs.

Upon the accession of Charles I. our Architect was continued in his posts under both King and Queen. His fee as Surveyor was eight shillings and four-pence per day, with an allowance of forty-fix pounds a year for house-rent, besides a Clerk, and incidental expences. What greater rewards he had, are not upon record (q). In 1633, an order was iffued out, requiring him to fet about the reparation of St. Paul's cathedral; and the work was begun foon after at the east-end, the first stone being laid by Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, and the fourth by Mr. Jones. Indeed, as he was the fole architect, fo the conduct, defign, and execution of the work, were entrusted entirely to him; and having reduced the body of it into order and uniformity, from the steeple to the west end, he added there a most magnificent portico, which excited universal admiration, and was confidered as a piece of architecture not to be parallelled in modern times. It was adorned with the statues of James I. and Charles I. portico confisted of folid walls on each fide, with rows of Corinthian pillars fet within, at a distance from the walls, to support the roof; being intended to be an ambulatory for fuch, as usually before, by walking in the body of the church, disturbed the choir fervice.

While

<sup>(</sup> p ) Anecdotes of Painting, P. 169, 170. ( 2 ) Walpole, as before.

While he was raising these noble monuments of his same as an architect, he gave no less proofs of his genius in the fancy and judgment of the pompous machinery employed in the masques and interludes, which were the entertainments most in vogue in his time. Several of these representations are still extant in the Works of Chapman, Davenant, Daniel, and particularly Ben Johnson. The subject was chosen by the poet, and the speeches and fongs were also of his composing; but the invention of the scenes, ornaments, and dresses of the sigures, was the contrivance

of Inigo Jones (r).

In these entertainments our Architect acted in concert and good harmony with Father Ben for a while. But about the year 1614, there happened a quarrel between them, which provoked Johnson to ridicule his affociate Jones under the character of Lanthern Leatherhead, a hobby-horse-seller, in his Comedy of Bartholomew-Fair. This rupture feems not to have ended but with Johnson's death; about two years before which he wrote a very coarfe and most virulent satire, which he called "An Expostula-"tion with Inigo Jones;" and afterwards, "An Epigram to a " Friend;" and also a third, inscribed to " Inigo Marquis " Would be." His rough treatment of Jones was not approved of at Court, as we learn from the following paffage in a letter from James Howell (s) to Johnson. "I heard you censured " lately

(r) Biograph Britan, and New and

Gen. Biograph. Dict. 8vo.

(s) JAMES HOWELL was the fon of a Clergyman in Wales, and born about the year 1596. He was fent to the free-school at Hereford, and entered of Jesus-College in Oxford, in 1610; his elder brother, Thomas Howell, being Fellow of that fociety, afterwards King's Chaplain, and nominated in 1644 to the See of Brifsol. Our Author, having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1613, left the University, and removed to London; for "being (fays Anthony " Wood) a pure Cadet, a true Cosmo-" polite, not born to land, leafe, " house, or office, he was in a man-" ner put to it to feek his fortune." The first employment he got was that of Steward to a glass-house in Broad-Areet, which was procured for him by Sir Robert Mansell, who was princi-pally concerned therein. The proprictors of this work, intent upon improving the manufactory, came to a refolution to fend an agent abroad, who should procure the best mate- of Jesus College in Oxford, upon the

rials and workmen that could be got; and they pitched upon Mr. Howell, who, fetting off in 1619, vifited feveral of the principal places in Holland, Flanders, France, Spain, and Italy. About Christmas, 1621, he returned to London, having executed his commission very well, and also acquired great skill in the modern lan-guages. "Thank Goo, (says he in " one of his letters) I have this fruit " of my foreign travels, that I can " pray unto him every day of the " week in a feparate language, and " upon Sunday in feven,"

Soon after his return, he quitted his Stewardship of the glass-house; and having experienced the pleasures of travelling, he was willing to accept more employments in this way. Accordingly, in 1622, he was fent into Spain, in order to recover a rich English ship, seized on by the Vice-Roy of Sardinia for his mafter's use, on pretence of its having prohibited goods on board. In 1623, during his ab-fence abroad, he was chosen Fellow " lately at Court, (says he) that you have lighted too foul upon "Sir Inigo, and that you write with a porcupine's quill dipped in too much gall. Excuse me that I am so free with you; it is because I am your's in no common way of friendship." But Johnson not attending properly to his friend's hint, Howell wrote him the following letter upon the same subject:

## " FATHER BEN,

"The fangs of a bear, and the tusks of a wild boar, do not bite worse, and make a deeper gash, than a goose-quill sometimes; no, not the badger himself, who is said to be so tenacious of his bite, that he will not give over his hold, till he feels
his teeth meet, and his bones crack. Your quill hath proved
fo to Mr. Inigo Jones; but the pen wherewith you have so
gashed him, it seems was made rather of a porcupine, than a
goose-quill, it is so keen and firm. You know

" Anser, Apis, Vitulus, populus et regna gubernant,

"the Goose, the Bee, and the Calf, (meaning wax, parchment, and pen), rule the world; but of the three, the pen is most predominant. I know you have a commanding one, but you must not let it tyrannize in the manner you have done lately.

Some

new foundation of Sir Eubule The-loall; for he had taken care to cultivate his interest there all along. He tells Sir Eubule, in his letter of thanks to him, that he "will referve his Fel-" lowship, and lay it by as a good "warm garment against rough wea-"ther, if any sall on him." In which he was followed by Mr. Prior, who alledged the same reason for keeping his Fellowship at St. John's College in Cambridge.

He returned to England in 1624, and was foon after appointed Secretary to Lord Scrope, afterwards Earl of Sunderland, who was made Lord-Prefident of the North. This post brought him to York; and while he resided there, the corporation of Richmond, without any application from himself, and against several competitors, chose him one of their Reprefentatives in the Parliament which began in 1627. In 1632, he went Secretary to Robert, Earl of Leicester, Ambassador Extraordinary from King Charles I. to the Court of Denmark; and on this occasion he gave proofs of his oratorial talents, in several Latin speeches before the King of Denmark and other Princes of Germany. After

his return to England, his fortune proved more unitable than ever: for except an inconsiderable affair, on which he was dispatched to Orleans in France by Sccretary Windebank, in 1635, he was destitute of any cinployment for fome years. At laft, in 1639, he went to Ireland, where he was well received by the Earl of Strafford, the Lord-Lieutenant, who had afore-time made him warm professions of kindness. The Earl employed him as an affiftant Clerk upon fome, bufiness to Edinburgh, and afterwards to London: but all Mr. Howell's rifing hopes from this quar . ter were ruined by the fate which Strafford met with foon after. However, in 1640, he was dispatched upon fome business to France; and the same, year was made Clerk of the Council; which post was the most fixed in point of residence, and the most permanent in its nature, of any he had ever en-joyed. But King Charles having departed from his palace at Whitehall, was not able to fecure his continuance long in it : for in 1643, being come to London upon fome business of his own, all his papers were seized by a committee of the Parliament, and his perfes "Some give out there was a hair in it, or that your ink was too thick with gall, else it would not have so bespattered and shaken the reputation of a Royal Architect: for reputation,

you know, is like a fair structure, long a rearing, but quickly ruined. If your spirit will not let you retract, yet you should

do well to reprefs any more copies of the fatire: for to deal plainly with you, you have lost fome ground at Court by it,

" and, as I hear from a good hand, the King, who hath fo great
" a judgment in poetry, (as in all other things else) is not pleased

" therewith. Dispense with this freedom, of

"WESTMINSTER, Your respectful Son, and Servitor,
"3 July, 1635.

Your respectful Son, and Servitor,
J. H. (1)"

Johnson at length paid so much attention to his friend Howell's advice, that he entirely suppressed the satire against Inigo above referred to. However, it has been since printed from a manufcript of the late Mr. Vertue, the engraver, and is inserted in the

Edition of Ben Johnson's Works, published in 1756.

It appears that our Architect had made some attempts in the poetical way, either in the business of masques, or otherwise. This intrusion into the Poet's province raised Ben's spleen, and it has been supposed that this was the real cause of the quarrel between him and Inigo. For in the beginning of the quarrel, one principal stroke of the ridicule bestowed upon Lanthern in Bartholomew

person secured, and in a few days after he was committed close prisoner to the Fleet. He bore his confinement with great chearfulness; and having now nothing to trust to but his pen, he applied himfelf wholly to write and translate books; by which means he obtained a comfortable fubfillence during his long flay in that prison, where he was confined till some time after the King's death. And as he got nothing by his discharge from thence but his liberty, he was obliged to continue the fame employment afterwards. Though always a firm Royalist, he does not feem to have approved the measures pursued by Buckingham, Strafford, and Laud; and was far from approving the illegal proceedings of the Court. However, King Charles II. at his reftoration, thought him worthy of his notice and favour: and his former post in the Council being otherwise disposed of, a new place was created, by the grant of which he became the first Historiographer Royal in England. He die d

in November, 1666, and was interred in the Temple church, London, where a monument was erected to his me-

Mr. Howell published upwards of forty books, besides several translations; and though his numerous productions were written rather out of necessity than choice, they shew, however, a readinessof wit, and an exuberant fancy. But none of them are at present much known, except his "Epislolæ Ho-Elianæ: Familiar " Epiftles, domestic and foreign, di-" vided into four books, partly hifto-" rical, political, and philosophical." These letters have been much read, having passed through eleven Editions. They are in number upwards of four hundred, and not only contain much of the History of his own times, but are also interspersed with many pleafant flories, pertinently introduced and

( t ) Howell's Familiar Letters, P.

288. Edit. 8vo. 1688.

Bartholomew Fair, (the character under which Jones is fatirized) confifts in the title there given him of " Parcel Poet ( u )."

In the mean time, Mr. Jones received great encouragement from the Court, fo that he acquired a handsome fortune. was much impaired by the losses which he suffered in consequence of his loyalty; for as he had a share in his Royal Master's profperity, fo had he a share also in his misfortunes. Upon the meeting of the Long Parliament in November, 1640, he was called before the House of Peers, on a complaint exhibited against him by the parishioners of St. Gregory's in London, for damages done to that church, on repairing St. Paul's cathedral. The church being old, and standing very near the cathedral, was thought to be a blemish to it, and therefore was taken down, pursuant to the King's direction, and the orders of the Council, in 1639, in the execution of which our Surveyor was chiefly concerned. But, in answer to the complaint, he pleaded the general issue; and, when the repairing of the cathedral ceased, in 1642, some part of the materials remaining were, by order of the House of Lords, delivered to the parishioners of St. Gregory's, towards the rebuilding of their church. This profecution put Inigo to a confiderable expence; and as he was both a Royalist and a Roman Catholic, in 1646 he paid 545 l. for his delinquency and sequestration. And Mr. Walpole informs us, that he and Stone, the statuary and architect, buried their joint-stock of ready money in Scotland-yard; but an order being published to encourage the informers of fuch concealments, and four persons being privy to the spot where the money was hid, it was taken up, and re-buried in Lambeth-marsh ( 20 ).

Upon the restoration of Charles II. he was continued in his post by that Monarch. But it was only an empty title at that time, nor did Jones live long enough to make it any better. Grief, misfortunes, and age, put an end to his life at Somerset-House, on the 21st of July, 1651; and on the 26th of the same month he was buried in the church of St. Bennet's, Paul's-wharf, where a monument was erected to his memory, which was destroyed in the fire of London.

INIGO JONES was not only the greatest Architect in England, but the most eminent of his protession at that time in Europe. He is generally stiled the British Vitruvius; and Mr. Webb, who knew him well, afferts, that his abilities, in all human sciences, surpassed most of his age. He was a great master of the mathematics, and particularly an excellent geometrician. He had some insight into the two learned languages, Greek and Latin, especially the latter. And Sir Anthony Vandyke used to say of him, that, in designing with his pen, he was not to be equalled by any great masters of his time, for the boldness, soft-Vol. IV. 7.

<sup>(</sup> ii ) Pid. Biograph. Britan. ( ar ) Anecdotes of Painting, P. 178.

ness, sweetness, and sureness of his touches .--Among the Works of this great master are the following:

1. The Banquetting House, Whitehall, already mentioned.

- 2. Barber's Hall, in Monkwell-street, London. This is a very fine edifice, and the theatre is particularly admired, as an admirable fabric for feeing and hearing. It was erected for the use of the furgeons, and here diffections used to be performed, and lectures read. But when the barbers and furgeons, who used to be united in one company, were formed into diffinet and separate companies, this hall was given by Act of Parliament to the bar-
- 3. The new buildings, fronting the gardens, at Somerfet-House.
- 4. The church, and piazza of Covent-garden. These have been much admired by the connoissures in architecture; and in particular it has been faid of the church, that it is one of the most simple, and at the same time most perfect pieces of architecture, that the art of man can produce. The ingenious Mr. Horace Walpole is, however, of a different opinion. He says, "The arcade of Covent-garden, and the church, are two structures of which I want tafte to fee the beauties. In the arcade there is nothing remarkable; the pilasters are as errant and homely stripes as any plaisterer would make. And the barn-roof over the portico of the church strikes my eyes with as little idea of dignity or beauty, as it could do if it covered nothing but a barn (x)."

5. Lincoln's Inn Fields. This fine square was originally laid out by the masterly hand of Inigo; and it is said that the sides of it are the exact measure of the great pyramid of Egypt. It was intended to have been built all in the fame ftyle; but there were not a sufficient number of people of taste, to accomplish so great a Work. The house which was late the Duke of Ancaster's, is built on this model; but elevated and improved fo as to make it more fuitable to the quality of the owner. It has that fimple grandeur, which characterizes all the defigns of this great Ar-

chitect.

6. Shaftesbury House, now the Lying-in Hospital in Aldersgate-street.

7. The

justice to Inigo one must own, that the defect is not in the architect, but in the order--who ever faw a beautiful Tuscan building? would the Romans have chosen that order for a temple? Mr. Onflow, the late Speaker, told me an anecdote that corroborates my opiaion of this building. When the in England, as before, P. 175.

(x) To this remark, Mr. Walpole Earl of Bedford sent for Inigo, he fubjoins the following note. " In told him he wanted a chapel for the parishioners of Covent-garden, but added, he would not go to any confiderable expence; in short, faid he, I would not have it much better than a barn .- Well! then, replied Jones, you shall have the handsomest barn in England." --- Anecdotes of Painting 7 The garden-front of Wilton-House, the seat of the Earl of Pembroke; and also some other parts of that noble edifice.

8. The Queen's House at Greenwich.

9. The Grange in Hampshire, the seat of the Earl of Northington.

10. Pishiobury, in Hertfordshire. 11 Gunnersbury, near Brentford.

Inigo's principal designs were published by Mr. Kent, in two Volumes in Folio, in 1727; and some of his smaller designs have been since published by Mr. Ware, and others.



## The Life of BENJAMIN JONSON.

EN. JONSON was born in Westminster, in the year 1574, about a month after the death of his father, who was a Clergyman (t). He was for some time sent to a private school in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, but was afterwards removed to Westminster-school, where Camden was his master (u). While he was here, his mother, having re-married with a bricklayer, took him home, and obliged him to work at his father-in-law's business. He assisted, we are told, in the building of Lincoln's Inu, having a trowel in his hand, and Horace in his pocket.

Ben had already made a considerable progress in classical learning; he was, therefore, by no means captivated with his new employment, but determined to go abroad. Accordingly he lest his mother, and enlisted himself for a soldier, and in this capacity he was carried to the English army, which was then engaged against the Spaniards in the Netherlands; where he greatly distinguished himself by his valour. In an encounter with a single man of the enemy, he slew his opponent; and, stripping him,

carried

- (t) Our Poet was of Scottish extraction, his grandfather being of Anandale in that kingdom, from whence he removed to Carlisse, and afterwards was employed in the service of King Henry VIII. Ben's father was a great suffere under Queen Mary, probably on account of his religion. He was not only imprisoned, but lost his estate, and afterwards took Holy Orders.
- (u) He ever after retained the greatest esteem and value for his master Camden, and spoke of him with the highest respect. Among his epigrams, we find the following.
- " CAMDEN, most reverend head, to whom I owe
- 4: All that I am in arts, all that I know;

- " (How nothing's that?) to whom my country owes
- " The great renown and name wherewith she goes.
- "Than thee the age fees not that thing more grave,
- " More high, more holy, that the more would crave.
- "What name, what skill, what faith hast thou in things!
- "What fight in fearthing the most antique prings!
- "What weight, and what authority in thy speech!
- " Man fearce can make that doubt but thou canft teach.
- " Pardon free truth, and let thy modesty,
- "Which conquers all, be once o'ercome by thee.
- " Many of thine, this better could, than I;
- "But for their powers, accept my pietv."



BEN: JOHNSON.



without

carried off the spoils in the view of both armies. Poets have feldom distinguished themselves by their military atchievements, or actions in the field; it is, therefore, the less to be wondered at, that Jonson appears to have been somewhat elated with this incident of his life.

Upon his return to England, Ben refumed his former studies; and in order to do this with the more advantage, he went to Cambridge, where he is said to have been admitted into St. John's College. His continuance at the University was but short, which was probably owing to the lowness of his sinances. And as he had a genius for dramatic compositions, he now began to turn his thoughts to the stage. The play-house he entered into was an obscure one in the skirts of the town, and called, the Green Curtain; which, Anthony Wood says, was about Shore-

ditch, or Clerkenwell (w).

It appears that in this new course of life, Jonson at first made but an indifferent sigure. It is said, that "his first acting and "writing were both ill:" and we are told, that his attempts as an actor could neither provide him a support, nor recommend him to a share in any of the companies or theatres, which, in that age, were numerous in London. On the contrary, his inabilities this way became a topic of satire to his adversaries, who have mentioned some characters in which he appeared with very little credit. They reproached him with leaving his former occupation of mortar-treader, to turn actor; and they affirmed, that he performed the part of Zuliman at the Paris Garden in Southwark, and ambled by a play-waggon on the highway, and took mad Jeronymo's part to get service among the Mimies; and they added, that in this service he would have continued, but could not set a good face on the matter, and so was cashiered (x).

While he was thus a retainer to the stage, he had the missortune to be engaged in a duel with one of his brother actors; and in the rencounter he was wounded in the arm by his adversary's sword, which is said to have been ten inches longer than his own; but he killed his opponent, who had challenged him. However, he was committed to prison for this offence. During his confinement, he was visited by a Popish Priest, who, taking the advantage of his melancholy and dejection of spirits, made him a convert to the Church of Rome, in which he continued for twelve years. When, or by what means he obtained his discharge from prison, does not appear; but his spirits returning with his liberty, he soon after entered into the state of matrimony.

He was now about twenty-four years of age, and it is from this time that we are to date the rife of his reputation as a dramatic Writer. Though he had made fome attempts that way from his first entrance into the play-house, it had been hitherto

<sup>(</sup>w) Athene Ovonienses, Vol. I. (x) Biograph. Brit. and New and Col. 518. Edit. 1691. Gen. D.ct. 8vo.

without success. He had written a play or two, which had been absolutely condemned; and another had like to have shared the fame fate, had it not been for the friendly interpolition of Shake. speare (y). That amiable and benevolent Bard was not only the means of bringing Jonson's first play upon the stage, but he afterwards continued to recommend him and his productions to the public, and he even lent his hand to the finishing of some of them: and he also played a part in every play of Jonson, as

long as he continued on the stage.

The first play he printed, was the Comedy, intitled, " Every "Man in his Humour." This was brought upon the stage in 1508, and published in 1601. In 1600, he paid his court to Queen Elizabeth, by complimenting her under the allegorical personage of the Goddess Cynthia, in his Cynthia's Revels, which was acted that year by the children of the Queen's chapel. He soon after published, " Every Man out of his Humour;" and he continued to publish a new play every year, till he was called off by the masques and entertainments made for the amusement of King James and his Court.

In 1605, he brought upon the stage his Comedy of "Volpone, or the Fox;" which he is faid to have finished in the space of five weeks. About this time he joined with Chapman and Marston (2), two other cotemporary dramatic Writers, in a Comedy, called " Eastward Hoe," in which there were some satirical reflections on the Scots nation; in consequence of which they were all three committed to prison, and were even in danger of losing their ears and noses. However, upon submission, they received a pardon; and Jonson being rejoiced at his discharge, gave an entertainment to his friends, among whom were Camden and

(y) Sec P. 108. (z) GEORGE CHAPMAN was born in the year 1557; and when he had attained his feventeenth year, being well grounded in grammar-learning, he was fent to the University of Oxford. Though he was much diftinguished there for his great skill in the learned languages, he does not appear to have taken any degree; but repairing to London, he was warmly patronized by Sir Thomas Walfing-ham, and after his death by his fon. He was also held in high estimation by Henry, Prince of Wales, and the Earl of Somerset; but the first dying, and the latter being difgraced, Chapman's hope of preferment by their means was frustrated. However, he appears to have had some place at Court under King James, or his Queen Anne. But what became of him du-

ring the civil wars, which he lived to fee, does not appear. He died in 1654, aged feventy-feven, and was buried on the fouth-side of the church of St. Giles's in the Fields, a monument being erected over his grave, at the expence of Inigo Jones, and defigned by him, that great architect having been his particular friend .- He was a man of great learning; his private life was regular and virtuous, and his character very amiable; and he was upon terms of great intimacy with most of the first rate wits of his time. He published a translation of the whole Iliad of Homer, in Folio, which he dedicated to Prince Henry. He afterwards also published, in 1614, the Odyssey of Homer, together with the battle of the frogs and mice, which he dedicated to the Earl of He translated likewise Somerset.

and Selden. In the midft of the entertainment, his aged mother drank to him, and shewed him a paper of poison, which she intended to have given him in his liquor, after having taken a potion of it herfelf, if the proposed punishment had been inflicted on him.

In 1609, our Author brought his Comedy of the SILENT Wo-MAN upon the stage, and the following year produced his AL-CHEMIST. In 1611, he published his CATALINE; and, in 1613, he made the tour of France; and, whilst he was at Paris, he was admitted to an interview and conversation with Cardinal Perron. Their discourse turned chiefly upon literary subjects, and the Cardinal shewed him his translation of Virgil; which Jonson, with the openness and freedom which were natural to him, flatly told him was a bad one.

After his return to England, he was often employed in the composition of masques and interludes for the entertainment of the Court; and on these occasions he was by no means sparing of that flattery, which was fo agreeable to the Royal ears of James. It was about this time that the quarrel broke out between him and Inigo Jones, of which fome account is given in the preceding Life.

In 1616, he published his Works in one Volume, Folio; and on the death of Samuel Daniel, he was appointed Poet-Laureat. and as his falary for that office he had an hundred marks a year fettled on him for life. He was now at the head of the poetic band, and was invited to the chief feat of the Muses, the University of Oxford, by several Members, and particularly Dr. Corbet of Christ-church. Ben resided in that College during his abode in the University; and, as the Doctor was a celebrated wit, particularly noted for extempore verses and jests, the time must have been agreeably spent by him, especially as it was crowned by an honourable testimony of his merit, he being created Master of Arts in a full Convocation, in July, 1619.

Soon

fome parts of Hesiod, and Musæus's and was a very decent and chafte Erotopægnion. He published also fixteen plays, in which he has not been very attentive to the established rules of the Drama. His mafterpieces in the dramatic way are his Buffy D'Amboise in Tragedy, his Widow's Tears in Comedy, and his Masque of the Inns of Court.

JOHN MARSTON was a dramatic Poet of some eminence in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. but few particulars concerning him are preserved. He was edu-cated in the University of Oxford,

Writer. He is supposed to have died about the year 1614. He wrote eight plays, 1. Antonio and Melida; 2. Antonio's Revenge, a Tragedy; 3. The Dutch Courtezan, a Comedy; 4. The Infatiate Countels, a Tragedy; 5. The Malccontent, a Tragi-Comedy; 6. Parasitaster; or the Fawn, a Comedy; 7. Wonder of Women; or Sophonisba, a Tragedy; and, &. What you will, a Comedy. He also wrote three books of Satires, entitled, "The " Scourge of Villainy;" which were published at London in 8vo. in 1598.

Soon after our Author went on foot into Scotland, in order to visit Mr. Drummond of Hawthorden, a man of genius and letters, and a brother Poet (a). He had corresponded with this gentleman some years, and had lately received from him some curious materials respecting the History and Geography of Scotland, in compliance with Jonson's request, who had formed, we are told, the defign of writing a Piece upon that subject. It is supposed to have been with a view of informing himself, upon the spot, in some farther particulars relative to this Work, that he undertook this journey. However that be, it is certain that he passed some months with this ingenious friend, much to his satisffaction, opening his heart, and communicating his thoughts to him. Jonson celebrated the adventures of this journey in a particular poem, which, together with several other of his productions, being accidentally burnt about two or three years afterwards, he lamented the loss in another poem, called, " An " Exectation upon Vulcan."

We

who was born in 1585, was the fon of Sir John Drummond of Hawthornden, Gentleman Usher to King James VI. He received his education at Edinburgh, but was fent to France in 1606. He studied the civil law at Bourges, in which he made fuch a progress, as occasioned the Prefident Lockhart to fay, that if Mr. Drummond had followed the practice, he would have made the best figure of any lawyer in his time. But his genius and inclination leading him to polite literature, he relinquished all thoughts of the bar, and betook himfelf to his pleafant feat at Hawthornden. Here he spent his time in reading Greek and Latin Authors, and obliged the world with several productions of confiderable merit. He wrote here his " Cypress Grove," a piece of excellent profe of the moral kind, in which he reprefents the vanity and inflability of human affairs, teaches a due contempt of the world, and proposes consolations against the fear of death. He also wrote about the same time " the Flowers of Sion," in verse. But an accident happened foon after, which induced him to quit his retirement. This was the death of an amiable and beautiful young Lady, to whom he had for fome time paid his addresses, and to whom he was about to be married. The wed-

(a) WILLIAM DRUMMOND, ding day was fixed, and all things prepared for its folemnization, when the was feized with a fever, which carried her off. This affected him fo much, that he quitted his country feat, and went abroad, refiding eight years at Paris and Rome. He travelled also through Germany, France, and Italy; where he vifited the most eminent Universities, converted with learned men, and made a choice collection of the best antient Greek, and of the modern Spanish, French, and Italian books. He then returned to his native country, where a civil war was just ready to break out: upon which he retired to the feat of his brother-in-law, Sir John Scott, of Scots Tarvat, where he is supposed to have written his " Hiftory of the five " James's," fucceffively Kings of Scotland, which was not published till after his death. Befides this, he com-posed several tracts against the meafures of the covenanters, and those engaged in the opposition against King Charles I. About five years before his death, he was married to a young Lady, who was grand-child to Sir Robert Logan, by whom he had three children. He is faid to have first conceived an affection for her, on account of her great refemblance to his former mistress. He died in 1649. His Works were printed in Folio at Edinburgh, in 1711.

We have already observed, that Jonson had an hundred marks per annum settled on him as Poet-Laureat: but, in 1630, he presented a petition to King Charles, requesting him to make those marks as many pounds. The petition was as follows:

" The humble petition of poor Ben,

" To the best of Monarchs, masters, men,

" King Charles.

" Doth most humbly show it,

" To your Majesty, your Poet :

" That whereas your Royal Father

" James the bleffed, pleafed the rather,

" Of his special grace to letters,

" To make all the Muses debtors

" To his bounty: By extension

" Of a free poetic pension,

" A large hundred marks annuity,

" To be given me in gratuity,

" For done fervice, and to come :

" And that this fo accepted fum ;

" Or dispensed in books or bread,

(For on both the Muse was fed)

" Hath drawn on me from the times,

" All the envy of the rhimes,

" And the rattling pit-pat noise

" Of the less poetic boys,

When their pot-guns aim to hit, With their pellets of small wit,

Parts of me (they judg'd) decay'd,

But we last out still unlay'd.

" Please your Majesty to make,
" Of your Grace, for goodness sake,

"Those your father's marks your pounds :

" Let their spite (which now abounds)

"Then go on, and do its worst,
"This would all their envy burst:

" And so warm the Poet's tongue,

"You'll read a fnake in his next fong."

This petition had all the fuccess which was wished for from it; and accordingly, on the surrender of his former patent, a new one was issued the same year, appointing him the annual pension of 1001. for life, and a tierce of Spanish wine. Besides this enlargement of his salary, we are told, he had also a pension from the city of London, from several of the Nobility and Gentry, and particularly from Mr. Sutton, the sounder of the Charter-House. But notwithstanding all these advantages, such was Ben's extravagance and want of economy, that his sinances were in continual disorder, which sometimes led him to make ap-Vol. IV. 7.

plications to different persons for money, in a manner that bor-

dered upon meanness.

Jonson often experienced the malevolence of criticism, being frequently attacked by cotemporary Writers. In 1631, he published his Comedy, entitled, "The New Inn, or the Light Heart." This had been hissed off the stage on its first appearance; but Ben had recourse to his pride on the occasion, and threatened, by way of revenge, to leave the stage, in an ode addressed to himself. This ode was thought by some to be very arrogant, and a sharp reply to it was soon after written by Owen Feltham, in verse, and in the same measure with Jonson's ode.

Among other things which were carped at by those who were disposed to cavil with Jonson, the pompous title of Works, which he gave to his plays and poems, was found fault with; and the following epigram was addressed to him on the occasion:

- " Pray tell me, Ben, where does the mystery lurk?
- "What others call a Play, you call a Work."

To which the following answer was returned in Jonson's behalf:

"The Author's friend thus for the Author says; (f) Ben's Plays are Works, when others Works are Plays."

It was in allusion to this, and with a reference to Jonson's vanity, that the following lines were written by Sir John Suckling, in his Session of the Poets.

" The first that broke filence was good old Ben,

" Prepared before with Canary wine,

" And he told them plainly he deferv'd the bays,

" For his were call'd Works, when others were but Plays.

And

" Bid them remember how he had purg'd the stage

" Of errors that had lasted many an age;

- "And he hop'd they did not think the Silent Woman,
  "The Fox and the Alchemist out-done by no man.
- " Apollo ftopt him there, and bad him not go on ;
- " 'Twas merit, he said, and not presumption, " Must carry't. At which Ben turn'd about,

" And in great choler offer'd to go out.

But

" Those that were there thought it not fit

" To discontent so antient a wit;

" And therefore Apollo call'd him back again,
" And made him mine Host of his own New INN."

Jonfon

(f) Life of Ben. Jonfon, by Mr. Whalley, P. 45.

Jonson continued to employ himself in writing till the end of his life, which had a period put to it by a palsey on the 6th of August, 1637, in the fixty-third year of his age. Anthony Wood informs us, that Dr. Morley, Bishop of Winchester, told him, that he visited Jonson in his last sickness, and heard him often express his forrow for his profanation of Scripture in his plays. He was interred in Westminster-Abbey, at the north-west end, near the belfrey; and over his grave was laid a common pavement stone, with this Laconic inscription, "O RARE BEN" JONSON." A design was afterwards formed of erecting a monument to his memory, and a considerable sum of money was collected for that purpose; but this design was prevented from being put into execution by the breaking out of the civil wars. The monument now erected to him, in what is called the Poets Corner, in the Abbey, was raised at the expence of the second Earl of Oxford, of the Harley samily.

BEN. JONSON was in his person large and corpulent, and his countenance hard and rocky; but, if we may believe his admirers, his face resembled Menander's, as the head of that Poet is represented upon antient gems and medals; in like manner as Vida is faid to have refembled Virgil. His disposition was referved and faturnine, and fometimes not a little oppressed with the gloom of a splenetic imagination (g) For instance, he told his friend Drummond, that he had lain a whole night fancying he faw the Carthaginians and Romans, Turks and Tartars, fighting on his great toe. Indeed, notwithstanding the intimacy between him and Drummond, the latter feems to have been by no means partial to him, for he has drawn Jonson's character in a very disadvantageous light. He says, " That he was a great lover " and praiser of himself; a contemner and scorner of others, " rather chusing to lose a friend than a jest; jealous of every " word and action of those about him, especially after drink, " which was one of the elements in which he lived; a diffembler " of the parts which reigned in him; a bragger of some good " that he wanted. He thought nothing right, but what either " himself, or some of his friends, had said or done. He was " passionately kind and angry; careless either to gain, or to keep; vindictive, but if he was well answered, greatly " chagrined; interpreting the best fayings and deeds often to " the worst. He was for any religion, being versed in all; his " inventions were smooth and easy, but above all he excelled in " translation. In short, he was in his personal character the very " reverse of Shakespeare; as surly, ill-natured, proud, and difa-"greeable, as Shakespeare with ten times his merit, was gentle, " good-natured, easy, and amiable."

It is, however, acknowledged by all, that Jonson was laborious and indefatigable in his studies, his reading was copious and extensive, and his memory so tenacious and strong, that, it is said, that when he was turned of forty, he could have repeated all that he had ever written. His judgment was accurate and solid; and he was often consulted by those who knew him well, in branches of very curious learning, and far remote from the slowery paths loved and frequented by the Muses. Lord Falkland celebrates him as an admirable scholar, and says, that the extracts he took, and the observations which he made on the books he read, were themselves a treasure of learning, though the originals should happen to be lost (b). In his friendships he was cautious and sincere, yet accused of levity and ingratitude to his friends; but this charge may perhaps be ill sounded; for it appears that Randolph (b) and Cartwright (c) lived with him in great intimacy

( b ) Whalley, as before.

(b) THOMAS RANDOLPH was fon to William Randolph, Steward to Lord Zouch, and was born at Newnham, near Daintree in Northamptonshire, in the year 1605. He received part of his education at Westminster school, from whence he was removed to Trinity College in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Mafter of Arts, and obtained a Fellowship. Very early in life he gave proofs of an extraordinary quickness of parts, and he was not only admired and effeemed by persons of genius at the University, but likewise highly valued and beloved by the best Poets of that age, and particularly by Ben Jonson. He was much diftinguished for his learning and his wit, the gaiety of his temper, and an uncommon readiness at repartee, which gained him many admirers; but as he is faid to have led a life fomewhat licentious, this is supposed to have shortened his days, for he died before he had attained the age of twenty nine years. He wrote fix dramatic Picces, of the comic kind, which have been much commended; his language is good, his fentiments jult, and his characters, for the most part, strongly drawn, and his fatire well chosen and poignant.
(c) WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT

(c) WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT was educated at the University of Oxford, where he took the degree of Master of Arts, and entering into Holy Orders, became very eminent for his preaching. He was chosen

metaphyfical reader in the University, in which office he also acquired great reputation both for his literary knowledge and his oratorial endowments. In 1642, he was promoted to the place of Succentor to the cathedral of Salisbury; and on the 12th of April, 1643, was elected junior Proctor of the University. But on the 29th of November following, when he is said to have been not more than thirty years of age, he was taken off by a malignant sever, which then reigned at Oxford, and which was known by the name of the Camp Disease.

Though Mr. Cartwright died at so early a period of life, the reputation which he had acquired among his cotemporaries was a very extraordinary one. His death was most univerfally lamented; and even the King and Queen, who were then at Oxford, shewed great anxiety during his illness, and appeared greatly afflicted at his death. And when some years after his plays and poems were published together, we find them accompanied by above fifty copies of verses, written by the most eminent wits of the University, every one being desirous to appear in the number of his friends, and to give public testimony to the world of the value they had for his memory.

Anthony Wood fays, Cartwright was "another Tully and Virgil, as "being most excellent for oratory "and poetry, in which faculties, as "also in the Greek tongue, he was so and affection, and revered him as the great reformer of the British stage, and gloried in the honorary title of his adopted sons; and Selden hath acknowledged the good offices which Jonson did him by his interest at Court, when he had incurred the Royal displeasure, by his "History of Tythes." In the Presace to that Work, published in 1614, this very learned man stiles Jonson his beloved friend and singular Poet, whose special worth in literature, accurate judgment and performance, known only to the few, who are only able to know him, hath had from me, 
(says he) ever since I began to learn, an increasing admiration."

As to the poetical genius of Jonson, the characteristic of it, with regard to dramatic poetry, was great excellence at drawing characters of humour (o). To which may be added, Mr. Pope's remark, that "when our Author got possession of the stage, he brought critical learning into vogue; and that this was not done without difficulty, will appear from those frequent lessons (and, indeed, almost declamations), which he was forced to prefix to his first plays, and put into the mouths of his actors, the grex, chorus, &c. to remove the prejudices and inform the judgment

full and absolute, that those that " beil knew him, knew not in which " he most excelled. So admirably " well verfed also was he in meta-" physics, that when he was reader of " them in the University, the exposi-" tion of them was never better per-" formed than by him and his prede-" ceffor, T. Barlow, of Qu. College. " His preaching also was so graceful, " and profound withal, that none of " his time or age went beyond him. " So that if the wits read his poems, " Divines his fermons, and Philoso-" phers his lectures on Ariftotle's me-" taphysics, they would scarce believe " that he died at a little above thirty years of age. But that which is " most remarkable, is, that these his " high parts and abilities were ac-" companied with fo much candour " and sweetness, that they made him " equally beloved and admired of all "perfons, especially those of the gown and Court, who esteemed also his life a fair copy of practic piety, a rare example of heroic " worth, and in whom arts, learning, " and language, made up the true

Langbaine fays of him, that "he "was extremely remarkable both for his outward and inward endowments; his body being as handfome as his foul, --- He was an ex-

" complement of perfection."

" pert linguist, understanding not only
" Greek and Latin, but French and
" Italian, as perfectly as his mother
" tongue.—He was an excellent Orator, and yet an admirable Poet; a
" quality which Cicero with all his

" pains could not attain to; nor was " Aristotle less known to him than " Cicero and Virgil."

Ben Jonson, who gave him the title of his son, valued him highly, and said of him, "My son Cartwright "writes all like a man." The Editor of his Works applies to him the saying of Aristotle concerning Æschron the Poet, that "he could not do." And Dr. Feli, Bishop of Oxford, said of him, that "Cartwright was the utmost man could come unto."

Befides poems in English, Greek, and Latin, he wrote four dramatic Pieces: 1. The Lady Errant. 2. The Ordinary. 3. The Royal Slave. 4. The Siege; or, Love's Convert.

(o) "In his defign and exhibition of characters, (fays Mc. Whalley), Jonfon was particularly happy in delineating those which are generally known by the name of characters of humour; a subject which he perfectly understood, and which he executed with equal felicity and perfection."

of his hearers. 'Till then, the English Authors had no thoughts of writing upon the model of the antients: their Tragedies were only Histories in dialogue, and their Comedies followed the thread of any novel as they found it, no less than if it had

been true History."

Jonson " is universally allowed (says Mr. Whalley) to have been the most learned and judicious Poet of his age. His learning indeed is to be seen in almost every thing he wrote; and sometimes perhaps it may appear, where we could wish it might not be seen, although he seldom transgresseth in this point; for a just decorum and preservation of character, with propriety of circumstance and of language, are his striking excellencies, and eminently distinguish his correctness and art. What he borroweth from the antients, he generally improves by the use and application, and by this means he improved himself, in contending to think, and to express his thoughts like them; and accordingly those plays are the best, in which we find most imitations or translations from classic Authors; but he commonly borrows with the air of a conqueror, and adorns himself in their dress, as with

the fpoils and trophies of victory."

The fame Writer also observes, that Jonson's fancy would, perhaps, have " exerted itself with greater energy and strength, had he been less a Poet, or less acquainted with the antient models. Struck with the correctness and truth of composition in the old claffics, and inflamed by paffionate admiration to emulate their beauties, he was infenfibly led to imagine, that equal honours were due to fuccessful imitation, as to original and unborrowed thinking. Jonson was naturally turned to industry and reading; and as to treasure up knowledge must be the exercise and work of memory, by the affiduous employment of that faculty, he would necessarily be less disposed to exert the native in-born fpirit of genius and invention; and as his memory was thus fraught with stores of antient poetry, the fentiments impressed upon his mind, would eafily intermix and affimilate with his own; and when transfused into the language of his country, would appear to have all the graces and the air of novelty. It is owing to these reasons, that Jonson became constrained in his imagination, and less original in his sentiments and thoughts; but from hence he obtained that severity of collected judgment, and that praise of art, which have given his authority the greatest weight in the decisions and the laws of criticism (d)."

It appears that Jonson had several children by his wife, but none of them survived him. It is said that in 1616, Jonson lived in Black Friars, where there was then a play-house; and

<sup>(</sup>d) Vid. Mr. Whalley's Preface to his Edition of Jonson's Works, P. 4, 5, 6.

from thence he removed to a house in Aldersgate-street, at the corner of Jewin-street, where he is reported to have died (e).

Jonson's dramatic compositions are as follows: 1. The Alchymist, a Comedy. 2. Bartholomew Fair, a Comedy. 3. Cataline's Conspiracy, a Tragedy. 4. The Devil is an Ass, a Comedy. 5. Every man in his humour, a Comedy. 6. Every man out of his humour, a Comedy. 7. The Magnetic Lady, a Comedy. 8. Sejanus's Fall, a Tragedy. 9. The Silent Woman, a Comedy. 10. The Staple of News, a Comedy. 11. The Tale of a Tub, a Comedy. 12. Volpone, or the Fox, a Comedy. 13. The Case is altered, a Comedy. 14. The Widow, a Comedy. 15. New Inn, or the Light Heart, a Comedy. Together with upwards of thirty Masques, and Entertainments of that kind.

He also published upwards of an hundred epigrams, and other poems, a translation of Horace's Art of Poetry, an English

grammar, and a Piece, intitled, " Discoveries."

His Works were first published together in two Volumes, Folio; but an Edition of them was published in 1716, in fix Volumes, 8vo. and in 1756, another valuable Edition of them was published in seven Volumes, 8vo. with notes, and some additions, by Mr. Peter Whalley, late Fellow of St. John's College in Oxford.

(e) Life of Jonson, by Whalley, P. 54.



#### The Life of Dr. WILLIAM HARVEY.

HIS celebrated Physician was the eldest son of Thomas Harvey, a gentleman of Folkstone in Kent, where he was born on the 2d of April, 1578. At ten years of age he was sent to the grammar-school at Canterbury (f); and in May, 1503, when he was somewhat turned of fifteen years of age, he was removed to Gonvile and Caius College, in the University of Cambridge. Having spent six years in this University, in the study of logic and natural philosophy, as a proper soundation for the study of physic, he travelled abroad, and went to Padua in Italy, where he attended the lectures of the samous Fabricius of Aquapendente on anatomy, of Minodaus on pharmacy, and of Casserius on chirurgery. And having taken the degree of Doctor of physic in that University, when he was twenty-sour years of age, he returned home to his native country (g).

After his return to England, he took the degree of Doctor of physic at Cambridge, and going to London, entered upon the practice of his profession there. In the thirtieth year of his age, he was chosen a Fellow of the College of Physicians in London: and soon after he was appointed Physician to St. Bartholomew's

hospital.

On the 4th of August, 1615, he was appointed by the College of Physicians to read the anatomy and chirurgery lecture founded by Dr. Richard Caldwall. And it was probably on this occasion, that he first proposed his sentiments concerning the use of the heart, and the circulation of the blood. For in an anatomical treatise written about this time, and still extant in his own hand, the chief principles of his discovery upon this subject are to be found. But in his sirst lectures hereupon, he only opened as it were his sentiments upon the subject; but when he had afterwards examined and discussed his hypothesis more thoroughly, fortified it with arguments, and confirmed it by repeated experiments made before the College of Physicians, he published at Frankfort, in 1628, in 4to. his Exercitationem anatomicam de cordiset sanguinis motu. Of this book, whether we consider the importance of the subject, the clearness of the method, or the

<sup>(</sup>f) Wood's Fasti Oxonienses, presixed to the Edition of his Works published by the College of Physicians, at London, in 4to. in 1766. P. 2.

strength of reasoning with which Harvey supports his opinion, we may truly affert, that there is scarcely any treatise on a similar

fubject to be compared with it.

Dr. Harvey's discovery was of the greatest importance to the whole art of physic (b). But no man who has attained great excellence, has ever escaped the attacks of envy. Discoveries and improvements in any art or science, have generally been viewed with a very jealous eye by the bulk of the professors of those arts or sciences. And accordingly Harvey's discovery concerning the circulation of the blood, brought upon him many opponents of his own profession. Their several attempts to refute his book were indeed without success; but some of his antagonists feem to have been mean enough to endeavour to obstruct him in his private practice; for it appears, that Harvey com-Vol. IV. 7. 2 R

discovery, an idea may be formed from the following recapitulation of it by himfelf, which was drawn up with a view of clearing it from the various misrepresentations which had been given of it. " Because, says he, I fee men doubtful of the circulation, and fome men oppose things which they understand not aright as I intended them; I shall briedy rehearse, out of my book of the motion of the heart and blood, what I did there intend. The blood which is contained in the veins (as in its own hold) there where it is most abundant (viz. in the vena cava) near the batis of the heart, and the right auricle growing hat by degrees from its own internal heat, and being attenuated, it swells and rifes like leaven, whence that auricle being first dilated, and afterwards contracting itself by its pullific faculty, straightways drives it out into the right ventricle of the heart, which being filled in its fystole, and thereby confequently freeing itself from that blood which is driven into it, as the valvulæ bicuspides hinders its regress that way, it impels the same blood into the vena arteriofa, where the paffage is open and diftends it. Whence not being able to return against the valvulæ sigmoides, it finds through the lungs (which are ex-tended, amplified, and restricted, both by infpiration and expiration,) a paffage to the arteria venofa, and from thence into the left auricle; which performing its office with a motion the

(b) Of the nature of Harvey's fame, and in the same order to that of the right auricle's, impels the fame blood into the left ventricle, as the right auricle drove it into the right ventricle, whence the left ventricle, in like manner, and at the fame time with the right, (the passage back to the left auricle being stopt by the valves) forces it into the trunk of the aorta, and confequently into all the branches of that artery, fo that the arteries being filled with the fudden impulse, and not able fo fuddenly to difburthen themselves, are diffended, inpelled, and fuffer a diastole. Whence, fince the fame motion is reiterated continually and incessantly, I collect, that the arteries, both in the lungs and in the whole body, by so many strokes and impulsions of the heart, would be fo diffended and stuffed with blood, that either the impulsion must entirely ceale, or elfe the arteries muit burit, or be dilated fo much as to contain the whole mass of blood exhausted from the veins, unless they were unloaded by an efflux of the blood somewhere. The same reasoning holds likewife with regard to the ventricles of the heart, which being filled and flutfed in like manner with blood, would at last be distended and destitute of all motion, unless the arteries fomewhere difburthened themselves. This confequence of mine is demonstratively true, and follows of necesfity, if the premifes be true; but the truth or falfchood of thefe must be had from our fenfes, and not from any received ways of reasoning; not from

plained to one of his friends, that he was much less frequently called upon to vifit the fick, after he had published his book con-

cerning the motion of the heart (i).

Harvey's adversaries may be divided into two classes; by which he was attacked on different fides, and by very different arguments. Of these, the one party endeavoured to make it appear that Harvey's hypothesis was false; whilst the other admitted it to be well founded, but afferted that he was not the Author of the discovery. One of the first who attacked Harvey's principles concerning the circulation, was Æmilius Parifanus, a Physician of Venice; but he was opposed by Sir George Ent, of the College of Physicians, between whom and Harvey there was a great friendship, in his "Apologia pro Sanguinis Circulatione." Harvey was also attacked by Riolanus, a French Physician and Anatomist; but he answered him himself in his " Exercitationes " Anatomicæ duæ de circulatione sanguinis, ad J. Riolanum " J. Filium."

Those who endeavoured to deprive Harvey of the honour of discovering the circulation, afferted that it was known to preceding Writers. Vander Linden took much pains to prove that it was known to Hippocrates, others faid it was known to Galen, others to Michael Servetus, and others to Columbus, an eminent Anatomist; and Mr. Bayle afterwards affirmed very confidently, that it was known to Cæsalpinus. Passages were cited from these Authors to prove this; but it has been shewn very clearly by Dr. Friend, in his History of physic, as well as by others (a), that the passages cited do by no means answer the purpose for which they are produced. The honour of discovering the circulation was also attributed to the famous Father Paul. This was occasioned by the following incident. The Venetian Ambassador in England was presented by Dr. Harvey with his book on the circulation of the blood; which, on his return to Venice, he lent

the operation of the mind, but from ocular testimony. I affirm likewise of the blood in the veins, that it does always and every where run out of the lesser into the greater, and hastens from all parts towards the heart: whence I collect, that the whole impelled quantity of blood which the arteries receive from the veins, returns and flows back thither, from whence it was first driven, and in this manner the blood moves in a circuit, in a flux and reflux from the heart by impulfion, the force of which carries it into ail the fibres of the arteries, and that being absorpt and exhausted thence from all parts into the veins, it afterwards returns by a continual flux fupra, P. 14---20.

through them to the heart. Our fenfes teach us thefe truths, and necessary deductions drawn from things obvious to fenfe, leave no room for 4 doubt. Upon the whole, this is what I endeavoured to declare and make manifest by observations and experiments, and I chose to prove it not by reasoning from causes and probable principles, but to establish it by the greater authority of fense and experience in an anatomical way." --- Exercitat, Anatom. iii. published in 1649. Vid. Biograph. Britan.

( i ) Gulielmi Harveii Vita, ut fue pra, P. 5.

(a) Vid. Gulielmi Harveii Vita, ut

to Father Paul, who transcribed the most remarkable particulars out of it. These transcripts, after Father Paul's death, came into the hands of his executors, which induced several persons to imagine that he was the Author of them, and gave rise to the report that he had discovered the circulation of the blood. But Dr. Harvey had letters from Fra. Fulgentio, Father Paul's most intimate friend, which set the affair in a clear light (b). Upon the whole, we may conclude with the words of Dr. Friend, "As this great discovery was entirely owing to our countryman, so he has explained it with all the clearness imaginable; and though much has been written upon that subject, I may venture to say, his own book is the shortest, the plainest, and the most convincing of any, as we may be satisfied, if we look into the many apologies written in defence of the circulation."

"into the many apologies written in defence of the circulation." On the 3d of February, 1623, letters were granted by King James I. permitting Dr. Harvey to wait and attend on his Majesty in the same manner as the Physicians in ordinary did, with a promise that he should succeed to that office on the first vacancy (c). And he was afterwards appointed Physician to King Charles the First. He adhered to that Prince upon the breaking out of the civil wars, and attended his Majesty at the battle of Edge-hill, and from thence to Oxford; and in 1642, he was incorporated Doctor of physic in that University. In 1645, by the King's influence, he was elected Warden of Merton-College; but upon the surrendering of Oxford the year after to the Parliament, he was obliged to quit that office; and retiring to London, he passed his time privately in the neighbourhood of that city.

In 1651, he published his "Exercitationes de generatione ani"malium: quibus accedunt quædam de partu, de membranis ac
"humoribus uteri, et de conceptione." This is a curious and
valuable Work, and would certainly have been more so, had not
the civil wars occasioned the loss of some of his papers. For
although he had permission from the Parliament to attend the
King upon his Majesty's leaving Whitehall, yet his house in London was in his absence plundered of all the furniture; and his
Adversaria, with a great number of anatomical observations, relating especially to the generation of insects, were carried off,
and never afterwards recovered by him. This loss he greatly la-

mented (d).

Dr. Harvey had the happiness to live to see the doctrine of the circulation generally received. And, in 1652, a statue was crected to his honour by the College of Physicians. Two years after, he was chosen President of the College in his absence; and coming thither the day after, he acknowledged his great obligations to the electors for the honour they had done him, but de-

<sup>(</sup>b) Biograph, Britan. P. 2548. et Harveii Vita, P. 21. (c) Vid. Harleian MS, in the British Museum, No. 6987. 4. (d) New and Gen. Biog. Dist.

clined accepting of the office, on account of his age and weaknefs. As he had no children, he made the College his heirs, and
fettled his paternal estate upon them in July following. He had
three years before built them a room to assemble in, and a library; and, in 1656, he brought the deeds of his estate, and prefented them to the College. He was then present at the first
feast, instituted by himself, to be continued annually, together
with a commemoration-speech in Latin, to be spoken on the 18th
of October, in honour of the benefactors to the College. He
died on the 3d of June, 1657, in the eightieth year of his age,
and was carried to be interred at Hempstead, in the county of
Essex (e), where a monument was erected to his memory. It has
been reported, that Dr. Harvey before his death was deprived
of his sight, and that he thereupon drank a glass of opium, and
expired soon after: but this report appears to have been entirely
without foundation (f).

Dr. HARVEY was not only eminently learned in the sciences more immediately connected with his profession, but was also well veried in other branches of literature. He was well read in antient and modern History; and when he was wearied with too close an attention to the study of nature, he would relax his mind by discoursing with his friends on political subjects, and the state of public affairs. He took great pleasure in reading some of the antient Poets, and especially Virgil, with whose Works he was exceedingly delighted. He was laboriously studious, regular and virtuous in his life, and had a strong sense of religion. In his familiar conversation there was a mixture of gravity and chearfulness; he expressed himself with great perspicuity, and with much grace and dignity; and was eminent for his great candour and moderation. He never endeavoured to detract from the merit of other men; but appeared always to think that the virtues of others were to be imitated, and not envied. And in the controverfy which was occasioned by his discovery of the circulation, he feemed much more folicitous to discover truth, than to obtain fame. In the latter part of his life, he was greatly afflicted with the gout. He married the daughter of Lancelot Browne, Doctor of physic, but had no children by her (g).
An elegant and correct Edition of Dr. Harvey's Works, in one

An elegant and correct Edition of Dr. Harvey's Works, in one Volume, Quarto, was published by the College of Physicians at London, in 1766, with a Life of him in Latin prefixed, to which we have been indebted in our account of this great Physician.

<sup>(</sup>e) It is said in the Biographia Britannica, and in the New and Gen. Biog. Dict 8vo. that Harvey was buried at Hempstead in Hertfordshire; but this is a missake. (f) Vid. Harveii Vita, P. 34. (g) Vid. Harveii Vita, P. 36, 37.

## The Life of GEORGE VILLIERS, Duke of Buckingham.

gust, 1592, at Brookesby in Leicestershire. He was third son to Sir George Villiers, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, of Cole-Orton, Esq; He was carefully bred up under his mother till he was ten years of age, when he was put to school at Billisden, in the same county, where, as Sir Henry Wotton tells us, he was taught the principles of music and other slight literature, till the thirteenth year of his age, when his father died. He seems not to have discovered any genius for letters; and his mother, with whom he was a great favourite, now took him home to her house at Goodby; and by her direction he was instructed in dancing, sencing, and other ornamental accomplishments, in which he made a great proficiency (b).

When he was eighteen years of age, his mother fent him to Paris, to learn the modes and fashions of the French Court, and also to acquire a knowledge of their language. He staid there about three years; and after his return, which is suggested to have been hastened by the lowness of his sinances (i), he passed

another year with his mother at Goodby.

Villiers was distinguished by a very handsome person, and a graceful and genteel air, which were set off by a gay and fashionable dress. It was well known that King James was mightily taken with these external accomplishments; and the mother of Villiers, therefore, who was a sagacious and enterprizing woman, now resolved to get her son introduced at Court, thinking he might stand a sair chance of making his fortune there.

About the beginning of the year 1615, King James going to Newmarket, according to his usual custom, to take the diversion of hunting, the students at Cambridge invited his Majesty to see a play, intitled, "Ignoramus." At this play it was so contrived, that Villiers should appear with all the advantages which his mother could set him off with, and in such a manner as to attract the notice of the King. James's attachment to his former fa-

<sup>(</sup>b) Wotton's View of the Life and Death of George Villiers, D. of Buckingham, ia Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, Edit. 1651. P. 74, 75, 76. (i) Lives, English and Foreign, Vol. I. P. 138.

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vourite Somerfet was now changed to a dislike of him; and he no fooner cast his eyes upon Villiers, than he conceived a great affection for him. He was, therefore, foon after introduced at

Court, and appointed cup-bearer to his Majesty.

There is an account extant, written by Archbishop Abbot, of the circumstances which attended the beginning of Villiers's further promotion, and which we shall insert in that Prelate's own words. 'King James, (fays the Archbishop), for many infolencies, grew weary of Somerset; and the kingdom groan-\* ing under the triumvirate of Northampton, Suffolk, and So-" merset, (though Northampton soon after died) was glad to be rid of him. We could have no way so good to effectuate that which was the common defire, as to bring in another in his \* room: one nail, as the proverb is, being to be driven out by another. It was now observed, that the King began to cast his eye upon George Villiers, who was then cup-bearer, and feemed a modest and courteous youth. But King James had a fashion, that he would never admit any to nearness about him-\* felf, but fuch a one as the Queen should commend unto him, and make some suit on his behalf; that if the Queen afterwards, being evil intreated, should complain of this dear one, he might make his answer, " It is long of yourself, for you " were the party that commended him unto me." Our old

4 master took delight strangely in things of this nature.

' That noble Queen knew her husband well; and having been bitten with favourites both in England and Scotland, was very fly to adventure upon this request. King James, in the mean time, more and more loathed Somerset, and did not much conceal it, that his affection encreased towards the other; but the \* Queen would not come to it, albeit divers Lords did earnestly folicit her Majesty thereunto. When it would not do, I was ' very much moved to put to my helping hand, they knowing, that Queen Anne was graciously pleased to give me more credit than ordinary, which all her attendants knew she continued till the time of her death. I laboured much, but could not ' prevail; the Queen oft faying to me, "My Lord, you and the " rest of your friends know not what you do: I know your " Master better than you all: for if this young man be once brought in, the first persons that he will plague, must be you " that labour for him; yea, I shall have my part also. " King will teach him to despise and hardly entreat us all, that he

" may feem to be beholden to none but himself."

Notwithstanding this, we were still instant, telling her Ma-· jefty, that the change would be for the better : for George was of a good nature, which the other was not; and if he should degenerate, yet it would be a long time before he were able to attain to that height of evil, which the other had. In the end, upon importunity, Queen Anne condescended, and so pressed it with the King, that he affented thereunto: which was so stricken

while the iron was hot, that in the Queen's bed-chamber the King knighted him with the rapier which the Prince did wear. And when the King gave order to swear him of the bed-chamber, Somerset, who was near, importuned the King with a meffage, that he might be only fworn a groom : but myfelf and others that were at the door, fent to her Majesty, that she would · perfect her work, and cause him to be sworn a gentleman of the chamber .-- George went in with the King; but no fooner he got loose, but he came forth unto me into the privy gallery, and there embraced me. He professed, that he was so infinitely bound unto me, that all his life long he must honour me as his father. And now he did beseech me, that I would give him fome lessons how he should carry himself. When he earnestly followed this chace, I told him I would give him three short e lessons, if he would learn them. The first was, that daily upon his knees he should pray to GOD to bless the King his master, and to give him (George) grace, studiously to serve and please The fecond was, that he should do all good offices between the King and the Queen, and between the King and the Prince. The third was, that he should fill his master's ears with nothing but truth. I made him repeat these three things unto me, and then I would have him to acquaint the King with them, and so tell me, when I met him again, what the King ' faid unto him. He promised me he would; and the morrow ' after, Mr. Thomas Murray, the Prince's tutor, and I, standing together in the gallery at Whitehall, Sir George Villiers coming forth, and drawing to us, he told Mr. Murray how " much he was beholden unto me, and that I had given him certain instructions; which I prayed him to rehearse, as indifferently well he did before us; yea, and that he had acquainted the King with them, who faid, they were instructions worthy of ' an Archbishop to give to a young man. His countenance of thankfulness for a few days continued, but not long, either to me, or any others his well-wishers. The Roman Historian Tacitus hath somewhere a note, That benefits, while they may be requited, feem courtefies; but when they are so high that they cannot be repaid, they prove matters of hatred (k). Villiers being thus advantageously preferred at Court, soon

rose to an extraordinary height of power and dignity. One thousand pounds a year was immediately settled on him, out of the Court of Wards (1). On the 4th of January, 1616, he was made Master of the Horse; on the 24th of April he was installed Knight of the Garter; and on the 22d of August, the same year,

lections, Vol. I. P. 456, 457.
(1) One Writer fays, "Twastime (1) One Writer lays, "Twastime "ebb, and began to be in great want for his Majesty to shew himself libe- "of supplies."-- Lives, English and " ral; for Mr. Villiers, who had no " Foreign, Vol. I. P. 139.

<sup>(</sup>k) Rushworth's Historical Col- " more than 501. a year, had already " brought that poor portion to a low

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he was created Baron of Whaddon, in the county of Bucks, and Viscount Villiers.

"The unrivalled Villiers (fays an ingenious female Historian) now shone forth in all the gaudy plumage of Royal favour. James found in the disposition of the youth an unbounded levity, and a ductile licentiousness, which promised as glorious a harvest as vice and folly could desire (m)." Indeed, it is very evident that Villiers suttained his new dignities and honours with very little virtue, wisdom, or moderation. This we may learn even from Lord Clarendon, though he is very favourable to him. Villiers (fays the Noble Historian) " entirely disposed of all the graces of the King, in conferring all the honours, and all the offices of the three kingdoms without a rival; in dispensing whereof, he was guided more by the rules of appetite, than of judgment, and so exalted almost all of his own numerous family and dependants; whose greatest merit was their alliance to him. Which equally offended the antient Nobility, and the people of all conditions, who faw the flowers of the Crown every day fading and withered; whilft the demesnes, and revenue thereof, were facrificed to the enriching a private family, how well foever originally extracted, scarce ever heard of before to the nation; and the expences of the Court so vast and unlimited, that they had a fad prospect of that poverty, and necessity, which afterwards befel the Crown, almost to the ruin of it (n)."

As James now entrufted his new favourite Villiers with the management and disposal of every thing, so he also heaped honours, estates, and preferments, upon him, with the most boundless profusion (x). On the 5th of January, 1617, he was created Earl of Buckingham, and sworn of the Privy Council. In March, 1617, he attended the King into Scotland, where he was likewife fworn a Privy Counfeller of that kingdom; and on the fucceeding New-Year's-Day, he was created Marquis of Buckingham, and made Lord High Admiral of England, Chief Justice in Eyre of the parks and forests on the fouth-fide of Trent, Master of the King's Bench Office, Steward of Westminster, and Constable of Windfor caltle. The forfeited estate of the Lord Grey of Wil-

toh was also bestowed on him.

In consequence of Buckingham's thus engroffing the Royal favour, the only way to obtain preferment was by being, or pretending to be, devoted to his fervice; and the Court was filled

land, Vol. I. P. 96.

( n ) Clarendon's Hift. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. P. 10. Edit. 8vo. 1712.

(x) In a letter from King James, dated from Newmarket, to the Prince of Wales and Buckingham, by Lord Andover, which is preserved in the British Museum, mention is made of

(m) Macaulay's History of Eng- felling Sedgmoor, with three forests, for the payment of Buckingham's debts, and buying more land for him near Bewley, &c. It is also observed, that his Majesty wears Stenny's (Buckingham's) picture, in a blue ribbon, under his wailtcoat, next his heart. Harleian MS. No. 6987. 8.

with his creatures, relations, and dependents. Wilson fays, "The King, that never much cared for women, had his Court " fwarming with the Marquis's kindred fo, that little ones would " dance up and down the privy lodgings like fairies; and it was " no small sap would maintain all those suckers (o)." The favourite's mother was made Countess of Buckingham in her own right; her eldest son, Sir John Villiers, Viscount Purbeck; her youngest, Sir Christopher Villiers, Earl of Anglesey; and her daughter Countess of Denbigh, by the creation of her husband, Mr. Fielding, a private gentleman, Earl of Denbigh.

About the end of the year 1620, the Marquis of Buckingham married the only daughter of the Earl of Rutland, who was the richest heiress in the kingdom. When our favourite was first preferred, he was very affable and courteous, and seemed to court all men as they courted him; but being intoxicated with power, and his fudden elevation, he foon changed his deportment, often behaving with great arrogance, and treating with the utmost infolence and contempt, all who opposed his views, or who declined to pay court to him, and to comply with his will and plea-

A treaty of marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and the Infanta of Spain, had now been a long time in agitation (p). And in 1623, Buckingham perfuaded Prince Charles to make a journey into Spain, and to fetch home his mistress the Infanta; by representing to him, how brave and gallant an action it would be, and how foon it would put an end to those formalities, which, though all substantial matters were already agreed upon, might yet retard her voyage to England many months. It is suggested by Lord Clarendon, that Buckingham's motive for this journey, was an unwillingness that the Earl of Bristol, the Ambassador in Spain, should have the sole honour of concluding the treaty of marriage (q). However, the King was vehemently against this affair, and indeed with good reason; but the solicitations of the Prince, and the impetuofity of Buckingham, prevailed.

Prince Charles, accompanied by the Marquis of Buckingham, and attended also by Sir Francis Cottington and Endymion Porter, and Sir Richard Graham, Master of Horse to Buckingham, fet out from London on the 27th of February. They passed disguised and undiscovered through France, and even ventured into a court-ball at Paris, where Charles faw the Princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards espoused, and who was, at that time, in the bloom of youth and beauty. In eleven days after their departure from London, they arrived at Madrid; and surprized every body by a step so little usual among great Princes. However, the King of Spain immediately vifited Prince Charles, expressed the utmost gratitude for the confidence reposed in him, and made Vol. IV. 8. 2 S

<sup>( )</sup> Life and Reign of King James the First, P. 147. ( p ) See P. 140, 141. (q) Hist. of the Rebellion, as before, P. 11.

warm protestations of a correspondent considence and friendship. By the most studied civilities, he marked the respect which he bore his Royal guest. He presented him with golden keys of all the Regal apartments, that Charles might have ready access to him at all hours. The Queen sent him divers presents of rich apparel, persumes, and other rarities of the country; and he was entertained with a variety of shews and triumphs. The Spanish Monarch took the lest hand of the Prince on every occasion; and Charles was introduced into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony, which attend the Kings of Spain on their coronation. The Privy Council received public orders to obey him as the King himself; every sumptuary law with regard to apparel was abrogated and suspended during his residence in Spain; and all the prisons of the kingdom were thrown open, and all the prisoners received their freedom, as if an event the most honourable and fortunate had happened to the Monarchy (r).

nourable and fortunate had happened to the Monarchy (r). During the stay of Prince Charles and the Marquis of Buckingham in Spain, they received frequent letters from King James. In one of these, written eighteen days after their departure from England, are the following passages. " My sweet boys, I write " this seventh letter unto you upon the seventeenth of March, " fent in my thip called the Adventure, to my two boys adven-" turers, whom God ever blefs; and now to begin with him, " a Jove Principium, I have fent you, my Baby, two of your " Chaplais s fittest for this purpose, Mawe and Wren, together " with all stuff and ornaments fit for the service of Gop; I have " fully instructed them, so as all their behaviour and service shall, " I hope, prove decent and agreeable to the purity of the primi-" tive Church, and yet as near the Roman form as can lawfully " be done; for it hath ever been my way to go with the Church " of Rome usque ad aras. All the particulars hereoff I remit to " the relation of your before named Chaplains. I fend you also " your robes of the Order, which you must not forget to wear " upon St. George's day, and dine together in them, if they can " come in time, which I pray God they may; for it will be a " goodly fight for the Spaniards to fee my two boys dine in them. " I fend you also the jewels I promised, both some of mine and " fuch of yours, I mean both of you, as are worthy the fending, " for my Baby's prefenting his mistress." --- " As long as I " want the sweet comfort of my boys conversation, I am forced, " yea, and delight, to converse with them by long letters. God " bless you both, my sweet boys, and send you, after a successful " journey, a joyful and happy return in the arms of your dear " Dad ( s )."

<sup>(</sup>r) Hume's Hist. of Great Britain, Vol. I. P. 99. Edit. 4to. Edinb. 1754. and Macaulay's Hist. of England, Vol. I. P. 204. (s) Macaulay's Hist. of England, 2d Edit. Vol. I. P. 201--203.

In another letter, the King acquaints his favourite Buckingham, among other articles of important news, that " his bay " Spanish mare has a fine horse foal;" and he " wishes his sweet " Baby the like fuccess with the Spanish breed before this time " twelvemonth (t)." And in a letter from Buckingham to the King, dated Madrid, April 25, 1623, he complains how sparing his Majesty was of the jewels he fent to the Prince, considering how richly they dress in them there; and that his Highness has no other means to appear like a King's fon. He at the same time informs his Majesty, that he has sent him some asses and camels, a Barbary horse, an elephant, &c. and says, that when they return, they will bring horses and asses enough (u).

It appears that Buckingham, during his stay in Spain, behaved with great infolence to the Earl of Bristol, the English Ambassador at that Court (w). He also made himself extremely disagreeable to the Spanish Ministry, by his manners and behaviour; which were a mixture of Gallic licentiousness, and British roughnefs. The distasteful familiarity that subsisted between him and the Prince, gave great offence to the high notions which that nation entertained of Royalty, and was as incongruous to the equally-exalted pretensions of James and his fon, as to the romantic conceits of the Spaniards (x). Buckingham's fallies of paffion, his diffolute pleasures, and his arrogant and impetuous temper, which he took no pains to difguife, were also qualities which could be efteemed no where, but to the grave and fober Spaniards were the objects of peculiar aversion (y). They could not conceal their furprize, that such a hair-brained youth should intrude into a negociation, now conducted to a period, by fo accomplished a Minister as Bristol, and could assume to himself all the 2 S 2

Museum, No. 6987, 32.
(u) Harleian MSS. No. 6987, 37. w) Vid. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. P. 36, 8vo. Edit.

(x) Macaulay's Hift. of England,

Vol. I. P. 218.

y ) In a letter written by the Earl of Bristol, or some of his friends, to King James, we have the following particulars. " Let your Majesty, (says " the letter-writer), call fome certain " men unto you, and fift out of them " the opinion of the more moderate " Parliament; and enquire of those " that come out of Spain, who did " give the first cause of falling out?"
Whether the Duke of Buckingham " did not many things against the au-" thority and reverence due to the " Prince? Whether he was not wont

( t) Harleian MSS. in the British " to be sitting, whilst the Prince stood, " and was in presence; and also to " have his feet refting upon another " feat, after an indecent manner? Whether, when the Prince was un-" covered, whilft the Queen and In-" fanta looked out at the windows, " he uncovered his head, or no? "Whether, fitting at the table with the Prince, he did not behave him-" felf unreverently? Whether he " were not wont to come into the " Prince's chamber, with his clothes " half on, fo that the doors could not " be opened to them that came to " visit the Prince from the King of " Spain, the door-keepers refuting to " go in for modelty take? Whether " he did not call the Prince by ridi-" culous names? Whether he did " not dishonour and profane the

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the merit of it. They lamented the Infanta's fate, who must be approached by a man, whose temerity seemed to respect no laws, Divine or human. And when they observed, that he had the imprudence to infult the Conde Duke of Olivarez, their Prime-Minister, every one who was ambitious of paying court to the Spanish, became desirous of expressing their dislike to the English favourite. Buckingham once told Olivarez, that his own attachment to the Spanish nation, and to the King of Spain, was extreme; that he would contribute to every measure, which would cement the friendship between England and them; and that his peculiar ambition would be to facilitate the Prince's marriage with the Infanta. But he added, " With regard to " you, Sir, in particular, you must not consider me as your " friend; but must ever expect from me all possible enmity and " opposition." The Conde Duke replied, that he very willingly accepted of what was proffered him; and on these terms the favourites parted (z).

While the Marquis of Buckingham continued at Madrid, he received a patent from England, by which he was created Earl of Coventry, and Duke of Buckingham (a). However, the great animofity which subsisted between him and the Spanish Ministry, now induced him to employ his whole influence over the Prince, which was very great, to inftill into him an aversion for that marriage, which had hitherto been the object of his most earnest desires (b). There were also at this time several delays with respect to concluding the marriage on the part of the Spanish Court, which concurred so efficaciously with Buckingham's endeavours, that Charles was perfuaded to think that the Spaniards had no fincere inclination to an union with the Crown of

England;

" King's palace with base and con-" temptible women? Whether he " did not divers obscene things, and " used not immodest gesticulations " and wanton tricks with players, in " the presence of the Prince? Whe-" ther he did not violate his faith si given to the Conde Olivarez?
Whether he did not presently com-" municate his discontents, offences, " and complaints, to the Ambassadors " of other Princes? Whether, in do-" ing of his bufinefs, he did not use " frequent threatenings unto the Ca-" tholic King's Ministers, and to apof-" tolical Nuncios? Whether he did " not affect to fit at plays prefented " in the King's palace, after the man-" ner and example of the King and " Prince, being not contented with " the honour that is ordinarily given " to the High-Steward, or Major- " the Infanta did not, as foon as the

" Domo of the King's house ?" There is fufficient reason for believing, that most of these queries may be answered in the affirmative .--- Guthrie's Hift. of England, Vol. III. P. 786.

( a) Hume's Hift. of Great Bri-

tain, Vol. I. P. 101.

(a) In a letter from King James, dated at Whitehall, April 7, 1623, after advising his Baby (Charles) not to be ashamed of his religion, he asfures his fweet gossip Stenny, (Buckingham), that he is ready to make him a Duke when he will .-- Harleian MSS. No. 6987. 29. (b) Lord Clarendon fays, that

Olivarez had been heard to centure ' very severely the Duke's familiarity, and want of respect toward the Prince, (a crime monstrous to the Spaniard), and had faid, that "if England; and that himself and his father had been the dupes to a treaty, the completion of which would involve them in inextricable difficulties. These, and other the like infinuations, worked him up to such an height of refentment, that he listened with eagerness to the project of an abrupt departure, and began to entertain doubts of not being able to effect it. In this despondency, he wrote to his father, acquainting him with his apprehenfions; and Buckingham at the fame time fent letters to the King, in which he wrote word, " That he had at length disco-" vered the King of Spain's infincerity; who was far, he faid, " from having the least thought of accomplishing the marriage; " and that the Prince was in danger of being retained in Spain all his life." These, and other advices of the same kind, pat the poor old King into fuch a fright, that he wrote positive orders to Buckingham to bring away the Prince, if possible; and at the fame time fent a fleet of thips to St. Andero in Bifcay, to efcort them home (c). This order was readily obeyed; and on pretence of preparing the English ships for the Prince's reception, Buckingham departed hastily, taking no ceremonious farewell of the Court (d). However, the Prince, when he left Madrid, took a folemn leave of the Spanish Court; and both parties then professed an intention to conclude the marriage; but after Charles's and Buckingham's return to England, the treaty for this purpose was entirely broken off.

The Prince and the Duke of Buckingham arrived at Portsmouth on the 5th of October, 1623; and from thence they immediately posted to the King, who received them with the utmost joy. And shortly after Buckingham was made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Steward of the manor of Hampton-court. But notwithstanding the joy with which the King received the

" was married, suppress that licence, " nor nothing, so I may once have " fhe would herfelf quickly undergo the mischief of it." Which gave the first alarum to the Duke to ape prehend his own ruin in that union, and accordingly to use all his endeavours to break and prevent it: and from that time he took all occasions to quarrel with, and re-' proach the Conde Duke.' --- Hift, of the Rebellion, Vol. I. P. 35, 36.
(c) The following is one of the

letters written by James, on occasion of these desponding messages :

" My fweet Boys,

" Your letter by Cottington hath " struck me dead : I sear it shall much " fhorten my days. Alas! I now " repent me fore that ever I fuffered " you to go away: I care for match " you in my arms again; God grant "it! God grant it! God grant it! Amen! amen! amen! I proteil " ye shall be as heartily welcome as " it ye had done all things ye went " for, so that I may once have you in " my arms again. And fo God bleis " you both, my only fweet fon, only " best sweet servant, and let me hear " from you quickly, with all fpeed, " as you love my life. And fo God " fend you a happy joyful meeting " in the arms of " Your dear Dad."

Vid. Macaulay's Hift. of England, Vol. I. P 220. (d) Macaulay's Hift. of England,

P. 220, 221.

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Prince and his favourite on their return to England, it appears that James's attachment to Buckingham was from this time very much decreased. The King was much disgusted at the violent behaviour and measures of the Duke; and he was also jealous of the close intimacy and connection which there now was between him and the Prince. Lord Clarendon fays, that after Buckingham's return, " he executed the fame authority in conferring all favours " and graces, and in revenging himself upon those who had " manifested any unkindness towards him. And yet, notwith-" flanding all this, if that King's nature had equally disposed " him to pull down, as to build and erect; and if his courage " and feverity in punishing and reforming, had been as great, as " his generofity and inclination was to oblige, it is not to be "doubted, but that he would have withdrawn his affection from the Duke entirely, before his death (e)." King James died on the 27th of March, 1625; and reports were raised, that his death was occasioned by poison, administered by Buckingham, or by his means: but this charge feems to have been not well supported (f).

It appears that King James suffered himself to be treated with the grossest familiarity by his favourite Buckingham: and, indeed, this sufficiently appears by the letters which passed between them, which were of a very curious nature. Some specimens of their epistolary sile have been already given; and we shall insert

one or two more.

The following is one of Buckingham's epifles to his Majesty:

Were it not that you might think me an encroacher upon

your goodness, I should make a proposition for you to stay ten

days at Theobalds, by which doing you might have the company of your sweet son, without whom we should neither play
at cards, gosse, nor sit up for does at Huntingdon; whereas,
if you stay at Theobalds but these ten days, you might have
to wait on you not only a found son, but a servant within and
without as clean as a shilling. But if these reasons were not,
I pray your sowship how can you spend these ten days better

" in any other place (g)."

In another letter, preserved in the British Museum (b), James writes to Buckingham, sending "his blessing on his heart-roots; and informing him what store of game and fine young hounds he has with him; and he blesses the master of his harriers; and hopes the Duke will leave off his physic to-day." In another letter written by James to Buckingham, his Majesty "blesses the heart-roots of Tom Badger, for breeding him such a fine kennel of young hounds, worthy to lie on Stenny's and Kate's bed; and calls

(e) Hist, of the Rebellion, Vol. I.

P. 11.

(f) Vid. Guthrie's Hist. of England, Vol. II. P. 266.

(b) Harleian MSS. No. 6987.

(b) Harleian MSS. No. 6987.

calls Gop to thank the Master of the Horse for providing such a number of fair useful horses, and advises him to take care of his health." It appears that the Dutchess of Buckingham also corresponded with the King: and in one of her letters, which is still preserved, she writes to him, that she hopes Lord Annan has acquainted him, that she "did mean to wean Mall (her daughter) very shortly;" but fays, that she would by no means do this till

the had acquainted his Majesty (i).

On the accession of King Charles I. the Duke of Buckingham, who had for a confiderable time been upon terms of great intimacy with him ( k), continued to enjoy the same degree of Royal favour of which he had been possessed in the reign of James. Indeed, his power and influence now feemed to be more extenfive, if possible, than they had been during the late reign. King Charles discovered as great a friendship towards him, and as entire a confidence in him, as ever King had shewn to any subject. It was by Buckingham that all preferments in Church and State were conferred; all his kindred, friends, and dependants, were promoted to that degree of honour or riches, or to those offices, which he thought proper; and all his enemics and oppofers were kept down and discountenanced, if not ruined.

A treaty of marriage having now been concluded between King Charles and the Princess Henrietta Maria, daughter to Henry IV. of France, in June, 1625, the Duke of Buckingham went to attend the new Queen with the Royal Navy, and brought her to Dover; from whence she came to Canterbury, where the marriage was confummated. It was not long after that an affair happened, which increased the unpopularity of Buckingham. When the late King James deserted the Spanish alliance, he had been cajoled by the French Ministry to furnish them with one ship of war, and seven armed Merchant-ships, to be employed against the Genoese. Buckingham, who was at this time warmly

(i) Vid. Sir David Dalrymple's Collection of Letters relating to the

reign of James I.

( k ) He is faid to have been a confident in an intrigue of Charles, while Prince of Wales. The following letter from the Prince to Buckingham, from which it is inferred that the latter was privy to an amour of his Highness's, was first published by Mr. Thomas Hearne, who tells us the letter is faid to have once belonged to Archbishop Sancrost; and he observes it is the only intrigue he had ever heard this Prince was concerned in.

" STENNY.

" I have nothing now to write to 46 you, but to give you thanks both

" for the good counsel ye gave me, " and for the event of it. The King " gave me a good sharp potion, but you took away the working of it " by the well relished comfits ye fent " after it. I have met with the party " that must not be named, once al-" ready, and the cullor of writing this " letter shall make me meet with her " on Saturday, although it is written the day being Thursday. So, as-" furing you that the bufiness goes " fafely on, I reit,

Your constant loving friend, " CHARLES.

" I hope ye will not fhew the King " this letter, but put it in the fafe " custody of Mr. Vulcan."

attached to the Court of France, prevailed on Charles to lend these ships to be used against the French Protestants at the Siege of Rochelle. Accordingly the fquadron failed to Dieppe; but no fooner was its destination known, than the whole crew mutinied. They drew up a remonstrance to Vice-admiral Pennington, their commander; and figning all their names in a circle, left he should discover the ring-leaders, they laid it under his prayer-book. Pennington declared, that he would rather be hanged in England for disobedience, than fight against his brother Protestants in France. The whole squadron failed immediately to the Downs: from whence Admiral Pennington fent a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, desiring to be excused from that fervice. The Duke, without acquainting the King, or confulting the Council, directed Lord Conway, then Secretary of State, to write a letter to Pennington, commanding him to put all the ships into the hands of the French. This, however, not taking effect, the Duke procured the King's express orders to the fame purpose. Upon this, in the month of August, 1625, the Vice-Admiral failed a fecond time to Dieppe, where, according to his instructions, the Merchant-ships were delivered to the French. But Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded the King's ship, broke through, and returned to England: and all the officers and failors, belonging to the other thips, notwithflanding great offers were made them, immediately deferted; not an individual amongst them, one gunner excepted, (who was foon after killed before Rochelle) being found dissolute enough to ferve against their distressed brethren the French Hugonots. This affair made a great noise, and came at last to form an article in an impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham (1).

The Duke had already been more than once attacked in Parliament; and in 1626, he was impeached of high treason by the Earl of Bristol, against whom a charge of treason was also brought by the Attorney-General. But thirteen articles of impeachment were also exhibited against Buckingham by the house

of Commons.

What

(1) Vid. Macaulay's Hift. of England, Vol. I. P. 285, 286. 2d Edit. Hume's Hift. of Great Britain, Vol. I. P. 149, 15%. Edit. Edinb. 4to. 1754. and Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. P. 106, 107. 3d Edit. Mr. Hume, after relating this transaction, and the murmurs and discontents which it occasioned in Parliament, observes, that "it plainly appears from this incident, as well as from many others, that, of all European nations, the British were, at that time, and till long after, funk into

"the lowest and most odious bigotry.' We should, however, suppose, that there are not many people, besides this ingenious Historian, who often affects to be singular, who would think that the resulat of the British seamen to affish in the destruction of their fellow Protestant: in France, or the discontent of the nation at their being sent out on such a service, was an instance of the most odious bigotry, notwithstanding all the political reasons which he has produced to support this opinion.

What an engroffer the Duke was of dignities and offices, fufficiently appears by the preamble to the charge of the House of Commons against him. His titles are there enumerated as follows: " George, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Buckingham, Earl " of Coventry, Vifcount Villiers, Baron of Whaddon, Great " Admiral of the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and of the principality of Wales, and of the dominions and islands of the " fame, of the town of Calais, and of the marches of the fame, " and of Normandy, Gascoigne, and Guienne, General Gover-" nor of the feas and ships of the faid kingdom, Lieutenant-Ge-" neral, Admiral, Captain-General, and Governor of his Ma-" jefty's Royal fleet and army lately fet forth, Master of the Horse " of our Sovereign Lord the King, Lord Warden, Chancellor, " and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, and of the members thereof, "Constable of Dover castle, Justice in Eyre of the forests and chaces on this side the river Trent, Constable of the castle of "Windfor, Gentleman of his Majesty's bed-chamber, one of his " Majesty's most honourable Privy Council in his Realms both " in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and Knight of the most

" honourable Order of the Garter (m)."

In the articles of impeachment exhibited by the Commons, the Duke of Buckingham was charged with engroffing the most important offices of the State, the duties of which he was unable to perform; and with having neglected to do his duty as Lord High Admiral, particularly as to guarding the feas, and protecting the national navigation; by which means the British seas had been shamefully infested with pirates and enemies, to the loss of very many ships, and also of many of his Majesty's subjects. It was also alledged against him, that he had caused a ship and goods belonging to French merchants to be conficated, under false pretences, unjustly, and contrary to the law of nations; that he had extorted the fum of ten thousand pounds from the East-India Company; that he had caused ships to be delivered up to the French King, in order to ferve against the Hugonots; that he compelled persons to purchase titles of honour at exorbitant rates; that he fold the office of Master of the Wards for fix thousand pounds, and that of Lord-Treasurer for twenty thousand pounds; and that he had procured exorbitant grants from the Crown.

Notwithstanding this impeachment of Buckingham, he was never put under any confinement, which was complained of as a grievance by the Commons. And the Members of the Univerfity of Cambridge, in order to recommend themselves to the favour of the Court, were mean enough to elect the Duke, at this particular crisis, for their Chancellor; though he was considered by a great part of the kingdom, and that upon good grounds, to be the chief cause of some of the greatest national evils. ingham drew up an answer to the articles of the Commons against

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<sup>(</sup>m.) Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. I. P. 303.

him, in which he absolutely denied some of the particulars with which he was charged: but the affair was never brought to a proper determination; for the King, in order to screen his favourite, and put a stop to any further proceedings against him, dissolved the Parliament.

The Duke of Buckingham had already precipitated the nation into a war with Spain, chiefly from his animofity against the Spanish Ministry; and which he had yet taken no proper measures for carrying on. But notwithstanding this, while the war with Spain was still kept up, though in a manner no way honourable or advantageous to the nation, by his means a new war was precipitately entered into against France: for which no reasonable cause could ever be affigned. But it appears that King Charles was hurried into this war, entirely from a private motive of refentment in the Duke of Buckingham; who, when he was in France to bring over Queen Henrietta, had the confidence to make overtures of an amour to Anne of Austria, the confort of Lewis XIII. It is intimated by some Writers, that his amorous addresses were not altogether discouraged; however, we are told, that when he was about to fet out on a new Embaffy to Paris, a meffage was fent him from the French Monarch, that he must not think of such a journey. Buckingham, exasperated at this, swore, "That he "would see the Queen, in spite of all the power of France;" and, from that moment, he was determined to engage England into a rupture with that kingdom (n).

We are informed by Lord Clarendon, that Buckingham took great pains to leffen King Charles's affection towards his young Queen Henrietta, being exceedingly jealous lest her interest should be strong enough to cross his designs. And he even treated her with great neglect, and fometimes with rudeness. One day, when he unjustly apprehended that the Queen had shewn some disrespect to his mother, in not going to her lodging at an hour she had intended to go, from which she was hindered by mere accident, he came into her chamber in much passion, and after some rude expostulations, told her, " she should repent it." Upon this her Majesty answering with some quickness, Buckingham insolently replied, "There had been Queens in England who had loft their " heads." The Noble Historian also observes, that " it was uni-" verfally known, that, during his life, the Queen never had any " credit with the King, with reference to any public affairs." The truth is, that if the had had no influence over him afterwards in this respect, it would have been much for Charles's advantage; who was as little benefitted by the counsels of his Queen, as he had been by those of his favourite Buckingham.

In 1627, a flect of an hundred fail, and an army of feven thousand men, were fitted out for the invasion of France, and both

<sup>(</sup>n) Hume's Hift. of Great Britain, Vol. I. P. 165. See also Clarendon's Hift. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. P. 38.

of them entrusted to the command of the Duke of Buckingham, though he was altogether unacquainted both with land and fea fervice. He failed from Portsmouth on the 27th of June, and bent his course to the isle of Rhe, which was well garrisoned and fortified. Having landed his men, though with some loss, he followed not the blow, but allowed Toyras, the French Governor, five days respite, during which the citadel of St. Martin was victualled and provided for a fiege: and he left behind him the small fort of Prie, which could at first have made no manner of refiftance. Indeed, all Buckingham's military operations shewed great incapacity and inexperience ( o ). Though he had refolved to starve St. Martin, he guarded the sea negligently, and allowed provisions and ammunition to be thrown into it. And now defpairing to reduce it by famine, he attacked it without having made any breach, and rashly threw away the lives of his soldiers. Having found, that a French army had stolen over in small divifions, and had landed at Prie, the fort which he had at first overlooked, he began to think of a retreat; but made it so unskilfully, that it was equivalent to a total rout. He is faid to have been the last of the whole army who embarked; and he returned to England, having loft two thirds of his land forces; totally difcredited both as an Admiral and a General; and bringing no praise with him, but that of personal courage ( p ).

Shortly after the Duke's return from this unfortunate expedition, a Parliament was affembled, in which a remonstrance was drawn up by the Commons, and presented to the King, wherein they complained of many public grievances, and declared the excessive power of the Duke of Buckingham, and his abuse of that power, to be the cause of those evils under which the nation laboured. But an event soon happened, which rendered any farther complaints of his exorbitant power, or bad conduct, unne-

cessary.

A large fleet and army were affembled for the relief of the French Protestants at Rochelle, who were now, by a close siege, reduced to the last extremity. The Duke of Buckingham chose to command in this expedition in person, and to that end came to Portsmouth; where, on the 23d of August, 1628, in the morning, he having been conversing with some French gentlemen and several General Officers, John Felton placed himself in an entry, through which the Duke was to pass, who walking with Sir Thomas Fryer, and inclining his ear to him in a posture of attention, Felton with a knife stabbed him on the left side; upon which the

great capacity as a Commander, and withal, too much pride to take advice.—Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. P. 115. 3d Edit.

(p) Hume's Hift. of Great Britain, Vol. I. P. 166, 167.

<sup>(</sup>o) Dr, Campbell observes, that at first the French Court was exceedingly alarmed at Buckingham's attempt on their coasts; and, it is said, the King fell sick upon it; but their terrors quickly diminished, when they were informed that the Duke had no

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Duke cried out, "The villain has killed me," and immediately pulled out the knife himself, but never spoke more, the knife having pierced his heart (q). Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in his account

(9) A flory is related by Lord Clarendon of an extraordinary apparition which is faid to have appeared a short time before the death of the Duke of Buckingham; and which, though it feems not entitled to much credit, is yet related by the Noble Historian with so-much gravity and folemnity, that we shall here insert it. " There were (fays his Lordflaip) many . flories scattered abroad at that time, of feveral prophecies, and predic-" tions of the Duke's untimely and violent death. Amongst the rest there was one, which was upon a · better foundation of credit, than " usually such discourses are founded upon. There was an Officer in the " King's wardrobe in Windfor cattle, of a good reputation for honefly · and diferetion, and then about the age of fifty years, or more. This man had, in his youth, been bred " in a school, in the parish where Sir · George Villiers, the father of the ' Duke, lived; and had been much · cherished and obliged, in that feafon of his age, by the faid Sir George, · whom afterwards he never faw. About fix months before the mi-· ferable end of the Duke of Buck-' ingham, about midnight, this man, being in his bed, at Windfor, where his officewas, and in very good health, there appeared to him, on the fide of his bed, a man of a very · venerable aspect, who drew the curtains of his bed, and, fixing his eyes upon him, asked him, if he knew him? The poor man, half dead with fear and apprehension, being s asked the second time, whether he · remembered him? and having in that time called to his memory the · presence of Sir George Villiers, and the very clothes he used to wear, in which at that time he feemed to be s habited, he answered him, that he s thought him to be that person. He f replied, "He was in the right; that he was the same, and that he ex-

se pected a fervice from him; which

I was, that he should go from him to

"his fon the Duke of Buckingham, and tell him, if he did not fornewhat to ingratiate himself to the 
people, or, at least, to abate the extreme malice they had against him, 
he would be suffered to live but a 
floort time." After this discourse, 
he disappeared; and the poor man, 
if he had been at all waking, slept 
very well till morning, when he believed all this to be a dream, and 
considered it no otherwise.

The next night, or shortly after,

' The next night, or shortly after, the same person appeared to him again in the same place, and about the same time of the night, with an aspect a little more severe than before; and asked him, whether he had done as he had required him? and perceiving he had not, gave him very fevere reprehensions; and told ' him, ' He expected more compli-" ance from him; and that if he did " not perform his commands, he should enjoy no peace of mind, but " should be always purfued by him." Upon which he promised him to bey him. But the next morning waking out of a good fleep, though he was exceedingly perplexed with the lively representation of all particulars to his memory, he was willing still to perfuade himself that he had only dreamed; and confidered, that he was a person at such a distance from the Duke, that he knew ' not how to find any admission to his presence; much less had any hope to be believed in what he should say. ' So with great trouble and unquiete nefs, he spent some time in thinking what he should do; and in the end · refolved to do nothing in the mat-

The fame person appeared to him the third time with a terrible countenance, and butterly reproaching him for not persorming what he had promised to do. The poor man had by this time recovered the courage to tell him, "That in truth he had deferred the execution of his commands, upon considering how differences."

cuit

count of the assassination of Buckingham, tells us, that "his "Dutchess and the Countess of Anglesey (the wife of Christo"pher Villiers, Earl of Anglesey, his younger brother), being in

" cult a thing it would be for him to " get any access to the Duke, having " acquaintance with no person about " him; and if he could obtain ad-" mission to him, he should never be es able to perfuade him, that he was " fent in fuch a manner; but he should, " at best, be thought to be mad, or to " be fet on and employed, by his " own or the malice of other men, to abuse the Duke; and so he should be " fure to be undone." The person re-· plied, as he had done before, "That " he should never find rest, till he " should perform what he required; and therefore he were better to dif-" patch it. That the access to his " fon was known to be very eafy; and that few men waited long for " him. And for the gaining him cre-" dit, he would tell him two or three " particulars; which he charged him " never to mention to any person " living, but to the Duke himfelf; " and he should no sooner hear them, " but he would believe all the rest he should say:" and so repeating his · threats, he left him.

In the morning, the poor man, " more confirmed by the last appearance, made his journey to London, where the Court then was. He was · very well known to Sir Ralph Free-' man, one of the Masters of Requests, who had married a Lady that was e nearly allied to the Duke, and was · himself well received by him. ' him this man went; and though he did not acquaint him with all particulars, he faid enough to him to let · him fee there was fomewhat extraor-· dinary in it; and the knowledge he had of the fobriety, and difcretion of the man, made the more impref-' fion on him. He defired, that, by his means, he might be brought to the Duke; to fuch a place, and in fuch a manner, as should be thought ' fit; assirming, " That he had much " to fay to him, and of fuch a na-" ture, as would require much pri-" vacy, and fome time and patience " in the hearing." Sir Ralph pro-

f mifed, he would speak first with the Duke of him, and then he should understand his pleasure: and accordingly, in the first opportunity, he did inform him of the reputation and honelty of the man, and then what he defired, and of all he knew of the matter. The Duke, according to his usual openness and condescension, told him, " That he was " the next day early to hunt with the " King; that his horfes should attend him at Lambeth-bridge, where he " would land by five of the clock in " the morning; and if the man at-" tended him there at that hour, he " would walk, and speak with him, " as long as should be necessary." Sir Ralph carried the man with him the next morning, and prefented him to the Duke at his landing, who reseived him courteoufly; and walked afide in conference near an hour, none but his own fervants being at that hour in that place; and they and Sir Ralph at fuch a distance, that they could not hear a word, though the Duke fometimes spoke, and with great commotion; which Sir Ralph the more eafily observed, and perceived, because he kept his eyes always fixed upon the Duke; having procured the conference, upon fomewhat he knew there was of extraordinary. And the man told him in his return over the water, "That when he mentioned those par-" ticulars which were to gain him " credit, the substance whereof he said " he durft not impart to him, the "Duke's colour changed, and he " fwore he could come to that know-" ledge only by the Devil; for that " those particulars were known only " to himself, and to one person more, " who, he was fure, would never " fpeak of it."

The Duke purfued his purpose of hunting; but was observed to ride all the morning with great pensiveness, and in deep thoughts, without any delight in the exercise he was upon: and before the morning was feet,

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an upper room, and hearing a noise in the hall, into which "they had carried the Duke, ran presently into a gallery, that looked down into it; and there beholding the Duke's blood " gush out abundantly from his breast, nose, and mouth, (with which his speech, after his first words, had been immediately of flopped), they brake into pitiful outcries, and raised great la-" mentation. He ---- being carried by his fervants unto the et table, that flood in the same hall, and having struggled with "death near a quarter of an hour, at length gave up the ghost bout ten o'clock." The Duke, at the time of his death, was just turned of thirty-six years of age. His bowels were interred at Portsmouth; but his body was brought to York-House, whence it was conveyed to Westminster-Abbey, and sumptuously entombed on the north-fide of Henry the VIIth's chapel, where

a magnificent monument is erected to his memory.

John Felton, by whom the Duke was killed, was of a reputable family in Suffolk, and had ferved under Buckingham in the character of a Lieutenant of foot. His Captain being killed in the retreat at the isle of Rhe, Felton, it is said, had solicited for the company; and when disappointed, he threw up his commission, and retired in discontent from the army. He afterwards resided for fome time in London, where he heard universal clamours against Buckingham; and meeting also with the remonstrance of the House of Commons, in which the Duke was represented as the cause of the public grievances, and the great enemy of the nation, he now began to conceive that he should do an acceptable piece of fervice to his country, if he killed so iniquitous a Minister; and which, therefore, he soon after determined to do. He chose no other instrument to do this with than an ordinary knife, which he bought of a common cutler for a shilling : and thus provided, he repaired to Portsmouth, where he executed his purpose. The fact was committed so suddenly, that no man faw the blow, nor by whom it was given: and the consternation occasioned by it was so great, that Felton might easily have got off.

" foent, left the field, and alighted at " found overwhelmed in tears, and in his mother's lodgings in Whitehall; · with whom he was thut up for the fpace of two or three hours; the forious truth, that when the news ' noise of their discourse frequently ' of the Duke's murther (which hape reaching the cars of those who attended in the next rooms. And " when the Duke left her, his counte- " not in the least degree surprized; s nance appeared full of trouble, with sout received it asif she had foreseen · a mixture of anger; a countenance, · it; nor did afterwards express such that was never before observed in 'a degree of forrow, as was expected . him, in any convertation with her, · towards whom he had a profound \* reverence. And the Counters her- Vol. I. P. 42, 43, 44.

" felf was, at the Duke's leaving her,

the highest agony imaginable. Whatever there was of all this, it is a no-' pened within few months after) was brought to his mother, she feemed from such a mother, for the loss of ' fuch a fon.'-Hist of the Rebellion,

In the hurry, a hat was taken up, in the infide of which was fowed a paper, wherein four or five lines were written of that remonstrance of the Commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and underneath these lines was an ejaculation. It was immediately concluded, that the perfon to whom this hat belonged, must be the man who had done the murder; and accordingly a gentleman being observed walking very penfively before the door without a bat, the word was given, that "there was the villain that had killed the Duke;" and while the multitude crowded to fee him, and every one was asking, Which is he? Which is he? Felton very composedly answered, "I am he." The most furious ran with their drawn swords to kill him; while he, with all the unconcern in the world, exposed himself to the utmost violence of their rage; but others of a more moderate temper defended him, and carried him into a private room, in order to examine him. The chief thing aimed at was to find out his accomplices; and, in order to induce him to that discovery, it was intimated to him, that the Duke was not yet dead. Upon which Felton smiled, and said, he knew well enough that he had given him a blow that had determined all their hopes. He added, that they need give themselves no trouble about his accomplices, for no man living had credit enough with him to engage him to fuch an action; that what he had done was a matter of conscience, for which he was ready and willing to fuffer the severest penalties of the law; and that the motives upon which he had acted would appear, if his hat were found; for that, believing he should perish in the attempt, he had there taken care to write them. He was afterwards conveyed to London, and being tried and found guilty of the Duke's murder, he was hanged in chains (r).

GEORGE VILLIERS, Duke of Buckingham, was distinguished by the beauty of his person, and the gracefulness of his air and manners. He was well verfed in all the arts of Court; and, to those whom he favoured, was extremely affable and obliging. He was a warm and zealous friend, but a violent and open enemy. He possessed great external accomplishments; but was destitute of almost every talent requisite to form the great Minister. He was rash and imprudent, immoderately profuse and expensive, and head-strong in his passions; the gratisication of which feemed to be almost his only aim. In his clothes

(r) It is observable, that Samuel did yet applaud Felton for affaffinating Butler, the celebrated Author of HuBuckingham. See his Verses "To
DIBRAS, notwithstanding the zeal "Felton in the Tower," inserted which he afterwards discovered for among his " Remains," Edit. 1722.

the Royal party, and his animofity P. 133. against those engaged on the other side,

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and equipages he was inexpressibly magnificent, the jewels heleft behind him being estimated at three hundred thousand pounds. He had great personal courage, and was a kind and generous master to his servants and dependants. He had issue by his Lady three sons and a daughter. His eldest son died young, so that he was succeeded in his honours and estates by George, his second son.



# The Life of JAMES USHER. Archbishop of Armagh.

HIS illustrious Prelate, so deservedly celebrated for his great and extensive learning, was born at Dublin on the 4th of January, 1580. He was fon to Mr. Arnold Usher, one of the fix Clerks in Chancery, a gentleman much esteemed for his integrity and prudence (s), by Margaret, the daughter of James Stanihurst, who was three times Speaker of the House of Commons, Recorder of the city of Dublin, and one of the Masters in Chancery. He discovered great parts and a strong passion for books from his earliest youth: and it is said that this remarkable circumstance attended the beginning of his literary pursuits, that he was taught to read by two aunts, who had been blind from their cradle (t). In 1588, when he was eight years old, he was fent to a grammar-school in Dublin, which was kept by two learned Scotsmen, James Fullerton, and James Hamilton. They were fent over to Ireland to secure a party for King James, in case of the death of Queen Elizabeth; and, the better to cover their defign, kept a school. The former was afterwards knighted, and of the bed-chamber to King James, and was fent Ambassador to France; and the latter was created Viscount Clandebois.

In 1593, when he had been five years under these able masters, he was removed to Trinity-College, Dublin, and was one of the first admitted into that new established seminary; and placed under the tuition of his former mafter Hamilton, who had been advanced to a fenior Fellowship in it. Here he studied philosophy: but his leifure hours were employed in reading History, he then Vol. IV. 8. refolving

(s) He was descended from a very antient family, which in England bore the name of Nevil, till the reign of Henry II. when it was changed by one of his ancestors; who, about the year 1185, passing over with Prince (afterwards King) John, in the quality of Usher into Ireland, settled there by the name of his office; and his descendants spreading into several branches, filled the most considerable posts in and about Dublin for several Walter Harris, Esq; P. 98.

(t) " He had two aunts, who were both born blind; and yet they found out a method of teaching him to read English; which he used to tell among his friends, as a thing rare and uncommon. They had vast memories, and could repeat most part of the Scripture by heart distinctly, and without mistake."-Sir James Ware's History of the Bishops of the kingdom of Ireland, revised and continued by

refolving to make himself a master of the History of all nations. And when he was little more than fourteen years of age, he had reduced into synoptical tables the most memorable facts of antient History; and this he did according to a just series, and in a

clear method (u).

At this early period he also studied the Holy Scriptures with great care; he read likewise St. Augustine's Meditations; and while other scholars were engaged in their recreations, he often retired to his closet for the sake of religious contemplation, especially on the day preceding the administration of the Sacrament. When between fisteen and sixteen years of age, he had made such a proficiency in chronology, that he had drawn up in Latin an exact Chronicle of the Bible, as far as the Book of Kings. Having also now made a considerable proficiency in the Greek and Hebrew languages, he applied himself to the study of polemical Divinity; he read the Works of the most able defenders of the Protestant religion, and he likewise read the Writings of the most eminent Papists; and he also resolved to read over all the

Writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers.

In 1598, when he was eighteen years of age, and had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he defended the Philosophy Act at the University, before the Earl of Essex, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with great applause. He had for some time, by the course of his studies, been preparing himself for the Ministry; but his father's inclinations lay towards the common law. And in consequence of his defire that his fon should prosecute this fludy, he was about to fend him over to the English Inns of Court, in order that he might there cultivate it the better; but dying about this time, he left his fon at liberty to purfue his own inclinations, which led him strongly to Divinity. A paternal inheritance of confiderable value now fell to Mr. Ufher, in confequence of his father's death: but this did not give the least interruption to his purpose; for finding it somewhat encumbered with law fuits and fifters portions, and fearing these might prove a hindrance to his studies, which were the only thing that he cared for, he relinquished his right to his uncle and other trustees, for the use of his brother and fifters; reserving only a yearly competency, to enable him to maintain himself in the College, and to buy books.

And now being fettled agreeable to his inclinations, and freed from worldly connections and cares, he devoted himself entirely to the pursuit of all literature, Divine and human; and did so much encrease in all branches of valuable knowledge, that his reputation became very considerable, and he was considered as an example of piety, modesty, and learning. There was at this time imprisoned in Dublin castle one Henry Fitz-Symonds, an

eminent

<sup>(</sup>a) Harris's Edit. of Sir James Ware's History of the Bishops of Ireland, P. 58, 99.

eminent and learned Jesuit, who sent out a challenge, defying the ablest champion that should come against him, to dispute with him about the points in controversy between the Protestants and the Papists. Mr. Usher, though but in his nineteenth year, accepted the challenge; and accordingly they met. The Jesuit despised him at first, on account of his youth, considering him as but a boy; yet, after a conference or two, he was so sensible of the quickness of his wit, the strength of his arguments, and his skill in disputation, as to decline any farther contest with him.

In 1600, Mr. Usher took his degree of Master of Arts, and was chosen catechist-reader in the College; where he weekly employed himself in explaining the principal articles of the Christian religion, as professed and maintained in the reformed churches, in opposition to the errors and innovations of Popery. He was also appointed one of the three preachers before the great Officers of State at Christ-church in Dublin, on Sundays in the afternoon: the chief Governors of Ireland at that time usually attending Divine fervice twice every Sunday. But he was perplexed with fcruples, whether he could with a fafe conscience perform this necessary part of the facred function, without being in Holy Orders; which, by the rigour of the Canons, he was not of age to enter into. This scruple was removed by granting him a Dispensation; and he was on the Sunday before Christmas, 1601, at the same time ordained Deacon and Priest by Henry Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, who was his uncle. From this time he became a diligent and constant preacher, and so he

continued during his life.

It was thought proper at this time by those entrusted with the Government of Ireland, that the Papists should be obliged to refort to the church service every Sunday, under a pecuniary mulct of twelve-pence, by virtue of a clause in the Act of Uniformity, passed in the second year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. And Mr. Usher was now appointed by the Government to preach against the errors of Popery in St. Catherine's church; while other preachers had other churches assigned to them for the same purpose. He digested the principal heads of his sermons into chapters, and a brief form, for the help of memory, by way of question and answer; and on the Sunday after his fermon, he used to examine the more adult in the principles of their faith. From these beginnings proceeded that large catechism, first digested for the use of his family; which afterwards came to be filled with great additions, and was printed, though against his The Irish, for the most part, resorted to hear his sermons, and many of them were converted by the force of his reasoning. But by the persuations of their Priests, and a suspension, or at least a connivance, of the penal laws, they forbore coming to those assemblies, and applied for a toleration to use their own method of worship. Usher apprehended, that the permitting of a free exercise of the Popish religion by public authority, would 2 U 2

tend to the disturbance of the Government in Church and State; and, therefore, he preached a remarkable fermon against it, before the Government at Christ-church, upon Ezek. iv. 6. " And " thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days: "I have appointed thee each day for a year." He applied these words of Ezekiel's vision, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish nation, to the kingdom of Ireland; making use of the following expression: " From this year I " reckon forty years, and then those whom you now embrace " shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity." Dr. Parr observes, that "this then uttered by Mr. Usher in his fer-" mon, feemed only to be the present thoughts of a young man, " who was no friend to Popery: but afterwards, when it came to " pass at the expiration of forty years, (that is, from 1601, when " this fermon was preached, to 1641), when the Irish rebellion " broke out, and that they had murdered and flain fo many "thousands of Protestants, and harrassed the whole nation by a " bloody war, then those, who lived to see that day, began to " think he was a young Prophet (w)."

In 1603, Ireland being settled after the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion, the Officers of the English army contributed out of the arrears of their pay 1800 l. to augment the public library of the University of Dublin. And Dr. Challoner and Mr. Usher were the same year commissioned to go over into England, to lay out this money in books. Usher undertook the task with great pleasure; knowing that it would be greatly conducive to the advancement of knowledge in Ireland. At the same time Sir Thomas Bodley was busied in buying up books for his newerected library at Oxford; who meeting Usher at London, an acquaintance commenced between them, and they were useful to each other upon this occasion; so that the samous Bodleian library at Oxford, and that at Dublin, began together (x).

On his return to Ireland, Mr. Usher continued to read the Fathers with great diligence and attention, according to their several ages; unbending his mind at the same time by the study of History and Antiquities. He is said to have spent no less than eighteen years in reading the Fathers: but, in this compass of time, he not only read the Greek and Latin Fathers, but most of the considerable Schoolmen and Divines, from the first to the thirteenth century. In prosecuting this study, his method was to make notes and observations upon their Writings; and he intended to have published these collections under the title of Bibliotheca Theologica. This appears from his epistle to the reader, presixed to his answer to the challenge of Malone the Jesuit, where, having given an account of the chronological catalogue annexed to the end of that treatise, apparently drawn from this

<sup>(</sup>w) Life of James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, P. g. (x) Harris, as before, P. 100.

this store, he proceeds thus: " The exact discussion, as well of the Authors times, as of the censure of their Works, I refer to " my Theological Bibliotheque, if God hereafter shall lend me " life and leifure to make up that Work, for the use of those " that mean to give themselves to that noble study of the doc-

" trines and rites of the antient Church ( )."

In 1606, Mr. Usher again went over into England, in order to buy books and manuscripts there; and on this occasion he became acquainted with the learned Camden, who was now bufily employed about a new Edition of his BRITANNIA; and he confulted Usher about publishing NENNIUS, an antient British Writer, concerning St. Patrick, Congal, and other things, relating to the antient state of Ireland, and to the city of Dublin; to whom he wrote fuch accurate and judicious letters upon this subject, that Camden was infinitely pleafed with them; and afterwards transferred a great part of them into his Work, to which he added this magnificent eulogy, "Thus much I have to observe of Dub"lin; for the greatest part of which I must confess myself in-" debted to the diligence and learning of James Usher, Chan-" cellor of St. Patrick's, whose variety of learning, and sound-

" ness of judgment, infinitely surpass his years."

In 1607, he took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, having performed his exercises with more than ordinary applause. Abundantly content with his private fortune, and happy in his College privacy, he was utterly free from all ambition and desire of wealth. He did not solicit opulent promotions in the Church, nor frequent the levees of the Great for their favour or interest. His only care was, to render himself qualified to discharge any ecclefiaftical preferment, to which he should happen to be ad-But his eminent learning, seasoned with so much piety and modefly, was not suffered to continue long in obscurity. Archbishop Lostus, under whose eyes his great merit had now for almost fourteen years grown conspicuous, drew him into the public view, and, this year, promoted him to the Chancellorship of St. Patrick's, Dublin. This dignity feemed fully to content Usher: he kept it for many years, and never fought after higher

pears from hence, that, being asked upon his death-bed what his will was concerning those collections, he anthey might be committed to the care of his dear friend Dr. Langbaine, Provoît of Queen's College, Oxford, the only man on whose learning, as well as friendship, he could rely, to render them fit for the press. They were accordingly put into the hands

(y) How much Usher desired that of that learned Divine, who in order this Work might be completed, apfet himself to fill up the breaches in the original, the quotations in the margin being much defaced with fwered to this effect, That he defired rats. But the Doctor, studying in severe cold weather in the public library, contracted a cold, which put an end to his life in 1657, while he was upon this task; and Dean Fell afterwards endeavoured to get it finished; cast them into such a form as might but this was never effected .- Biograph. Britan.

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titles (2). And though the law did not oblige him to refidence here, yet he did not look on himself as absolved before God from the exercise of his ministerial function, in the place from whence he received his maintenance; and therefore on every Sunday he preached at Finglas, near Dublin, unless hindered by some extraordinary occasion; and he endowed the church thereof with a perpetual Vicarage. "Here (says Dr. Parr) he lived single for fome years, and kept hospitality proportionable to his insecomes; nor cared he for any overplus at the year's end, for indeed he was never a hoarder of money; but for books and learning he had a kind of laudable covetousness, and never thought a good book, either manuscript or printed, too dear."

It was also this year, 1607, that he was made professor of Divinity in the College of Dublin; which for thirteen or sourteen years after he executed with great diligence. He at first prelected twice, and afterwards once a week, on the controverted points of Divinity between the Churches of England and Rome; and especially against the doctrine of Bellarmine, and other eminent Writers of the Romish Church. About the same time he also digested the antient Canons of the Church into method; but they were not then published, he being contented to communicate them to the learned Dr. Samuel Ward, of Cambridge, who was employed in the same kind of study.

In 1609, he wrote a learned treatise concerning the Herenach, Termon, and Corban lands, antiently belonging to the Chorepiscopi of England and Ireland; which Work hath been held in great esteem, and was presented by Archbishop Bancrost to King James. The substance of it was afterwards translated into Latin by Sir Henry Spelman, in his Gloslary, and by Sir James Ware in the seventeenth chapter of his Antiquities. This treatise seems never to have been published; but is said to remain in

manuscript in the Lambeth library (a). This year he also made a third voyage to England, in order to purchase books, and converse with the Literati there. He was now for the first time taken notice of at Court, preaching before the Houshold, which was esteemed a great honour in those days. And besides conversing with his friend Camden, he also now became acquainted with Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Selden, Mr. Briggs, professor of astronomy in the University of Oxford, Dr. Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and many other learned men. And from this time Usher constantly came over into England once in three years, staying one month of the fummer at Oxford, another at Cambridge, and the rest of the time at London, spending his time chiefly in the Cottonian library, Sir Robert Cotton affording him a free access to that, as well as to his own conversation. When he returned to Ireland, he carried with

with him Thomas Lydiat (b), who was famous for his chronological Writings, and who continued with him in Ireland two years.

About

(b) THOMAS LYDIAT was born at Alkrington, or Okerton, near Banbury, in Oxfordshire, in 1572. He was fon to Christopher Lydiat, Lord of the manor of Okerton, and citizen of London. He was inftructed in grammar learning at Winchester school, from whence he was removed to New College in Oxford, where he became Fellow. Having taken his degrees in Arts, he applied himself to affronomy, mathematics, the learned languages, and Divinity, in the last of which studies he was very desirous of continuing; but finding a great defect in his memory and utterance, he chose rather to refign his Fellowship, which was appropriated to Divinity, and live upon his fmall patrimony. was in 1603; and he spent the seven enfuing years in finithing and printing fuch books as he had begun in the College, especially his treatife, intitled " De Emendatione temporum," which he dedicated to Henry, Prince of Wales, cldeft fon to King James I. He was Chronographer and Cosmographer to that promiting Prince, who had a great regard for him, and, had he lived, would probably have made a handsome provision for him; but all his hopes of this kind became extinct by that Prince's death. Becoming acquainted with Usher in 1609, he was by him taken into Ireland, and placed in the College of Dublin, where he continued two years; and then purpoling to return to England, the Lord-Deputy and Chancellor of Ireland made him a joint promise of a competent support, upon his coming back thither. But when he arrived in England, the Rectory of Okerton becoming void, was offered to him; and though, while he was Fellow of New College, he had refused the offer of it by his father, who was the patron, yet he now accepted it after many demurs, and with much reluctance; and being inflituted thereto in 1612, he became fo diligent a preacher, that, as Anthony Wood tells us, he

on the harmony of the Gospels, befides writing feveral books, which he proposed to publish. But having fpent his small patrimony in printing fome, and being unwarily engaged for the debts of a near relation, which he was unable to pay, he was thrown into prison at Oxford, and afterwards into the King's Bench, in 1629, or 1630, and remained a prisoner till Sir William Boswell, a great patron of learned men, joining with Dr. Pink, Warden of New College, and Dr. Usher, paid the debt, and released him; and Archbishop Laud also, at the request of Sir Henry Marten, gave his affiftance on this occasion.

Soon after he obtained his liberty, he petitioned King Charles I. for his Majesty's projection and encouragement to travel into Turkey, Ethiopia, and the Abyssinian Empire, in search of manuf ripts relating to civil or ecclefiaftical Hiflory, or any other branch of learning, and to print them in England. But this defign appears to have met with no encouragement at Court : however, this disappointment did not diminish his loyalty, for he shewed himself firmly attached to the King on the breaking out of the civil wars, in which he was a great fufferer at his Rectory of Okerton by the Parliament party. In a letter written by him to Sir William Compton, Governor of Banbury castle, he complains of having been four times pillaged by the Parliament's forces of Compton-House in Warwickshire, to the value of 701, and fays, that he was forced, for a quarter of a year together, to borrow a fhirt to change his linen; and that he was twice forced from his house, and carried once to Warwick, and another time to Banbury. He was also otherwise ex-tremely ill used by the soldiers; the cause of all which was his having denied them money, and defended his books and papers, and afterwards speaking boldly in behalf of the King and the Bilhops. At length, after he composed above fix hundred fermons had lived at Okerton leveral years in

About the beginning of the year 1610, he was unanimously elected Provost of Trinity-College, Dublin; but no intreaties could prevail on him to accept the charge: for he was apprehenfive, that the troubles attending that office would interrupt him in the profecution of his studies. In 1612, he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity, and he made two prelections upon this occafion; one on the feventy weeks of Daniel, and the other on the

Millenium of the Apocalypse.

In 1613, he again went over into England, where he published an elaborate and learned Work, intitled, " Graviffimæ quæftionis de Christianarum ecclesiarum in occidentis præsertim partibus, " ab apostolicis temporibus ad nostram usque ætatem, continua " fuccessione et statu, Historica Explicatio." This book was highly acceptable to King James I. to whom Dr. Usher dedicated it. It was presented to that Monarch by Archbishop Abbot, as the eminent first fruits of the University of Dublin. His learned friends, Isaac Casaubon, and Abraham Schulter, prefixed encomiaffic verses to this Work; the first in Greek, and the other in La-While Usher continued in London, intent on the publication of this Work, he had many conferences with Archbishop Abbot, who was Chancellor of the University of Dublin, concerning a new fet of statutes for that body, or at least an amendment and reformation of the old ones: but this was not effected at that time. Soon after his return to Ireland, he married Phæbe, the only daughter of Dr. Luke Challoner; who by his last words bequeathed her to him, in case he were willing to marry her; and with her he had a good fortune in land and money. But this change

great poverty and obscurity, he died there on the 3d of April, 1646, and was buried the day following in the chancel of the church at Okerton, which he had formerly rebuilt. In 1669, a stone, with an inscription, was laid over his grave, at the expence of the Warden and Fellows of New College in Oxford; and an honorary monument was also erected to his memory by the same society, in the cloifter of their College.

Anthony Wood fays, that Mr. Ly-DIAT was " a person of small sta-" ture, but of great parts, and of a " public foul; and though a poor and " contemptible Priest to look npon, (for so he was held by the vulgar) " yet he not only puzzled Christopher " Clavius, and the whole College of " Mathematicians, but also that great " Goliath of literature Joseph Scali-ger." He was, indeed, a man of great learning, and was much efteemed

by the learned of his own country, as

well as by foreigners.

Among the Works published by him are the following: 1. Tractatus de variis annorum formis, Lond 1605. 8vo. 2. Defensio tractatus de variis annorum formis contra Josephi Scaligeri obtrectationem, Lond. 1607. 3. Emendatio temporum ab initio mundi huc usque compendio facta contra Scaligerum et alios, Lond. 1609. 8vo. 4. Solis et Lunæ periodus, seu annus magnus, Lond. 1620. 8vo. 5. De anni folaris mensura epistola astronomica ad Hen. Savilium, Lond. 1621. 8vo. 6. Canones chronologici, nec non series summorum magistratuum et triumphorum Romanorum, Oxon. 1675. 8vo. He also left behind him a great number of manuscripts, which were bound together in two and twenty Volumes .-- Vid. Athenæ Oxonienses, and New and Gen. Biog. Dict, 8vo.

change of his condition did not take him off from his beloved

studies (c).

In 1615, a Parliament being held in Ireland, a Convocation of the Clergy was also affembled, wherein the articles of the Church of Ireland were composed and published; and Dr. Usher, being a Member of the Convocation, was appointed to draw them up. The strain of some of these articles gave a handle to his enemies to tax him with favouring Puritanism; and this infinuation reached the ears even of the King: but Usher despised these reproaches. However, being about to go over into Ireland towards the close of the year 1619, his friends procured a letter from the Privy Council of Ireland to that of England, wherein they cleared him from the imputations which were cast out against him, and gave him the character of a man worthy to govern in the Church, when occasion should offer. And they affirmed of him, that "he was a man who had given himself over to his pro-" fession; an excellent and painful preacher; a modest man, " abounding in goodness; and his life and doctrine so agreeable, "that those who agreed not with him, were yet confirmined to love and admire him (d)." This letter, and a personal conference with the King, wherein he declared his approbation of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, abundantly fatisfied his Majesty.

In February, 1620, King James, of his own motion, and from the fense he had of the learning and worth of Usher, promoted him to the See of Meath; which was then vacant by the death of Bishop Montgomery in London, on the 15th of January before. The King used to boast, that Usher was a Bishop of his own making. A few days before his advancement, he was chosen to preach before the House of Commons at St. Margaret's, West-minster; which he performed greatly to the satisfaction or his honourable auditory, and the sermon was by their order printed.

In 1621, he returned to Ireland, and was confecrated at Drogheda by Archbishop Hampton, and two other Prelates. His great merit, and uncommon learning, were fo confpicuous to all men, that his promotion met with general applause. Bishop Usher did not confider his new dignity as exempting him from the office of a public instructor and preacher of the Gospel; nor did he think that he should sufficiently discharge his duty, by seeing this fervice performed by the inferior Clergy, and feldom preaching himfelf but on some extraordinary occasion. On the contrary, his preferment rather encreased, than abated, his practice of preaching; and to keep himself in constant mind of this duty, he had that fentence of St. Paul, "Væ mihi si non evangelizavero;" (i. e. Woe unto me if I preach not the Gospel), engraven on his episcopal Vol. IV. 8. 2 X

<sup>(</sup>c) Harris, ut supra, P. 102, 103. (d) See the whole of this letter of the Privy Council of Ireland in Usher's behalf, in Dr. Parr's Life of the Archbishop, P. 15, 16.

episcopal feal; which he continued also on the feal of the Pri-

macv.

He had great numbers of Roman Catholics in his Diocese, many of whom he endeavoured to reclaim by private conversation, and gentle methods of reasoning. They consented at last to hear him preach, so it were not in a church. He condescended to their exception, and preached to them in the Session-house; and his fermon had fuch influence, that their Priests prohibited them for the future from hearing him in any place. They were in general very obstinate in their opinions, and much addicted to reading the idle legends of the lives of their Saints; but utterly desti-tute of all true knowledge in the Scriptures. Their prejudice were so strong and prevalent, that the best arguments he could use extorted only this answer from them, "That they followed the re-"ligion of their ancestors, and would never depart from it."
To pluck up this error by the roots, he wrote in English a book, intitled, "A Discourse of the religion antiently professed "by the Irish." This learned Work, in which he illustrated the antiquities of his country by antient manuscripts, with great judgment and fidelity, and in which he proved that Popery was not the religion of the antient Irish, he dedicated to Sir Christopher Sibthorp, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, and printed it this year, 1621, at the end of a book written by the faid Judge Sibthorp on the same subject, in 4to. and it was afterwards published at London in 1631 (e).

About this time he was called into the Privy Council; and fome Irish Magistrates having refused to take the oath of supremacy, in November, 1622, he made a speech in the Castlechamber at Dublin, concerning the lawfulness of taking that oath; which pleased King James so well, that he wrote him a letter of thanks for it. And his Majesty having been informed, that Bishop Usher was about compiling the antiquities of the British churches, earnestly recommended the prosecution of that Work to him, and wrote to the Council of Ireland, to grant him. a licence of absence, to consult the manuscripts in the libraries of England. And accordingly in 1624, having carefully fettled all things in his Diocefe, he went over into England. The Court was then at Wanstead, whither Bishop Usher was feat for; and, on the 20th of June that year, he preached a learned discourse before the King and Court, on the universality of the Christian Church, and the unity of the Catholic faith, which the King ordered to be printed. He published also this year in London, and dedicated to the King, a book, intitled, " An Answer to a Chal-" lenge made by a Jesuit in Ireland; wherein the judgment of " antiquity in the points questioned, is truly delivered, and the " novelty of the now Romish dostrine plainly discovered." To this answer Malone, the Jesuit with whom the controversy was held,

held, published a Reply in 1627, in English: but it was written with so much calumny and sophistry, that our Prelate's friends thought it not worthy to have his time taken up in answering it. And he the more readily concurred in their opinion, when he understood that three Divines in Dublin, Hoyle, Synge, and Puttock, had taken up his quarrel, and published rejoinders to the

lefuit's reply.

While our Bishop was in England, Archbishop Hampton died, in January, 1625; and King James, about fix days before his own death, promoted Usher to the See of Armagh, on the 21st of March following: to the universal satisfaction of all the Protestants of Ireland, testified by numbers of congratulatory letters on the occasion. But their pleasure of seeing him was delayed by a quartan ague, which confined him nine months in England after his advancement : during which time he was engaged in an unexpected dispute with another Jesuit, upon the controverted points between the Protestants and Papists. He was engaged in this new contest in the following manner: the Lord Mordaunt, afterwards Earl of Peterborough, being of the Romith communion, had a defire to draw his Lady over to the fame religion. To free herself from her Lord's importunity, the agreed, that a friendly conference should be held between two principal men of each party, and promised to embrace that religion, which should appear to her, by their arguments, to be supported by truth. Lord Mordaunt chose his Confessor, one Beaumont, alias Rookwood, a Jesuit. And his Lady sent an obliging letter to Archbishop Usher, inviting him to come and support her cause, and the cause of truth. He was now scarcely recovered from his disorder: however, he immediately repaired to Lord Mordaunt's feat at Drayton in Northamptonshire; where there was a well-furnished library to have recourse to, as occasion should require. The points discussed were, transubstantiation, the invocation of Saints, images, and the visibility of the Church: and in general, whether the Romish religion, or the religion established in the Church of England, was the fame with the primitive religion. The Archbishop was opponent for three days. On the fourth, when it came to the Jesuit's turn to endeavour to confute the doctrines of the Reformation, he declined the combat, and fent an excuse in these words; "That by the just judgment of Goo, he had " forgotten all the arguments he had framed; for that he had of " himself dared, without the licence of his superiors, to under-" take a disputation with a man of that profound and consum-" mate learning." This apology, Dr. Bernard assures us, he had from an eye and ear witness (f); and it is in some measure confirmed by the testimony of one Chastoner, a secular Priest; who in a book against Beaumont, bids him " beware of Drayton, left

<sup>(</sup>f) Vid. Life and Death of Dr. James Usher, late Archbishop of Armagh, by Nicholas Bernard, D. D. P. 56. Lond. 8vo. 1656.

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"he meet another Usher there." The issue of this controversy was, that after some farther conversation with the Archbishop, Lord Mordaunt was converted to the Protestant faith, in which he persevered to his death. And his Lady always retained a most grateful sense of this piece of service; and afterwards, during the calamitous times, when the Archbishop was stripped of all his revenues, she entertained him in her house for nine or ten years, where he died (g).

In August, 1626, our Primate returned again to Ireland. King James I. had, before his death, made him a grant of the temporalities of the Primacy, from the death of his predecessor; and King Charles I. as a pledge of his esteem, gave him an order on the treasury for four hundred pounds, to be paid him immediately after his return. In the administration of his Archbishopric, Usher acted, as he had done in every other station, in a most exemplary manner; and he vigorously opposed a scheme which was set on foot to grant a toleration to the Papists, on condition of their maintaining a body of troops for the service of the Government.

In 1631, he published at Dublin the History of Gottescalchus, and of the Predestinarian Controversy. And in 1632, he also published there a collection of antient letters, under the title of "Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, quæ partim ab "Hibernis, partim ad Hibernos, partim de Hibernis, vel rebus "Hibernicis sunt conscripta;" commencing about the year 592, and ending about the year 1180; containing divers curious matters, relating to the ecclesiastical discipline, and jurisdiction of the Church of Ireland in those times. In 1634, the Parliament of Ireland being ready to meet, a dispute arose between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin concerning precedence; but Uther afferted his right with such clearness and evidence, that the point was determined in his favour.

About the end of the year 1639, he published at Dublin his celebrated and long expected Work, intitled, "Britannicarum Ec"clesiarum Antiquitates." This is a History of the British
Church, from the first planting of Christianity, within twenty
years after our Saviour's crucifixion, to the end of the seventh
century. This Work is so great a treasure of British and Irish
Ecclesiastical Antiquities, that all who have since written with any
success on this subject, cannot avoid owning how much they are
indebted to the labours of Usher.

In 1640, he came over into England, bringing his family with him, though with a defign to return foon again to Ireland; but he was prevented by the rebellion which broke out there in Octorer, 1641. He was a man of too much note, and of too high a station, not to be deeply involved in and affected with the succeed-

ing troubles. All his personal estate, and whatever belonged to his Archbishopric, was destroyed; and nothing of his escaped the fury of the rebels, but his library, and the furniture of his house at Drogheda, which were secured by the care of his Chaplain Bernard, while the town was besieged, and conveyed to him the summer sollowing to Chester, and from thence to London.

During the ravages committed upon his revenues in Ireland this year, he was made preacher at Covent-garden church, London. And it is faid, that upon hearing of his losses in that kingdom, two offers were made him from foreign parts. The University of Leyden would have chosen him their honorary Professor, with a more ample stipend than was usually annexed to the place: and Cardinal Richlieu gave him an invitation to come to France, with the promise of a noble pension, and the freedom of his religion. The Cardinal had before exprened a great terper to him: for when the Archbishop published his book of the Antiquities of the British churches, Richlieu sent him a most respectful letter, with a gold medal of considerable value, having his own image on it; whereupon the Primate returned him a letter of thanks, with a present of Irish greyhounds. But the Archbishop refused both the offers which were now made him, and bore his misfortunes with an heroic and Christian magnanimity (b).

In January, 1642, King Charles granted to Archbishop Usher the Bishopric of Carlisle, to hold in Commendam; of which he received the administration on the 16th of February. On this See, although it was much sunk in its value by the Scotch and English armies quartering there, he made a shift to subsist, until the House of Commons seized on all Bishops lands, and then they voted him a pension of four hundred pounds a year, in consideration of his great losses in Ireland, and his exemplary merits; yet he is said by some never to have received it above once, or twice at the most; but this appears not to be true (f).

About this time he published a short treatise, intitled, "The "Original of Bishops and Metropolitans." And when the King left London, and retired to Oxford, our Archbishop obtained leave from the Parliament to go thither; where Dr. Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, lent him his house adjoining to Exeter-College, that he might be near the library, for the sake of pursuing his studies.

( b ) Harris, P. 109.

"tor; by whose order a constant competent allowance was given him, for his substitute; which contented him, and which I received for him to his last; with other very considerable sums extraordinary."—Life and Death of Archbishop Usher, 8vo. 1656. P. 103, 104.

<sup>(</sup>f) Dr. Bernard fays, "In his diffresses, by his losses in Ireland, the Parliament for some years had been bountiful towards him in an annual stipend; but the last two years of their fitting, it fell out to be suspended. After their dissolvements.

<sup>&</sup>quot; ing, the care of him was renewed by his Hiighness the Lord Protec-

And during his stay here, he was on feveral public occasions ap-

pointed to preach before the King.

In 1643, he was nominated by the Parliament to be one of the affembly of Divines at Westminster. But while the matter was under debate in the House, a question arose, whether he should be admitted or not? Upon which Mr. Selden is said to have answered, that "they had as good enquire, whether they had best admit Inigo Jones, the King's Architect, to the company of mouse-trap-makers." But our Archbishop, not approving of the authority that named him, nor of the business the assembly were employed about, never appeared amongst them. Complaint was made of his neglect to the House of Commons, who voted him out again; and, in resentment, soon after his study of books were seized, as being part of the estate of a delinquent; and would have been sold, if the friendship of Dr. Featly and Mr. Selden had not interposed to preserve them for him (i).

About this time he published a small, but learned treatise, intitled, "A Geographical and Historical Disquisition touching the Lesser Asia." And in 1644, he published at Oxford the epistles of St. Ignatius, and part of the epistle of St. Barnabus. To which he added, a learned differtation concerning these epistles; as also concerning the Canons and constitutions ascribed to

the Apostles, and to St. Clement, Bishop of Rome.

In 1645, it being reported that the Parliament's forces were about to beliege the city of Oxford, and that the King would be obliged to quit the place, Archbishop Usher, with his Majesty's leave, took the opportunity of waiting on the Prince of Wales, as far as Bristol, and from thence proceeded to Cardiffe in Wales where there was a strong garrison commanded by Sir Timothy Tyrrel, who had married our Primate's only daughter; to which place he had before been invited. He staid here almost a year, during which time he made a great progress in the first part of his Annals, having brought many chests of books with him.

After the battle of Nafeby, the King retired to the same place, where he staid some days, and the Archbishop preached before his Majesty in the castle. But the necessities of Charles's affairs forcing him to unfurnish this garrison of its foldiers and ammunition, Sir Timothy Tyrrel was obliged to quit the place. Upon which the Archbishop had some thoughts of going over to France or Holland; but while he was deliberating upon this, the Lady Dowager Stradling fent him a kind invitation to come to her castle of St. Donates, which he willingly accepted. But in his journey thither, with his daughter the Lady Tyrrel, he fell into the hands of a straggling party of Welch, who were scouting They immediately fell to plundering and about the mountains. breaking open his chefts of books, and other things which he had with him; ranfacking his manufcripts and papers, which were quickly

quickly dispersed among a thousand hands; not sparing their affronts and infolencies to him and his daughter, and other Ladies in the company, whom they pulled off their horses. But some Welch Officers coming up, caused their horses and other things to be restored: but the books and papers had got into too many hands to be then retrieved. The Archbishop was conducted to Sir John Aubrey's house, where he was lodged that night : but the loss of his papers seemed to grieve him more than all the sufferings he had ever undergone. However, after he arrived at St. Donates, this loss was in a great measure repaired by the care and diligence of the Gentry and Clergy of the country. Notices were given in the churches all over those parts, that all who had any fuch books or papers should bring them to their Ministers or landlords, which they accordingly did; so that in two or three months his books and papers were brought in to him by parcels, and, being put together, little was found wanting, except two manufcripts, containing the History of the Waldenies, which he much valued, and a mannfcript catalogue of the Persian Kings, communicated to him by Elikmannus, and one Volume of manuscript various readings of the New Yestament.

While he continued at St. Donates, he spent much of his time among the books and manuscripts in the library of that castle; which had been collected by Sir Edward Stradling, a great Antiquarian and friend of Mr. Camden's; out of which the Archbishop made a choice collection of the British or Welch Antiquities. He was here seized with a severe and dangerous illness, which began with a stranguary, and ended with a violent bleeding at the nose, for near forty hours together, without any considerable intermission. No applications could give him relief, and the Physicians despaired of his life; until at last the blood stanched of itself, and then he recovered by degrees his former

health.

In 1646, having continued in Wales about half a year, he reassumed his thoughts of going beyond sea, and for that end procured a pass. But Vice-Admiral Molton, threatning to deliver him up to the Parliament, gave him some delay: during which time he received an invitation from the Countess Dowager of Peterborough, to come and make his abode with her in London, engaging for his safety. He accepted her offer, obtained passes, and left St. Donates; the gentlemen of the country sending him in considerable sums of money, to supply his necessities. He arrived safe at the Countess's house in London, and from this time generally rended with her at some or other of her houses until his death (k).

Amidst all our Archbishop's changes of situation, his many dissiduations, dangers, and afflictions, his love of study and applica-

<sup>(</sup> k ) Harris, P. 111, 112. Vid. also Parr's Life of Archbishop Usher, P. 60, 62, 63.

tion to books enabled him to publish various learned and useful works. He also continued to correspond on literary subjects with his learned friends in several parts of Europe, as well as in England. His correspondence with men of learning was, indeed, very extensive: in the collection of his letters which has been published, we find among his correspondents, Sir Henry Spelman, Thomas Gataker (1), William Camden, John Selden, Sir Robert Cotton, Thomas Morton, Bishop of Coventry and Litchsield, Archbishop Laud, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, John Greaves, Dr. Gerard Langbaine, Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Henry Hammond, Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, Samuel Hartlib, Thomas Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, Brian Walton, Bishop of Chester, Meric Casaubon, Isaac Vossius, John Buxtorf, Ludovicus de Dieu, Henry Valesius, Isaac Gruter, Gerard John Vossius, Frederic Spanheim, and Claudius Salmasius.

About the beginning of the year 1647, Archbishop Usher was chosen preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, which he was not without some difficulty prevailed on to accept He had hand-some lodgings ready surnished assigned to him, and also several rooms for his library, which was about this time brought up from Chester. Here he constantly preached among them all the term time, for almost eight years, until at last his eyes and teeth failed him, so that he could not be well heard by his auditors: and about a year and a half before his death he quitted the place,

being not able to be longer ferviceable in it.

It was in 1647, that he published his "Diatriba de Romana" Ecclesia Symbolo Apostolico vetere, et aliis sidei formulis." And in 1648, he published his learned dessertation on the Solar year, antiently used among the Macedonians, Syrians, and inha-

(1) THOMAS GATAKER was born in 1574, in the parfonage-house of St. Edmund the King in Lombardftreet, London, where his father was then Minister. When he was fixteen years of age, he was placed in St. John's College in Cambridge; but when he had been there about three years, he had the misfortune to lose his father. This loss must have proved the ruin of his education, had not his excellent parts, and uncommon application, procured him friends to Support him in the University; for he was left by his father, though not wholly destitute, yet not sufficiently provided for any long continuance there; but his fingular merit obtained him a scholarship, and with the assistance of his friends he continued at the College, profecuting his studies with indefatigable industry, till he pro-

ceeded Master of Arts with uncommon applause. The foundation of Sidney-College being laid about this time, our Author's learning and piety received a particular attestation from the trustees of the foundres's will, Archbishop Whitgist, and Dr. Goodman, Dean of Westminster, who, in virtue of their trust, appointed Mr. Gataker a Fellow of that society, before the building was finished.

In the mean time, he went into Essex, as tutor to the eldest son of Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Aylosse, of Barkstead, in the county of Essex, who himself learned Hebrew of him at the same time. During his residence here, at the request of Mrs. Aylosse, he usually expounded a portion of scripture to the family every morning, wherein after rendering the text into English from the original language,

bitants of Afia, properly fo called; in which he explains many confiderable difficulties in chronology and eccienaftical history, and also displays great skill in attronomical learning.

About the middle of the year 1650, he published, in Latin, the first part of his Annals of the Old Testament, from the be-Vol. IV. 8.

he explained the fense of it, and concluded with some useful observations. Dr. Stern, then suffragan Bishop of Colchester, being nearly related to Mrs. Ayloffe, happened in a vifit to be present at one of these performances; and being struck with admiration at the learning and ingenuity which Mr. Gataker displayed, earneftly exhorted him to enter into the priesthood, and offered him his assistance to that end. This advice being feconded by the Reverend Mr. Alvey, formerly his tutor, and pushed by the reiterated folicitations of the Bishop, at length prevailed, and Mr. Gataker was ordained by that Suffragan.

This step was conformable to the statutes of his new College, and as foon as the building was finished, about the year 1599, he betook himfelf to the station assigned him there, and became an eminent tutor. At the fame time, he engaged in a defign, then fet on foot, of preaching in fuch places adjacent to the University, as were destitute of able ministers. In performing this engagement, he preached every Sunday at a village called Everton, the Vicar of which parish was faid to be one hundred and thirty years old.

When he had been some time in this situation, he determined, for certain reasons, to quit the University, and fix in London. He resided in the house of Sir William Cooke, near Charing-cross, as his Chaplain: and he had not been long here before his great excellence in preaching gained him such reputation, that he was chosen preacher to the society of Lincoln's Inn. He was then only twenty-six years of age, but appeared still younger than he was; insomuch, that a little before, preaching in Sir Wil-

liam Cooke's parish church of St. Martin's in the Fields, it happened that Mr. Ley, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, and Lord-Treasurer, being present with his Lady, she, on their return home, asked an old servant who attended them to church. How he liked the preacher? " Why truly, " (fays the man), he's a pretty pert " boy, but he made a reasonable " good fermon." Not many weeks after, Mr. Ley, returning from Lin-coln's Inn, faid to his wife, I will tell you fome news; that the young man whom you heard at St. Martin's, is chosen Lecturer at Lincoln's Inn. This being heard by the same old fervant, who flood by, " What! (fays " he) will the benchers be taught by " fuch a boy as he?"

It was about the year 1601, when he became preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and he held this employment with great reputation for ten years. During the vacations, he went down to . Sir William Cook's feat in Northamptonthire, and conttantly preached there, either in their private chapel, or at the parith-church. In 1603, he went down to Cambridge, and there took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity; he was aftewards often folicited to take his Doctor's degree, but that he declined. He did not at all approve of Pluralities, and upon that principle refuted a confiderable benetice in Kent, which was offered him by Sir William Sedley, while he held his place at Lincoln's Inn. But having entered into the matrimonial state in 1611, he quitted his office of preacher to that fociety for the rectory of Rothe hith in Surrey.

Mr Gataker was afflicted with an almost perpetual head-ach, yet he constantly discharged the duties of his function, and applied himself closely

ginning of the world to the year 3828, as far as to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. In this volume he gives an exact account of the reigns of the Kings of Israel and Judah, with their fynchronisms; as also the succession of the Babylonish, Persian, and Macedonian monarchy, with the concurrent olympiads and æra of Nabonasser, and the most remarkable eclipses of the sun; which he hath collected out of all authors, both sacred and profane, with singular industry, learning, and judgment.

In 1654, he published the second part of his Annals, beginning with

to his studies. In some of his discourses at Lincoln's Inn, he had delivered his opinion concerning lots and lotteries, and shewn the lawfulness of the luforious and the unlawfulness of divinatory lots; which being mifrepresented by some of his auditors, and he being afterwards traduced on this account, was induced to publish in 4to. in 1619, his "Discourse of the "nature and use of lots, a treatise " historical and theological." This treatife made a great noise in the world, and was opposed by several writers. In 1620, he fet out on a tour to the Low Countries, in company with two friends, and a nephew of his then a young fludent. When they arrived at Middleburgh in Zealand, Mr. Gataker preached in the English church there, to the great fatisfaction of his auditors; and in his travels he also confuted some of the English Papists in Flanders; and foon after returned to England.

In 1642, Mr. Gataker was appointed one of the Assembly of Divines who met at Westminster. He also subscribed the covenant, though he had declared his opinion in favour of Episcopacy; that is, for what was called moderate Episcopacy, denying the diffinction of that order from that of Presbyters, and divesting the Pre-lates of their baronies and feats in the house of Lords, and abolishing the sell of the hierarchy. Mr. Gataker was employed, together with fome other members of the affembly, in wri-Bible, ting annotations upon the wherein those upon Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Lamentations, were executed by him, and have great merit. In

the mean time, upon the removal of Dr. Comber, he was offered the maftership of Trinity College in Cambridge, but he declined it on account of the ill state of his health. tinued, however, to publish several learned works, most of which were printed among his "Opera Critica," at Utrecht, in 1668, folio. He also published in 1652, an edition of the meditations of Mareus Antoninus, with a Latin translation, and a commentary, and a preliminary discourse on the philosophy of the Stoics, which is much esteemed. He died in 1654. He was four times married, and left feveral children. Two of his wives died in child-bed.

Mr. GATAKER was a man of very great and extensive learning, and was highly esteemed by the learned in other countries, as well as in his own. He was an acute critic, and a great master of Greek literature. He was modelt, candid, charitable, and pious; and a man of great moderation. Indefatigably studious, but of a free and chearful temper; and his life was firictly regular and virtuous. Echard fays, Mr. Gataker was " the molt ce-" lebrated among the Affembly of Di-" vines, being highly effeemed by " Salmafius and other foreigners; and " it is hard to fay which is most re-" markable, his exemplary piety and " charity, his polite literature, or his " humility and modelty in refuling " preferments." His house was a private feminary for divers young gentlemen of this nation; and many foreigners reforted to him, and lodged at his house, in order to receive from him advice in their fludies.

with Antiochus Epiphanes, and continued to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian. In which he hath given an exact account of the Macedonian Empire, under the Asiatic and Egyptian Kings, reducing their reigns to a more certain calculation than had ever been done before; as also, an account of the affairs of the Roman Empire, especially in the East; together with the History of the New Testament, from the birth of St. John the Baptist, to the year of Christ 73, out of the Holy Scriptures, and the best Greek and Roman authors, who have written of those times. These two volumes may justly be considered as a repository or common place of all antient history (0).

About this time the Protector Cromwell fent for our Archbishop, and received him with much respect; and after holding some discourse with him about establishing the Protestant interest both at home and abroad, he civilly dismissed him. It seems that he settled a pension on him at this time; and it is certain, that he promised to make him a lease of some part of the lands belonging to the Archbishopric of Armagh, for twenty-one years; however,

it appears that this was never done.

About the middle of February, 1655, he went to the Countess of Peterborough's house at Ryegate. As soon as he came there, he fet himfelf about finishing his Sacred Chronology, which took him up most of the remainder of his life. Although his body and mind were healthy and vigorous for a man of his years, yet his eye-fight was extremely decayed, fo that he could scarce see to write, but at a window, and that in the fun-shine, which he conflantly followed in clear days, from one window to another. He now confidered his life as drawing to a period; and on the 20th of March, after supper, he complained of the Sciatica, which had afflicted him many years before. Next morning early he complained of a pleuritic diforder, which the Physician, who attended him, could not remove. He bore the pain for thirteen or fourteen hours with great firmness; but his strength and spirits decaying, he applied himself wholly to prayer, and to giving religious exhortation to those about him. Then taking an affectionate leave of the Countess of Peterborough, by whom he had been fo long and fo kindly entertained, he defired to be left to his private devotions. After which the last words he was heard to utter, about one o'clock in the afternoon, were thefe, "O " Lord forgive me, especially my fins of omission;" and preently after he expired (m), in the feventy-fixth year of his 2 Y 2

<sup>(</sup> o ) The two parts were printed together under the title of Annales Veteris and Novi Testamenti, at Paris, in 1673, and at Geneva in 1722, in folio. ( m ) Harris, ut supra, P. 112—115. Vid. also Pari's Life of Archbishop Uther, P. 77.

age. His relations intended to have buried him at Ryegate, where he died; but Cromwell ordered him to be interred at his own charge, and with great magnificence, in Westminster-Abbey; but the Protector is said to have paid only a part of the

expence.

Archbishop Usher was in his person tall and well-shaped, and walked upright to the last. His hair was brown, and his complexion fanguine; and in his countenance there was a mixture of gravity and benignity. He had a graceful and commanding presence, that excited the reverence of those who saw him: but yet Dr. Parr fays, that the air of his face was hard to hit, and that though many pictures were taken of him, yet he never faw but one like him, which was done by Sir Peter Lely. He was defervedly celebrated for his great parts and uncommon learning throughout all Europe. He was fincerely pious, and uniformly virtuous; humble, candid, and charitable; and in all the changes of his fortune, preserved a steady equanimity. He was courteous and affable, and extremely obliging towards all whom he conversed with. He very readily forgave any injuries which he received from others; and had not the least appearance of pride in any part of his behaviour. He used little recreation; walking was what he took most delight in; and he would sometimes relax himself with innocent and chearful conversation, his discourse at fuch times being at once pleafing and instructive. As he took care to employ his own time well, so he was a constant reprover of idleness in others; for he thought that all men, of what degree or quality foever, ought to be engaged in some useful employment. He thought it a great shame for persons of rank to be brought up to do little else but eat, and drink, and dress themselves; doing nothing but devouring the fruits of other men's labours, and being themselves of no use to society; but spending their time and estates in luxurious treats, in trisling visits, or in debauchery. This fashionable class of people he confidered as not only ruining themselves, both with respect to this world and to futurity, but also as a dishonour to their country.

He was a constant and an eloquent preacher: and besides his private devotions, he never omitted, when he kept house, to have prayers four times a day publickly. As he was himself of an even, composed, and chearful temper, so if he observed other religious persons to be melancholy and dejected, he would represent to them the impropriety of it; saying that such behaviour brought an evil report upon religion. And he would on such occasions observe, that none had so much reason to rejoice as real Christians, who sincerely endeavoured to regulate their lives by

the rules of piety and virtue (n).

Perhaps

Perhaps no account is transmitted down to us of a man of more unexceptionable character, than Archbishop Usher. One failing, however, is laid to his charge by Bishop Burnet. This was, his being too remiss in rectifying the abuses of the Ecclesiastical Courts in Ireland. " No man (says Burnet) was more sensible of those abuses than Usher was; no man knew the beginning and progress of them better, nor was more touched with the ill effects of them: and together with his great and vast learning, no man had a better foul and a more apostolical mind. In his conversation he expressed the true simplicity of a Christian: for passion, pride, self-will, or the love of the world, seemed not to be so much as in So that he had all the innocence of the dove in him. his nature. He had a way of gaining people's hearts, and of touching their consciences, that looked like somewhat of the apostolical age revived. He spent much of his time in those two best exercises, fecret prayer, and dealing with other people's consciences, either in his fermons, or private discourses: and what remained he dedicated to his studies, in which those many volumes that came from him, shewed a most amazing diligence and exactness, joined with great judgment. So that he was certainly one of the greatest and best men that the age, or perhaps the world, has produced. But no man is entirely perfect; he was not made for the governing part of his function. He had too gentle a foul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses: and therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of Reformation would come: he faw the necessity of cutting off many abuses, and confeffed that the tolerating those abominable corruptions that the Canonifts had brought in, was fuch a stain upon a church, that in all other respects was the best reformed in the world, that he apprehended it would bring a curse and ruin upon the whole constitution. But though he prayed for a more favourable conjecture, and would have concurred in a joint reformation of these things very heartily; yet he did not bestir himself suitably to the obligations that lay on him for carrying it on. And it is very likely that this fat heavy on his thoughts when he came to die; for he prayed often, and with great humility, That God would forgive him his fins of omission, and his failings in his duty. It was not without great uneafiness to me, that I overcame myfelf fo far, as to fay any thing that may feem to diminish the character of fo extraordinary a man; who in other things was beyond any man of his time, but in this only he fell beneath himself. And those that upon all other accounts loved and admired him, lamented this defect in him; which was the only allay that feemed left, and without which he would have been held, perhaps, in more veneration than was fitting ( a )."

## 358 The Life of Archbishop Usher.

Archbishop Usher left many manuscripts, some of which were published after his death. And three hundred letters which passed between him and his learned correspondents, were published at London in 1686, in solio, together with an account of his Life, by Dr. Parr, who was his Chaplain.



## The Life of Lord HERBERT, of CHERBURY.

DWARD HERBERT was descended from an antient family, and born in 1581, at Montgomery calle in Wales, the feat of his father, Richard Herbert, Efq. At the age of fourteen, he was entered a Gentleman-Commoner of University-College in Oxford; " where (fays " Mr. Wood) being put under the tuition of an eminent tutor, " he laid the foundation of that admirable learning, whereof he " was afterwards a complete master (p)." From thence he travelled abroad, and applied himself to military exercises in foreign countries; and returned home a very accomplished gentleman. After his return, he was made a Knight of the Bath by King James I. by whom he was also fent Ambassador to France; where he staid a considerable time : but he was afterwards recalled, on account, as it is faid, of a dispute between him and the Constable de Luines. This affair is related in the following manner: Sir Edward Herbert, while he was in France, had private instructions from England to mediate a peace for the French Protestants; and, in case of a refusal, to use certain menaces. Accordingly being referred to De Luines, the Constable and favourite, he delivered to him the meffage, referving his threatenings till he faw how the matter was relished. De Luines had concealed behind the curtain a gentleman of the reformed religion; who, being an ear-witness of what passed, might relate to his friends what little expectations they ought to entertain of the King of England's intercession. De Luines behaved very imperiously, and demanded to know what our King had to do in the affair? Sir Edward replied, " It is not to you, to whom the King " my master oweth an account of his actions; and for me it is " enough that I obey him. In the mean time, I must maintain, " that my mafter hath more reason to do what he doth, than you " to ask why he doth it. Nevertheless, if you desire me in a " gentle fashion, I shall acquaint you farther." Upon this De Luines bowing a little, faid, " Very well." Sir Edward Herbers then observed, that it was not on this occasion only, that the King of Great Britain had defired the peace and prosperity of

France, but upon all other occasions, whenever any war was raised in that country; and this he said was his first reason. The fecond was, that when a peace was fettled there, his Majesty of France might be better disposed to affist the Palatinate in the affairs of Germany. De Luines hereupon faid, "We will have " none of your advices." Sir Edward replied, that he took that for an answer; and was forry only that the affection and the good will of the King his mafter was not fufficiently understood; and that fince it was rejected in that manner, he could do no lefs than fay, "That the King his mafter knew well enough what " he had to do." De Luines answered, "We are not afraid of. " you." Sir Edward smiling a little, replied, " If you had said " you had not loved us, I should have believed you, and given " you another answer. In the mean time, all that I will tell you " more, is, that we know very well what we have to do." De Luines upon this rifing from his chair, with a countenance and manner somewhat discomposed, said, "By God, if you were not " Monsieur the Ambassador, I know very well how I would use " you." Sir Edward Herbert, rifing also from his chair, faid, that, "as he was the King of Great Britain's Ambassador, so he " was also a gentleman; and that his sword, whereon he laid his " hand, should give him satisfaction, if he had taken any of-" fence." After which De Luines making no reply, the Ambaffador went on towards the door; and De Luines feeming to accompany him, Sir Edward told him, that "there was no occa-" fion to use such ceremony after such language:" and so departed, expecting to hear farther from him. But no message was brought him from De Luines, and he had afterwards a more civil audience from the King at Coignac; however, the Marshal of St. Geran told him, that he had offended the Constable De Luines, and he was not in a place of fecurity there; to which Sir Edward replied, "That he held himself to be in a place of secu-" rity, wherefoever he had his fword by him." De Luines, refenting the affront, procured Cadinet his brother, Duke of Chaun, with a train of Officers, of whom there was not one, as he told King James, but had killed his man, to go as an Ambassador Extraordinary; and who mifrepresented the affair so much to the disadvantage of Sir Edward, that the Earl of Carlisle, who was fent to accommodate the mifunderstanding which might arise between the two Crowns, got him recalled; until the gentleman, who had flood behind the curtain, out of a regard to truth and honour, related all the circumstances, so as to make it appear, that though De Luines gave the first affront, yet Sir Edward had kept himself within the bounds of his instructions, and behaved in a manner becoming an Ambassador. He afterwards fell on his knees to King James before the Duke of Buckingham, requesting, that a trumpeter, or an herald, might be fent to De Luines, to tell him that he had made a false relation of the whole affair; and that Sir Edward Herbert would demand fatisfaction

of him fword in hand. The King answered, that he would take it into consideration; but De Luines died soon after, and Sir

Edward was again fent Ambassador to France (q).

In the year 1625, Sir Edward Herbert was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the title of Lord Herbert of Castle-Island; and, in 1631, he was made an English Peer, by the title of Lord Herbert of Cherbury in Shropshire. After the breaking out of the civil war, he adhered to the Parliament; and on the 25th of February, 1644, "he had an allowance granted him for his livelihood, having been specified by the King's forces," as Whitlocke says; but, according to Wood, he "received satisfaction from the Parliament for their causing Montgomery castle to be demolished." Lord Herbert die lat his house in Queen-street, London, on the 20th of August, 1648, and was buried in the chancel of St. Giles's in the Fields.

Lord HERBERT was a very learned and ingenious Nobleman, and was the Author of feveral Works; particularly, I. The History of the Life and Reign of King Henry VIII. This has been feveral times printed, and much applauded. Bishop Nicholson, in his English Historical Library, says, that Lord Herbert "ac-" quitted himself in this History with the like reputation, as the "Lord Chancellor Bacon gained by that of Henry VII. For in the public and martial part this honourable Author has been admirably particular and exact, from the best records that were extant; though, as to the ecclesiastical, he seems to have looked upon it as a thing out of his province, and an under-

"taking more proper for men of another profession."

II. De Veritate. This treatife Lord Herbert first published at Paris, in 1624, and again in 1633; and it was also re-printed at London in 1645, in 4to. This is a Deistical performance, intended to shew the sufficiency of natural religion, and to make it appear that there was little occasion for any Divine Revela-But it is very observable, that though Lord Herbert seems not to have given credit to a Revelation intended for the benefit of all mankind, he yet very inconfistently supposed, that he had himself an extraordinary Revelation from Heaven, to satisfy him of the propriety of publishing his book De Veritate. This was his Lordship's favourite Work; but as it was written in a manner very different from what had appeared before on the subject, he had great doubts within himself, whether he should publish or suppress it. This appears from a manuscript Life of him, said to be drawn up from memorials penned by himself; and in which the following "furprizing incident," as he calls it, is related in his own words. 'Being thus doubtful in my chamber, ' (says Lord Herbert) one fair day in the summer, my casement being open towards the fouth, the fun shining clear, and no Vol. IV. 8.

<sup>(9)</sup> Loyd's State-Worthies, Vol. II, P. 340--343. Whitworth's Edit.

wind stirring, I took my book, De Veritate, in my hands, and "kneeling on my knees, devoutly faid these words, "O thou "Eternal GOD, Author of this light which now shines upon " me, and Giver of all inward illuminations; I do beseech thee, " of thine infinite goodness, to pardon a greater request than a " finner ought to make : I am not fatisfied enough, whether I " shall publish this book : if it be for thy glory, I befeech thee " give me some sign from Heaven; if not, I shall suppress it." 'I had no fooner spoken these words, but a loud, though yet egentle noise, came forth from the Heavens, (for it was like no-' thing on earth) which did so chear and comfort me, that I took ' my petition as granted, and that I had the fign I demanded; ' whereupon also I resolved to print my book. ' strange soever it may seem, I protest before the Eternal GOD, is true: neither am I any way superstitiously deceived herein; ' fince I did not only clearly hear the noise, but in the serenest fky that ever I faw, being without all cloud, did, to my thinking, fee the place from whence it came (r)." This ftory, though it appears to be a strong instance of Lord Herbert's credulity, may yet be confidered as an evidence of his fincerity.

III. De Religione Gentilium, errorumque apud eos causis. The first part of this was printed at London in 1645; and that year Lord Herbert sent the manuscript of it to Gerard John Vossius, as appears from a letter of his Lordship's, and Vossius's answer. The whole of it was published at Amsterdam in 1663, in 4to. and afterwards re-printed there in 1700, 8vo. and an English translation of it was published at London in 1705. Dr. Leland observes, that the greater part of this Work is taken up with an account of the Heathen religion and ceremonies, which his Lordship hath performed with abundance of learning, and hath intermixed many softening apologies for the Pagan superstition and

idolatry.

IV. De Religione Laici. This is also a Deistical performance; and seems intended to make it appear, that mankind can never attain to any satisfaction as to the truth and certainty of any particular Revelation, and therefore must rest in the general principles

of natural religion.

Lord HERBERT was one of the most eminent Deistical Writers who appeared in England in the last age: and Dr. Leland obferves, that his Lordship seems to have been one of the first that formed Deism into a system, and afferted the sufficiency, universality, and absolute perfection of natural religion, with a view to discard all extraordinary Revelation as useless and needless. He seems to assume to himself the glory of having accomplished it with great labour, and a diligent inspection into all religions,

<sup>(</sup>r) Leland's View of the Deiftical Writers, Vol. I. P. 469---471. Edit.

and applauds himself for it as happier than any Archimides. This universal religion he reduces to five articles, which he frequently mentions in all his Works. 1. That there is one Supreme GOD. 2. That he is chiefly to be worshipped. 3. That piety and virtue is the principal part of his worship. 4. That we must repent of our sins, and if we do so GOD will pardon them. 5. That there are rewards for good men, and punishments for bad men in a future state; or, as he sometimes expresses it, both here and hereafter. These he represents as common notices inscribed by GOD on the minds of all men, and undertakes to shew that they were univerfally acknowledged in all nations, ages, and religions. As he reprefents these five articles as absolutely necessary, the five pillars, as he calls them, on which all religion is built; fo he endeavours to shew that they alone are sufficient, and that nothing can be added to them which can tend to render any man more virtuous, or a better man. Lord Herbert's Writings, fo far as they are prejudicial to Christianity, have been well answered by feveral Writers, particularly by Mr. Hallyburton, Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrew's, by Mr. Richard Baxter, and by the late learned Dr. Leland. It must, however, be observed, in justice to his Lordship, that his principles are much more favourable to religion and morality, and of a much less pernicious tendency, than those of many of our modern Deists.

GEORGE HERBERT, the eminent Divine and Poet, was brother to our Lord Herbert; and we shall therefore here give fome account of him. He was also born at Montgomery castle in Wales, on the 3d of April, 1593. He was educated at Westminster school, where he distinguished himself by his application, and the innocence of his behaviour; and being King's scholar, he was elected to Trinity-College in Cambridge, about the year 1608 (s). He was a hard student during his stay at the Uni-2 Z 2

(s) This year died the famous JOHN DEE. He was born at London in 1527; and after some time fpent at school there, and at Chelmsford in Essex, he was sent to St. John's College in Cambridge. He continued feveral years at the Univerble student; and in May, 1547, he went into the Low Countries, on pur-pose to converse with Gemma Frifius, Gerardus Mercator, &c. and in about eight .months after he returned to Cambridge; where, upon the founding of Trinity-College by King Henry VIII. he was chosen one of the

nomy; and he brought over with him from the Low Countries feveral instruments made by the direction of Frifius, together with a pair of large globes made by Mercator. His learning had now acquired him a confiderable reputation; however, his affity, where he was a most indefatiga- fiduity in making astronomical observations, which in those days were generally understood as connected with the defire of penetrating into futurity, brought some suspicion upon him. This was encreased by his constructing fome machinery for a dramatic exhibition in the University, which was fo much out of the common way, Fellows. His inclinations led him that many who faw the reprefentachiefly to mathematics and aftro- tion, gave out that Dee was a converfity; his chief recreation was music, in which he was a great proficient. Befides his literary acquifitions, he had many per-fonal

jurer. Disturbed with these reports, he left England again in the year 1548, and went to the University of where he distinguished Louvain; himfelf extremely, so that he was visited by the Duke of Mantua, by Don Lewis de la Cerda, afterwards Duke of Medina, and other persons of great rank. While he remained there, Sir William Pickering, who was afterwards a favourite with Queen Elizabeth, was his pupil; and it is supposed that in this University he had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on him; but this is not certain. In July, 1550, he went from thence to Paris, where, in the College of Rheims, he read lectures upon Euclid's Elements, with prodigious applause: and very great offers were made him, if he would accept of a Profesiorship in that University, which,

however, he refused.

In 1551, he returned to England, where he was well received by Sir John Cheke, who introduced him to Secretary Cecil, and even to King Edward himfelf, from whom he received a pension of one hundred crowns a year; which he afterwards exchanged for a grant of the Rectory of Upton upon Severn. When Queen Mary ascended the Throne, he was for some time very kindly treated; but afterwards he came into great trouble, and was even in danger of his life. the very beginning of Mary's reign, Mr. Dee entered into a correspondence with feveral of the Lady Elizabeth's principal fervants; which being ob-ferved, and the nature of it not known, two informers charged him with prac-tifing against the Queen's life by in-chantments. Upon this he was seized and confined; but being, after feveral trials, cleared from the charge first brought against him, he was turned over to Bilhop Bonner, to fee if any herefy could be found in him. a tedious perfecution, he was at length fet at liberty by an order of council; and he thought his credit fo little hurt by what had happened, that, upon the 15th of January, 1556, he prefented

" A Supplication to Queen Mary, for " the recovery and prefervation of " antient Writings and monuments." This was a good defign, though it did not take effect: but the Supplication is still extant in the Cotton library; and we learn from it, that Tully's famous Work, DE REPUBLICA, was once extant in this kingdom, and pe-

rished at Canterbury.

Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, at the defire of Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, he delivered his opinion about the choice of a fit day for the coronation of the Queen, upon the principles of the antient astrologers. It appears also that he received many promises from her Majesty; but his credit at Court was not sufficient to overcome the public odium he lay under, on the fcore of magical incantations, and which was the true cause of his missing feveral preferments.

In the spring of the year 1564, ho went abroad again, to prefent a trea-tife which he had dedicated to the then Emperor Maximilian; but he returned to England the fame fummer. In 1570, Sir Henry Billingsley's translation of Euclid appeared, with Mr. Dee's preface and notes, which did him great honour, as they furnished incontestible proofs of a more than ordinary skill in the mathematics. In 1571, we find him in Lor-rain; where falling dangerously fick, the Queen was pleafed to fend him two physicians. After his return to England, he fettled himfelf in his house at Mortlake; where he prosecuted his studies with great diligence, and collected a noble library, consisting of four thousand Volumes, of which above a fourth part were manuscripts. He collected also a great variety of mechanical and mathematical instruments.

In 1572, a new star appeared, which occasioned many superstitious cpinions, according to the disposition of those times, and made Mr. Dee be looked upon with great respect for his observations on it. On the 16th of

fonal accomplishments, for which he was much admired. His conduct in general was very unexceptionable; " and if during " this

March, 1575, Queen Elizabeth went to Mr. Dee's house, in order to see his library; but having buried his wise but a few hours before, he could not entertain her in the manner he would have done. However, he brought out to her Majesty a glass of his, which had occasioned much discourse; shewed her the properties of it, and explained their causes, in order to wipe off the aspersion, under which he had so long laboured, of

being a magician.

In 1577, a comet appearing, Queen Elizabeth fent for Mr. Dee to Windfor, to hear what he had to fay about it. The Queen was pleafed with his discourses, and promised him her Royal protection, notwithstanding the vulgar reports to his prejudice. year after, her Majesty being greatly indisposed, Mr. Dee was fent abroad to confer with the German phylicians. And afterwards, the Queen hinting to him her defire to be thoroughly informed as to her title to countries discovered in different parts of the globe, by subjects of England, Mr. Dee applied himself to the task with great vigour; fo that on the 3d of October, 1580, which was not three weeks after, he presented to the Queen, in her garden at Richmond, two large rolls, in which those countries were geographically described, and historically explained; with the addition of all the testimonies and authorities necessary to support them, from records, and other authentic vouchers. These the Queen very graciously received; and, after dinner, on the fame day, conferred with Mr. Dee about them, in the prefence of some of her Privy Council, and of the Lord Treasurer Burleigh especially. His next employment of confequence was about the reformation of the calendar; which, though it never took effect, was one of his best performances, and did him great credit.

Mr. Dee was certainly a man of uncommon parts, learning, and application; and might have performed great things, if he had been posselfed of a folid judgment; but he appears to have been extremely credulous and fuperstitious. He was likewise extremely vain; and his ambition to furpass all men in knowledge, carried him at length to a defire of knowing beyond the bounds of human faculties. In short, he suffered himself to be deluded into an opinion, that by certain invocations an intercourse or communication with spirits might be obtained; from whence he promifed himself an inlight into the occult sciences. He found a young man, one Edward Kelley, a native of Worcef-tershire, who had already dipped deep into these matters; and who readily undertook to be his inftrument in them, for which he was to pay him 501. per annum. They be-gan their incantations in 1581; in confequence of which Kelley was, we are told, by the inspection of a certain table, confecrated for that purpole with many fuperstitious ceremonies, enabled to acquaint Mr. Dee with what the spirits thought fit to shew and discover. These conferences were continued for about two years, and the subjects of them committed to writing; but never published, though they are still preserved in the Ashmolean Muleum. In the mean time, there came over hither a Polish Lord, one Albert Laski, Palatine of Siradia, a man of parts and learning; who was introduced by the Earl of Leiceiter to Mr. Dee, and became his Having himfelf a constant visitant. bias to those superstitious arts, he was, after much intreaty, received by Mr. Dee into their company, and into a participation of their fecrets. within a short time, the Palatine of Siradia, returning to his own country, prevailed with Mr. Dee and Mr. Kelley to accompany him, upon an affurance of their being provided for there: and accordingly they went ail privately from Mortlake, in order to embark for Holland; from whence they travelled by land through Germany into Poland, where, upon the 3d of February, 1584, they arrived

"this time he expressed any error, (says Mr. Walton) it was that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a distance with all his inseriors; and his clothes seemed to prove, that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage." Having taken his degrees in Arts, he became Fellow of his College; and in 1619, he was chosen Orator of the University, which office he held eight years. It appears, however, that he had some inclination to a Court life; and this disposition drew him often from Cambridge to attend his Majesty, wherever the Court was: and the King gave him a fine-cure, which Queen Elizabeth had formerly conferred on Sir Philip Sydney, worth about 1201. per annum. But King James, and two of Mr. Herbert's great friends at Court dying, he was disappointed in his expectations of preferment there; and some time after he entered into Holy Orders.

In

at the principal castle belonging to Albert Laski. But when he had been fufficiently abused with their pretences to a conversation with spirits, he contrived to fend them out of his own country to the Emperor Rodolph II, who had a great turn to chemistry. Accordingly Mr. Dee ob-tained an audience of his Imperial Majesty; but he entertained him with fuch extravagant stories, that the Emperor declined having any more interviews with him. Upon this Mr Dec applied himfelf to his old patron Albert Laski, to introduce him to Stephen, King of Poland; which accordingly he did at Cracow, in April But that Prince not giving 1585. But that Prince not giving ear to his delutions, he would not flay in a place where he did not receive those honours, which he had vanity enough to think due to him from the greatest Sovereigns; wherefore he returned to the Emperor's Court. But the Pope's Nuncio telling the Emperor, that it appeared fcandalous among Christians for his Imperial Majesty to entertain two fuch notorious magicians as Dee and Kelley, he banished them his dominions : but they were entertained by the Count of Rosenburg, one of their pupils, in the castle of Trebona, where they lived for some time in much splendor. But a quarrel at length breaking out between Dee and Kelley, they separated : and the noise which their adventures had made in Europe, induced Queen Elizabeth to invite Mr. Dec home, to

which he was at length perfuaded; and on the 1st of May, 1589, he fet out from Trebona towards England. He travelled with great pomp and folemnity; was attended by a guard of horse; and besides waggons for his goods, had no less than three coaches for the use of his family; for he had married a fecond wife, and had feveral children. He landed at Gravefend upon the 23d of November following; having expended near eight hundred pounds on his journey. On the oth of December he prefented himfelf at Richmond to the Queen, who received him very graciously. Upon his return to Mortlake, he found his house there in a bad condition, the populace, who believed him to be a conjuror, and to deal with the Devil, having, during his being abroad, broke into it, and destroyed many things, and dispersed the remainder: however, he recovered the greatest part of his books. About this time he received a present from Queen Elizabeth of 200 angels; her Majesty also at several different times sent him confiderable fums, as did also other of his great friends at Court: but as he lived in an expensive manner, and these assistances were only occasional, he was often in great want of money. In 1594, he obtained a grant of the Chancellorship of St. Paul's. And in 1595, he obtained also the Wardenthip of Manchester-College, which office he held for about feven years, tho' he is faid to have spent that time

In July, 1626, he was collated to a Prebend in the church of Lincoln; and about the year 1630, he married a lady, who was nearly related to the Earl of Danby. On the 20th of April the same year, he was inducted into the rectory of Bemerton near Sarum; where he discharged the duties of his function in a most exemplary manner. We have no certain account of the exact time of his death; but it is supposed to have happened about the year 1635. His Poems, intitled, "The Temple," were printed at London, in 1635, 12mo, and his "Priest to the Temple," was published in 1652. His works have been fince published together in one volume, 12mo, and have been several times re-printed. He was highly valued by the most eminent persons of his age. Dr. Donne inscribed to him a copy of Latin verses; and the Lord Bacon dedicated to him his translation of some Psalms in English metre.

in a troublesome and unquiet manner. In 1604, he presented a petition to King James, earnestly defiring that he might be brought to a trial; that by a formal and judicial fentence, he might be delivered from those suspicions and furmizes, which had created him fo much uneafiness for upwards of hity years. But the King would fhew him no fort of countenance or favour. He lived about four years after; during which time he had recourfe to his former invocations, and fo came to deal again, as he fancied, with spirits. Some account of his conferences with these invisible beings was afterwards published by Dr. Meric Casaubon. But Dr. Hooke, many years after, maintained, that Dee never was so deluded, but was a

man of much art and intrigue, and made use of this strange practice to conceal things of another nature. Mr. Dee died in the 81st year of his age, and was buried in the chancel of the church at Mortlake. He published feveral learned Works, and left many others in manuscript. He left behind him a numerous posterity, both male and female. His eldelt fon, Arthur Dee, was bred at Westminster school under Mr. Camden. He applied him-felf to the study of physic, and became physician is ordinary first to the Grand Duke of Muscovy, and afterwards to King Charles I .-- Biograph. Britan. New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo. and Floyd's Bibliotheca Biographica.



## The Life of JOHN HALES.

OHN HALES was born in the city of Bath, in the year 1584. He made so early a proficiency in grammar learning, that at thirteen years of age he was fent to Corpus Christi College in Oxford; and in 1605, his great merit having attracted the notice of Sir Henry Savile, he was, by the interest of that learned man, chosen Fellow of Merton-College, of which Sir Henry was Warden. In his election for this Fellowship, " as he shewed himself (says Mr. Wood) a person of learn-"ing above his age and standing, so through the whole course " of his Bachelorship, there was never any one in the then memory of man, that ever went beyond him for fubtile disputati-" ons in philosophy, for his eloquent declamations and orations; " as also for his exact knowledge in the Greek tongue ( t )." His great skill in this language occasioned Sir Henry Savile to make use of his affistance in his edition of St. Chrysostom. Mr. Hales was also appointed to read the Greek lecture in his College, and in 1612 he was likewise made Greek professor to the University.

Upon the death of Sir Thomas Bodley, founder of the Bodleian library, in January, 1612—13, the University determining to inter the corpse in the most solemn manner, chose Mr. Hales to make the funeral oration, which he spoke on the 29th of March; and on the 24th of May following, he was admitted Fellow of Eton-College, being then in Holy Orders. Five years after, in 1618, he accompanied Sir Dudley Carleton, King James's Ambassador to the States of Holland, in quality of Chaplain; by which means he had the advantage of being present at many of the sessions or meetings of the Synod of Dort, which was as-

sembled at this time (u).

It appears that when Mr. Hales went over to Holland, he was a Calvinist, but he returned from thence an Arminian. This we learn from a letter written by his friend Mr. Anthony Farindon, to Mr. Garthwait, in which the former says, that "in his younger years Mr. Hales was a Calvinist, and even then when he was employed at the Synod of Doit; and at the well pressing of St. John iii. 16. by Episcopius,—there, I bid John Calvin good

<sup>(</sup>t) Athenæ Oxonienfes, Vol. II. P. 123. Edit. 1691. (u) Many letters of Mr. Hales to Sir Dudley Carleton, giving an account of fome of the proceedings of the Synod, are inferted in our Author's Golden Remains.

" good night, as he has often told me (w)." And Dr. Walker also relates, that a friend of Mr. Hales finding him one day reading Calvin's Institutes, asked him, " if he was not passed that book?" To which he replied, " In my younger days I read it to inform myself, but now I read it to reform him."

Mr. Hales was disposed in religious matters to think for himself, and was therefore little inclined to yield an implicit assent to human creeds and articles of faith, if they appeared to be unsupported by scripture, or by reason. He loved truth, and sought it diligently; and was always ready to embrace it, whether he found it among the Orthodox or the Heterodox. This disposition, together with the freedom and openness of his temper, occasioned him to write and talk in such a manner, as brought on him the censure of men of more narrow principles. He was said to be a Socinian, and was charged with being the Author of books which he had perhaps never seen, but which it is at least certain he never wrote.

He was defirous of having religion freed from whatever did not belong to it, and reduced to its primitive purity and simplicity. And in a small tract which he wrote for the use of his friend Mr. Chillingworth, concerning schism and schismatics, and in which he traced the original cause of all schism, and delivered with much freedom his principles about ecclefiastical peace and concord, he expresses himself thus: "Were Liturgies (says he) and " public forms of fervice fo framed, as that they admitted not of " particular and private fancies, but contained only fuch things " in which all Christians do agree, schisms on opinion were ut-" terly vanished. For consider of all the Liturgies that either " are, or ever have been, and remove from them whatfoever is " fcandalous to any party, and leave nothing but what all agree " on, and the event shall be, that the public service and honour " of GOD shall no ways suffer: whereas, to load our public " forms with the private fancies upon which we differ, is the " most sovereign way to perpetuate schism unto the world's end. " Prayer, confession, thanksgiving, reading of Scriptures, expo-" fition of Scripture, administration of Sacraments in the plainest " and simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a suf-" ficient Liturgy, though nothing either of private opinion, or " of church pomp, of garments, of prescribed gestures, of imagery, of music, of matter concerning the dead, of many " fuperfluities which creep into the churches under the name of " order and decency, did interpose itself. For to charge " Churches and Liturgies with things unnecessary, was the first " beginning of all superstition; and when scruples of consci-" ence began to be made or pretended, then schisms began to " break in. If the spiritual Guides and Fathers of the Church " would be a little sparing of incumbering churches with super-Vol. IV. 9. " fluities.

<sup>(</sup> w) Vid, the above letter at length, prefixed to the GOLDEN REMAINS.

" fluities, and not over rigid either in reviving obsolete customs, " or imposing new, there would be far less danger of schism or " fuperstition; and all the inconvenience likely to ensue, would " be but this, that they should in so doing yield a little to the " imbecillities of inferiors; a thing which St. Paul would never " have refused to do. Mean while, wheresoever false or suspected opinions are made a piece of the Church-Liturgy, he that fe-" parates is not the schismatic; for it is alike unlawful to make " profession of known or suspected falshoods, as to put in prac-

" tice unlawful or fuspected actions."

Mr. Hales also observes, that "it hath been the common disease " of Christians from the beginning, not to content themselves " with that measure of faith, which GOD and the Scriptures " have expressly afforded us; but out of a vain defire to know " more than is revealed, they have attempted to discuss things, of which we can have no light, neither from reason nor Reve-" lation. Neither have they rested here, but upon pretence of " church authority, which is none, or tradition, which for the " most part is but figment; they have peremptorily concluded, " and confidently imposed upon others, a necessity of entertain-" ing conclusions of that nature : and to strengthen themselves, " have broken out into divisions and factions, opposing man to " man, fynod to fynod, till the peace of the church vanished,

" without all possibility of recall." In this tract Mr. Hales also takes notice, that the peace of the Christian world hath been much disturbed by the turbulent ambition of Prelates. " Episcopal ambition, (fays he), concerning 46 Supremacy of Bishops in divers Sees, one claiming superiority " over another, as it hath been, from time to time, a great tref-" paffer against the church's peace, so it is now the final ruin of it: the East and the West, through the fary of the two prime " Bishops, being irremediably separated, without all hope of re-" concilement. And besides all this mischief, it is sounded in a " vice contrary to all Christian humility, without which no man " shall see his Saviour: for they do but abuse themselves and others, that would perfuade us, that Bishops, by CHRIST's in-" flitution, have any superiority over other men, further than of " reverence; or that any Bishop is superior to another, further " than politive order agreed upon amongst Christians, hath pre-" scribed. For we have believed him that hath told us, That in " JESUS CHRIST there is neither high nor low; and that in " giving honour every man should be ready to prefer another beof fore himself. Which saying cut off all claim most certainly to " fuperiority, by title of Christianity; except men can think " that these things were spoken only to poor and private men. " Nature and religion agree in this, that neither of them hath a " hand in this heraldry of secundum sub et supra; all this comes " from composition and agreement of men among themselves. "Wherefore this abuse of Christianity, to make it lacquey to

" ambition

" ambition, is a vice for which I have no extraordinary name of ignominy, and an ordinary I will not give it, lest you should

" take fo transcendent a vice to be but trivial (x)."

This tract concerning fchism and schismatics being handed about in manuscript, a copy of it fell into the hands of Archbishop Land, who expressing his displeasure at some parts of it, Mr. Hales wrote a letter to the Archbishop, in which he modefly vindicated what he had advanced in the tract at which his Grace had taken offence. And in this letter he made this declaration concerning himself. " The pursuit of truth hath been my only " care, ever fince I first understood the meaning of the word. For "this, I have forfaken all hopes, all friends, all defires, which " might biass me, and hinder me from driving right at what I " aimed. For this, I have spent my money, my means, my " youth, my age, and all I have; that I might remove from my-" self that censure of Tertullian, suo vitio quis quid ignorat. " with all this cost and pains, my purchase is but error, I may " fafely fay, to err hath cost me more, than it has many to find " the truth. And truth itself shall give me this testimony at " last, that if I have missed of her, it is not my fault, but my " misfortune (y)."

In 1638, Archbishop Laud sent for Mr. Hales to Lambeth, and after a conference of several hours, appears to have been reconciled to him, and is said also to have made him large offers of preferment, which he modestly declined; but a Canonry of Windsor was pressed upon him the next year in such a manner, that he thought himself in some measure obliged, though unwilling, to accept it (z); and accordingly he was installed on the 27th of June, 1639; however, he enjoyed this preferment little more than two years, till the beginning of the civil wars in 1642. And this Canonry, "with his Fellowship, (says Mr. Wood), was "all that this most incomparable person, whom I may justly stile

" a walking library, enjoyed."

About the beginning of the year 1645, Mr. Hales retired from his lodgings in the College into a private chamber at Eton, where he remained for a quarter of a year in a very obscure manner, and is said during that time to have lived only upon bread and beer. He continued, however, to enjoy his Fellowship, though he had refused to subscribe to the covenant: but upon his 3 A 2 refusal

(x) Hales's Tracts, P. 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 189, 190.

(y) See Mr. Hales's letter at large at the end of his Tracts, Edit. 1721.

(z) Vid. Biograph. Britan.-" Mr. Hales would willingly have waved the Prebend of Windfor when it was fent to him, knowing nothing of it, by Archbishop Laud; and he would

have refused it, but that it was prefented to him at a public dinner among many friends, who persuaded him to the contrary. Archbishop Laud did also send for him, and told him he might have what preferment he pleased; and he answered, "If it " please your Grace, I have wha: I " desire."---General Dict. refusal to take the engagement, or oath, to be faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as then established, without a King

or House of Lords, he was ejected.

From this time Mr. Hales was obliged to encounter with many hardships and difficulties. Anthony Wood says, " At length he " being reduced to necessity, was forced to fell the best part of " his most admirable library (which cost him 2500 l.) to Cornelius "Bee of London, bookseller, for 700 l. only, as I have been in-" formed by persons of unquestionable veracity. 'Tis true, that " one of the Sedleian family, of Kent, did invite him to live in " his family, with an allowance of 1001. per annum, the keeping of two horses, and a servant's diet; but he being wedded to a retired and studious life, refused to accept of that generous offer: yet about that time he accepted of a quarter of that se falary, with his diet, in the family of one Madam Salter, (fif-" ter, if I mistake not, to Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Sarum), who " lived near Eton, purposely that he should instruct her son "Will. Salter; but he being blockish, Hales could do nothing " upon him. Afterwards a declaration issuing out, prohibiting " all persons from harbouring Malignants, that is, Royalists, he " left that family, notwithstanding the Lady defired him to the " contrary, telling him, that she would undergo all danger that might ensue by harbouring him; and retiring to Eton, he took " up his quarters, and sojourned in an house next to the Chris-" topher Inn, belonging then to Hannah, the widow of John "Dickenson, (a servant from his youth to our Author Hales), " and afterwards the wife and widow of one Sim. Powney; " which Hannah was very careful of, and respectful to him, as " having formerly at her marriage received of his bounty (a)."

There is also a story related by Dr. Walker, in his Account of the fufferings of the Clergy, which represents Mr. Hales as being reduced to very great necessity. It is to the following purpose: Mr. Farindon, an intimate friend of Mr. Hales, coming to fee him some few months before his death, found him in very mean lodgings at Eton, but in a temper gravely chearful, and well becoming a good man under such circumstances. After a very flight and homely dinner fuitable to their lodgings, fome difcourse passed between them concerning their old friends, and the gloomy aspect of the times. At last Mr. Hales asked his friend to walk out with him into the church-yard : and there his necessities pressed him to tell Mr. Farindon, that he had been forced to fell his whole library, except a few books which he had given away, and fix or eight little books of devotion which lay in his chamber; and that for money he had no more than what he then shewed him, which was about seven or eight shillings; and "be-" fides, (faid he) I doubt I am indebted for my lodging." Mr. Farindon, it feems, did not imagine that it had been fo very low WILL with him as this came to, and therefore was much surprized to hear it; but said, that "he had at present money to command, " and to-morrow would pay him fifty pounds, in part of the " many fums he and his wife had received of him in their great " necessities, and would pay him more as he should want it." But Mr. Hales replied, "No, you don't owe me a penny; or if " you do, I here forgive you; for you shall never pay me a " penny. I know you and your's will have occasion for much " more than what you have lately gotten: but if you know any "other friend that hath too full a purse, and will spare me some of it, I will not resuse that." To this Mr. Hales added, "When I die, which I hope is not far off, for I am weary of this " uncharitable world, I defire you to fee me buried in that place " of the church-yard," pointing to the place. " But why not " in the church, faid Mr. Farindon, with the Provost, (Sir Henry "Savile), Sir Henry Wotton, and the rest of your friends and predecessors?" "Because (says he) I am neither the founder " of it, nor have I been a benefactor to it, nor shall I ever now be " able to be fo, I am fatisfied." This story is very circumstantially told, and appears to be well attested: but there is great reason to believe that all the particulars of it are not true. For by his will, dated on the fame day on which he died, he bequeathed legacies to feveral perfons, to the amount of upwards of forty pounds, and "the remainder of his monies, goods, and " utenfils, to Mrs. Hannah Dickenson of Eton;" but " all his Greek and Latin books," (except St. Jerom's Works, which he gave to Mr. Montague), he bequeathed to William Salter, Esq; (b) so that it seems evident he could not have sold his whole library, in the manner above related. Mr. Hales died on the 19th of May, 1656, aged feventy-two years, and the day after was buried agreeable to his defire in Eton-College church-yard, where a monument was erected over his grave by Mr. Peter Curwen.

Mr. HALES was in his person of a small stature; but his body was well proportioned, and his motion brisk and lively; and Wood tells us, that "those that remembered and were well "acquainted with Mr. Hales, have said, that he had the most ingenious countenance that ever they saw; that it was sanguine, "chearful, and full of air." He was a man of great parts, and of the most extensive learning; sincerely pious, and of the strictest integrity; modest and humble, benevolent and charitable to the utmost extent of his ability, of great candour and moderation, and of the most amiable and engaging manners. Bishop Pearson, who was intimately acquainted with him, says, "he was a man, I think, of as great sharpness, quickness, and "subtilty" subtilty

<sup>(</sup> b ) Vid. the will at large in the Biographia Britannica.

fubtilty of wit, as ever this, or perhaps any nation bred. His " industry did strive, if it were possible, to equal the largeness of his capacity; whereby he became as great a master of polite, various, and universal learning, as ever yet conversed with Proportionate to his reading was his meditation, books. which furnished him with a judgment beyond the vulgar reach of man, built upon unordinary notions, raised out of strange " observations and comprehensive thoughts within himself. So that he really was a most prodigious example of an acute and " piercing wit, of a vast and illimited knowledge, of a severe and profound judgment. Although this may feem, as in itet felf it truly is, a grand elogium ; yet I cannot esteem him less " in any thing which belongs to a good man, than in those intellectual perfections: and had he never understood a letter, he had other ornaments sufficient to endear him. For he was of a nature (as we ordinarily speak) so kind, so sweet, so courting all mankind, of an affability fo prompt, fo ready to receive all conditions of men, that I conceive it near as easy a task for any " one to become fo knowing, as fo obliging. As a Christian, none was ever more acquainted with the nature of the Gospel, because none more studious of the knowledge of it, or more curious in the search; which being strengthened by those er great advantages before mentioned, could not prove otherwife than highly effectual. He took indeed to himself a liberty of " judging, not of others, but for himfelf: and if ever any man might be allowed in these matters to judge, it was he who had " fo long, fo much, fo advantageously considered; and, which is " more, never had the least worldly design in his determinations. "He was not only most truly and strictly just in his fecular " transactions, most exemplarily meek and humble, notwithstand-" ing his perfections, but beyond all example charitable, giving " unto all, preferving nothing but his books to continue his . learning and himfelf: which, when he had before digested, he was forced at last to feed upon; at the same time the happiest and most unfortunate Helluo of books, the grand example of " learning, and of the envy and contempt which followeth " it (c)." He was intimately acquainted with the most eminent wits and poets of his time, particularly Lord Falkland, Ben Jonson, and Sir William Davenant; and he was also highly effeemed by learned foreigners, with many of whom he corresponded. He was an excellent preacher, but his voice was somewhat weak. He is faid to have had fome talents for poetry; and Sir John Suckling mentions him in his Sessions of Poets. Bishop Pearson observes, that " while Mr. Hales lived, none

Bishop Pearson observes, that "while Mr. Hales lived, none was ever more solicited and urged to write, and thereby truly teach the world than he; but none was ever so resolved, (par"don

"don the expression), so obstinate against it." However, about three years after his death, in 1659, there came out a Collection of his Works, in 4to. with this title, "Golden Remains of the Ever-memorable Mr. John Hales of Eton College:" which was enlarged with additional Pieces in a second Edition in 1673. This Collection confists of Sermons, Miscellanies, and Letters. And, in 1677, there appeared another Collection of his Works in 8vo. intitled, "Several Tracts by the Ever-memorable Mr. "John Hales."



## The Life of JOHN SELDEN.

HIS very learned man was born on the 16th of December, 1584, at a small village called Salvinton, near Tering in Suffex (e). He was educated at the freeschool in Chichester; and at fixteen years of age he was fent to Hart-hall in Oxford, where he continued about three years. He then quitted the University, and entered himself of Clifford's Inn, London, in order to study the law; and, about two years after, removed to the Inner Temple, where he foon acquired a great reputation by his learning. In 1606, when he was only twenty-two years of age, he drew up a Treatife of the Civil Government of Britain, before the coming in of the Nor-This being shewn in manuscript to some persons who were skilful in this kind of antiquities, it was much applauded, and esteemed an extraordinary performance for his years (f). And as he continued to profecute the fludy of antiquities, he foon became acquainted with those of the greatest eminence in that kind of knowledge.

In 1610, Mr. Selden published two Pieces, one intitled, "Jani "Anglorum facies altera;" and the other, "De Duello, or of fingle Combat." In 1612, he published Notes and Illustrations on the first eighteen fongs in Drayton's Poly-Olbion, in Folio. And, in 1614, he published his learned Treatise on "Titles " of Honour;" a Work which was much esteemed both at home and abroad. Bishop Nicholson observes, that " as to what " concerns our Nobility and Gentry, all that come within either of those lists will allow, that Mr. Selden's Titles of Honour " ought to be perused for the gaining of a general notion of the " distinction of a degree, from an Emperor down to a country

" gentleman."

În 1616, he published Notes on Fortescue's Treatise " De Lau-" dibus Legum Angliæ;" and the following year a very learned Work, intitled, "De Diis Syris syntagmata duo." This is not

(e) Wood fays, " He was fon of " beian, and delighted much in music, " by the exercising of which he ob-

" tained, as it is faid, his wife."

(f) This was printed at Frankfort in 1616, but in a very defective and

<sup>&</sup>quot;John Selden, by Margaret his wife, "by the exer the only daughter of Thomas tained, as Baker, of Rushington, descended Athen. Oxon.

<sup>&</sup>quot; from the knightly family of the Bakers in Kent. His father, who

<sup>&</sup>quot; died in 1617, was a sufficient Ple- incorrect manner.

only a treatise on the idolatry of the antient Syrians, but it was written also as a commentary upon all the passages of the Old Testament, wherein mention is made of any of the Heathen Deities, as Bel, Astaroth, &c. and therefore besides the Syrian, gives an account of the Arabian, Ægyptian, Persian, African, and European idolatry. The first Edition was all bought up in a few years; whereupon Ludovicus de Dieu, Professor of Hebrew at Leyden, wrote a letter to our Author, desiring leave for Elzevir to print another Edition there. Mr. Selden complied with the request, revised it, making some additions, and dedicated it to Daniel Heinfius, who assisted De Dieu in the care of the press. This second Edition came out in 1629, 8vo. and the Work was

afterwards several times re-printed (f).

Mr. Selden was not yet above three and thirty years of age, and yet he had shewn himself a great Philologist, . Antiquarian, Herald, and Linguist; and his extensive learning had obtained him a very great reputation, not only in England, but in foreign countries. In 1618, when he was in his thirty-fourth year, he published, in 4to. his famous "History of Tythes," which tended to prove, that tythes were not due under Christianity by Divine right, tho' he allowed the Clergy's title to them by the laws of the land. This Work gave great offence to the Clergy, and drew on Mr. Selden also the indignation of the Court: so that he was cited before fome Lords of the High Commission, and also of the Privy Council, and obliged to make a fubmission, acknowledging his error in publishing the faid book, though without recanting any thing contained in it, which he never did. Dr. Montagu afterwards undertook to answer the History of Tythes: it was not. however, thought proper to trust entirely to the Doctor's abilities, nor to the goodness of his cause; and therefore King James sent for Mr. Selden, and after acquainting him with Dr. Montagu's defign, faid to him, "If thou presumest, either thyself, or by any " of thy friends, to write any answer to that book, I will throw thee into prison." Mr. Selden thought it prudent to acquiesce, though he complained of it as a great hardship. "All that " will (faid he) have liberty (and some use it) to write and preach " what they will against me, to abuse my name, my person, my " profession, with as many falsehoods as they please, and my " hands are tied : I must not so much as answer their calumnies. " I am fo far from writing more, that I have scarce ventured, for " my own fafety, fo much as to fay, they abuse me, though I " know it."

But though Mr. Selden did not publish any answer to the attacks of his opponents, he vindicated himself among his friends. Animadversions upon his History of Tythes being published by Dr. Tillesly, Archdeacon of Rochester, who had in the Preface made pretty free with Mr. Selden, and taken notice of the sub-Vol. IV. 9.

3 B mission

mission that had been made by him, Mr. Selden wrote a short reply thereto, feveral copies of which he dispersed among his friends, and in which he has these words : " He tells you I made " a fubmission in the Court of High Commission. That I was ever present in that Court, or called thither, as I live, it is " more than I know: but I wonder not that the Doctor should begin with playing false with you, it is common with him " through the whole. I confess that I did most willingly ac-" knowledge, not only before some Lords of the High Commis-" fion, (not in the High Commission Court), but also to the Lords " of his Majesty's Privy Council, that I was most forry for the publishing of that History, because it had offended; and his " Majesty's most gracious favour towards me, received that satis-" faction of the fault in fo untimely printing it : and I profess " fill to all the world, that I am forry for it; and fo should I " have been, if I had published a most orthodox catechism that " had offended: but what is that to the doctrinal confequences of " it, which the Doctor talks of? Is there a syllable of it of less " truth, because I was forry for the publishing of it : Indeed, " perhaps, by the Doctor's logic, there is; and just so might he " prove, that there is more truth in his animadversions, because " he was glad of the printing them, and because he hopes, as he " fays, that my submission hath cleared my judgment, touching the right of tythes. What dream made him hope so? There " is not a word of tythes in that submission, more than in men-" tioning the title; neither was my judgment at all in question, " but my publishing it, and this the Doctor knows too, as I am " affured: for the submission he talks of, was through the favour " of some of the Lords, (to whose noble regard towards me I owe all service) given by me in writing in some six lines, lest " by mifreports of some such as the Doctor is, I might be in-" jured, by false relations of what I should speak only, and co-" pies of it I dispersed into many hands; and I know the Doc-"tor hath feen one. In fum, I was and am forry that I pubIf hed it, and that I fo gave occasion to others to abuse my
History, by their false applications of some arguments; but " there is not a passage in it, but that I ever did think, and do " now think, to be most constant truth, as I have there delivered 66 it."

In 1621, King James having, in his speech to the Parliament, afferted, that their privileges were originally grants from the Crown, Mr. Selden was consulted by the House of Lords on that occasion, and gave his opinion in favour of the Parliament; which being disolved soon after, he was committed to the custody of the Sheriff of London, as a principal promoter of the famous protest made by the House of Commons, previous to its dissolution (g). During this confinement, which lasted only five weeks,

weeks, he prepared the History of Eadmer, with notes, for the press; and it was published in 1623, in Folio, with a Dedication to the Lord Keeper Williams; wherein he acknowledges that Prelate's favour in procuring his releasement. It appears that Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, also stood Mr. Selden's friend on this occasion.

Mr. Selden was this year, 1623, chosen Member of Parliament for Lancaster; and in the Parliament which was called in 1625, on the accession of King Charles I. he was returned a Burgels for Great-Bedwin in Wiltshire. He had hitherto been chiefly known under the character of a profound scholar, but he now began to distinguish himself as a warm Patriot, and was very active in the opposition to the arbitrary measures of the Court. He declared himself very openly and freely against the Duke of Buckingham, as the author of many of the national grievances; and, in 1626, he was first chosen of the Committee for drawing up articles of impeachment against that Nobleman, and afterwards appointed one of the managers for the House of Commons at his trial. In 1627, when King Charles endeavoured to impose an illegal loan on his subjects, Mr. Selden was very active in opposing it : and though he very feldom made his appearance at the bar, yet his attachment to the rights of his fellow-subjects induced him to plead in the Court of King's Bench, as Council for Mr. Hampden, who had been imprisoned for refusing to pay the loan.

In the third Parliament of King Charles, Mr. Selden again fat as Member for Lancaster: and he continued to employ his great skill and learning in the laws and constitution of England, in defending those rights and liberties, of which an arbitrary Prince and an iniquitous Ministry were attempting to deprive his countrymen. He had a principal share in all leading steps towards preparing and establishing the famous Petition of Right: and after that was passed into a law, and the Parliament prorogued, he retired to Wrest in Bedsordshire, a seat of the Earl of Kent's, where he put the last hand to his "Commentaries upon the Arun-" delian Marbles." These sine monuments of antiquity had been brought from Constantinople the year before, and placed by the Earl of Arundel in his house and gardens in the Strand.

In the next Seffion of Parliament, Mr. Selden continued to exert himself in opposing the illegal measures of the Court; and, therefore, after the Parliament was dissolved, he was, for his behaviour in it, committed to the Tower by an order of the Privy Council, and his study sealed up. Here he was kept in close confinement about eight months; during which time he continued, notwithstanding the disadvantage of his situation, to prosecute his studies: and on the 3d of October, 1629, a proposal being made by the Judges to discharge him, provided he would give security for his future good behaviour, he rejected the proposition with great firmness, as entirely unwarranted by law. As he continued immoveable in this resolution, he was soon after removed to the 3 B 2

King's Bench prison; but he was permitted to go abroad in the day-time, upon paying at the usual rates for the rules of the prifon. It was at this time that he wrote his Piece, "De Successio-" nibus in Bona Defuncti, secundum Leges Hebræorum."

In May, 1630, he was removed to the Gatehouse at Westminfter; and in consequence of this removal, he found means to obtain so much indulgence, as to pass the long vacation in Bedfordshire. But when his Habeas Corpus was brought, as usual, in Michaelmas term enfuing, it was absolutely refused by the Court; and the Judges complaining likewise of the illegality of his removal to the Gatehouse (k), he was remanded by an order from them to his former prison, where he continued till May, 1631; when, upon a dispute in law between the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Kent, and Pembroke, he was admitted to bail, to have the liberty of appearing in any of the courts of law, upon After this, he was bailed from term to the business of that suit. term, and never more detained in prison; till at last, petitioning the King for the purpose, in July, 1634, he was freed likewise from this bail, by the favour, as it is faid, of Archbishop Laud and the Lord Treasurer. But certainly this long imprisonment of Mr. Selden, for no crime, and only for opposing in Parliament the measures of the Court, was a most shameful and unjustifiable stretch of power, and sets in a very strong point of view the arbitrary complexion of Charles's administration.

In the mean time, Mr. Selden wrote his treatise "De Jure Na-" turali & Gentium, juxta Disciplinam Hebræorum;" and also his "Uxor Hebraica: sive, de Nuptiis & Divortiis ex Jure Civili, " id est Divino & Thalmudico Veterum Hebræorum." Some disputes were about this time agitated between England and Holland concerning the Herring Fishery, the Dutch having lately fet up a claim to that Fishery, even upon the British coast. These pretentions were grounded chiefly upon the arguments in Grotius's book, intitled, " Mare Liberum," wherein the liberty of fishing on the seas was afferted to be a matter of common right. In defence, therefore, of the right of the inhabitants of Britain to the Sovereignty of their own seas, Mr. Selden drew up his famous treatise, intitled, "Mare Clausum; seu, de Dominio Ma-"ris;" in two books. This was published at London, in Folio, in 1635; but it had been written some years before. In this learned Work Mr. Selden has effectually demonstrated, from the principles of the law of nature and nations, that a dominion over the sea may be acquired; from the most authentic Histories, that fuch a dominion has been claimed and enjoyed by feveral nations, and submitted to by others for their common benefit: that

( k ) These bonest Judges concurred to be very scrupulous and exact, and very observant of the forms of law, in the matter of removing him from

very readily in Mr. Selden's impriforment, the whole of which was noporioufly illegal; but they pretended one prison to another.

this in fact was the case of the inhabitants of this island, who at all times, and under every kind of government, had claimed, exercised, and constantly enjoyed such a dominion; which had been confessed by their neighbours frequently, and in the most solemn manner. This treatise is said to have greatly recommended Mr. Selden to the Court: and a copy of it was placed among the records of the Crown in the Council-chest in the Ex-

chequer, and in the Court of Admiralty.

In 1640, Mr. Selden was chosen Member for the University of Oxford; and that year and the following one he continued to oppose the measures of the Court with great vigour in Parliament : and he concurred in the proceedings against the Earl of Strafford, and Archbishop Laud. But notwithstanding this, it appears from Lord Clarendon, that King Charles, who would have been very glad to have gained over to his party a man of fuch great merit and reputation as Mr. Selden, had some thoughts of taking the Great Seal from the Lord-Keeper Littleton, and giving it to him. Clarendon tells us, that the Lord Falkland and himself, to whom his Majesty referred the consideration of that affair, "did not doubt of Mr. Selden's affection to the King, " but withal they knew him so well, that they concluded he " would absolutely refuse the place, if it were offered to him. "He was in years, and of a tender constitution; he had for " many years enjoyed his eafe, which he loved; was rich; and would not have made a journey to York, or have lain out of " his own bed, for any preferment; which he had never af-" fected ( h )." That Mr. Selden would have declined the proposed dignity, if it had been offered him, is very probable: but we cannot suppose that he would have done this, as Lord Clarendon suggests, chiefly from his love of ease. He adhered to the Parliament from the breaking out of the civil wars; and from the tenor of his precedent conduct, we can have no reasonable doubt but that he did this from principle. It is natural to suppose, that so studious a man as Selden might be a lover of ease, and quiet, and retirement: but he had given the most incontestible evidence, that he was ready, when proper opportunities offered, to facrifice his love of ease to what he thought the interest of his country; as he had by his repeated and vigorous opposition to the arbitrary measures of the King and his Ministers, drawn on himself their indignation, and in consequence underwent much trouble and expence, and a very long imprisonment: all which he might certainly have avoided, if he had been chiefly actuated by the love of eafe.

In 1643, Mr. Selden was appointed one of the Lay-Members, to fit among the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. And Whitlocke says, that in their debates, 'Mr. Selden spake admi- rably, and consuted divers of them in their own learning. And

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<sup>(</sup> b ) Hift. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. Part 2. P. 572. 8vo. Edit. 1719.

· fometimes when they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their affertion, he would tell them, " Perhaps in your little

pocket Bibles with gilt leaves, (which they would often pull out and read) the translation may be thus; but the Greek, or " the Hebrew, fignifies thus and thus;" and so would totally

filence them (i).'
In June, 1643, Mr. Selden took the Covenant. By this oath, which was taken by upwards of one hundred and fifty Members of the House of Commons in one day, they solemnly declared, among other things, that they did in their consciences believe, that the forces raifed by the two Houses of Parliament, were raised and continued for their just defence, and for the defence of the true Protestant religion, and liberty of the subject, against the forces raised by the King; and they bound themselves to asfift, according to their power, the forces raifed and continued by both Houses of Parliament; and not to afford any assistance to the forces raised by the King, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

The same year Mr. Selden was appointed by the Parliament Keeper of the Records in the Tower. In 1644, he published his treatise "De Anno Civili et Calendario Judaico." In 1645, he was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty; but that commission determined in a few days. The same year he was unanimously elected Master of Trinity-Hall in Cambridge; but this office he did not think proper to accept. On the 18th of January, 1646, the Parliament voted that Mr. Selden should receive five thousand pounds, in consideration of his sufferings by

the late illegal proceedings of the Court.

In 1647, he published "Fleta, seu Commentarius Juris Anglicani fic nuncupatus." And being appointed one of the flanding Committee for hearing and receiving reports from the visitors of the two Universities, he was very terviceable to that of Oxford, upon many occasions, both this and the following year. In 1650, he printed his first book " De Synedriis et Præfecturis He-"bræorum." He prosecuted this subject as long as he lived afterwards; to which he added a fecond book in 1053; and in the mean time published, in 1652, a Preface to the "Decem Scriptores Anglicanæ," containing an account of those Writers, with fome remarks upon their feveral Histories.

At the beginning of 1654, Mr. Selden's health began to decline, and he died on the 30th of November that year, in the feventieth year of his age. A few days before his death, he fent for his friend Bulftrode Whitlocke, in order to make some alterations in his will; but when Whitlocke came, he found Mr. Selden's weakness so much encreased, that he was not able to perform his intentions. He died in White-Friars, at the house of

Elizabeth,

<sup>(</sup>i) Memorials of the English affairs during the reign of King Charles I.

Elizabeth, Countefs-Dowager of Kent, with whom he had lived fome years in such intimacy, that some suggested they lived together as man and wise. He was buried in the Temple church, and Archbishop Usher preached his suneral sermon. He left a considerable fortune; and also a most valuable and curious library to his executors, Matthew Hale, John Vaughan, Edward Heywood, and Rowland Jewks, Esquires; which they generously would have bestowed on the Society of the Inner Temple, if a proper place should be provided to receive it; but this being neglected, they gave it to the University of Oxford, where a noble room was added to the Bodleian library for its reception.

Mr. SELDEN's extensive and profound learning gained him the highest reputation in every part of Europe. The famous Grotius stilled him, "the Glory of the English nation." He had extraordinary skill in the Hebrew and Oriental languages. His knowledge in the law was very great, but he did not greatly trouble himself with the practice of it: for he very seldom appeared at the bar, but sometimes gave council in his chamber. Whitlocke says, "His mind was as great as his learning. He "was as hospitable and generous as any man, and as good com-"pany to those whom he liked." He was a man of a truly philosophic spirit, and had no inclination for titles or preferment. He was charitable to the poor, and liberal to scholars: and Mr. Baxter assures us, that Sir Matthew Hale told him, Selden was "a resolved serious Christian, and a great adversary to Hobbes's "errors." He was a great lover of his country, a zealous opposer of arbitrary principles and proceedings, and sirmly attached to the principles of liberty. His motto, which he wrote in Greek in most of his books, was, "LIBERTY ABOVE ALL "Things."

Lord Clarendon fays, "Mr. Selden was a person whom no character can flatter, or transmit in any expressions equal to his merit and virtue. He was of fo stupendous learning in all kinds, and in all languages, (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent Writings), that a man would have thought he had been entirely converfant among books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtely, and affability was fuch, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best Courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating all he knew, exceeded that breeding. His stile in all his Writings seems harsh, and fometimes obscure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse subjects of which he commonly treated, out of the paths trod by other men; but to a little undervaluing the beauty of a stile, and too much propensity to the language of antiquity; but in his conversation he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty in making hard things easy, and presenting them to the understanding, of any man that hath been known." His Lordship

Lordship afterwards observes, that how wicked soever the actions of the Parliament party were, "he was consident, Mr. Selden had not given his consent to them; but would have hindered them if he could, with his own safety, to which he was always enough indulgent (o). If he had some infirmities with other men, they were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious

abilities in the other scale ( k)."

Some years after Mr. Selden's death, Richard Milward, who had long lived with him, published a collection of observations and remarks made by Mr. Selden in conversation on various subjects, under the title of "Table-Talk."---" I had the opportunity to hear his discourses twenty years together, (says Mr. Milward), and lest all those excellent things that usually fell from him might be lost, some of them from time to time I faithfully committed to writing." This collection has been several times printed, and we shall select a few passages from it.

"Humility is a virtue all preach, none practife, and yet every body is content to hear. The master thinks it good doctrine for his servant, the Laity for the Clergy, and the Clergy for the

" Laity.

"There is Humilitas quædam in vitio. If a man does not take notice of that excellency and perfection that is in himself, how can he be thankful to GOD, who is the Author of all excellency and perfection? Nay, if a man hath too mean an opicion of himself, 'twill render him unserviceable both to GOD and man.

"Equity is a roguish thing; for law we have a measure, and know what to trust to; but Equity is according to the conficience of him that is Chancellor, and as that is larger or narrower, so is Equity. "Tis all one as if they should make his foot the standard for the measure we call a Chancellor's foot; what an uncertain measure would this be? One Chancellor has a long foot, another a short foot, a third an indifferent foot:

" 'tis the same thing in the Chancellor's conscience.

"We cannot tell what is a judgment of GOD; 'tis prefump"tion to take upon us to know. In time of plague we know we
want health, and therefore we pray to GOD to give us health;
in time of war we know we want peace, and therefore we pray
to GOD to give us peace. Commonly we fay a judgment falls
upon a man for fomething in him we cannot abide. An example we have in King James, concerning the death of Henry
the Fourth of France; one faid he was killed for his wenching,
another faid he was killed for turning his religion. No, fays
King James, (who could not abide fighting), he was killed for
permitting duels in his kingdom.

( o ) Lord Clarendon hath an observation to the same purpose in his History of the Rebellion, which we have already given, and on which we have made some remarks, which may be applied here. ( k ) Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, written by himself, Edit. Folio, Oxford, 1759. P. 16.

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The text, Render unto Cafar the things that are Cafar's, " makes as much against Kings as for them; for it says plainly " that some things are not Cæsar's. But Divines make choice of " it, first in flattery, and then because of the other part adjoined to it, Render unto GOD the things that are GOD's, where they " bring in the Church." --- " Let the Divines in their pulpits fay " what they will, they in their practice deny that all is the King's. "They fue him, and so does all the nation, whereof they are a

What matter is it then what they preach or teach in the

" fchools ?"

" Qu. Whether may subjects take up arms against their " Prince? Anf. Conceive it thus: Here lies a shilling betwixt " you and me; ten-pence of the shilling is your's, two-pence is mine. By agreement, I am as much King of my two-pence, " as you of your ten-pence: if you therefore go about to take " away my two-pence, I will defend it; for there you and I are " equal, both Princes.

"To know what obedience is due to the Prince, you must " look into the contract betwixt him and his people; as if you " would know what rent is due from the tenant to the landlord, " you must look into the lease. When the contract is broken,

" and there is no third person to judge, then the decision is by " arms. And this is the case between the Prince and the subject. " Qu. What law is there to take up arms against the Prince, in

" case he break his covenant? Ans. Though there be no writ-" ten law for it, yet there is custom, which is the best law of the " kingdom; for in England they have always done it. There

" is nothing expressed between the King of England and the "King of France, that if either invades the other's territory. " the other shall take up arms against him, and yet they do it

" upon fuch an occasion.

" Of all the actions of a man's life, his marriage does least " concern other people; yet of all actions of our life 'tis most " meddled with by other people.

" Patience is the chiefest fruit of study; a man that strives to " make himself a different thing from other men by much read-" ing, gains this chiefest good, that in all fortunes he hath some-

" thing to entertain and comfort himself withal.

"The King's oath is not fecurity enough for our property, for " he swears to govern according to law; now the Judges they " interpret the law; and what Judges can be made to do we " know.

"The Parliament of England has no arbitrary power in point " of judicature, but in point of making law only (1)." An Edition of all Mr. Selden's Works was published in 1725,

by Dr. David Wilkins, in three Volumes, Folio.

(1) Table-Talk, Edit: 1716. P. 37, 46, 52, 55, 58, 67, 82, 92, 129.

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## The Life of THOMAS WENTWORTH, Earl of Strafford.

HIS Nobleman was descended from a very antient family, who were seated at Wentworth, in the county of York, at the time of the Conquest. He was the eldest fon of Sir Willam Wentworth, and was born in Chancery-lane, London, on the 13th of April, 1593. He received his academical education at St. John's College in Cambridge; but in 1611, he quitted the University, and travelled into France, being accompanied by Mr. John Greenwood, Fellow of University College in Oxford, as his Governor. He returned home at the beginning of the year 1613; and it is supposed to have been soon after, that he married the Lady Margaret, eldest daughter of Francis Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; and about the same time he received the honour of Knighthood.

His father died in 1614; in confequence of which he succeeded to an estate of near fix thousand pound per annum, together with the title of Baronet, his father having received that homour from King James, at the first institution of the Order. In 1615, he was appointed Custos Rotulorum for Yorkshire; and, in 1621, he was elected one of the Representatives in Parliament for that county. This induced him to remove his family from Wentworth-Woodhouse in Yorkshire to London, where he took a house in Austin Friars. But being seized there with a dangerous sever, he removed, as soon as he began to recover, about July, 1622, to Bow, where his Lady died shortly after; and he then re-

moved his family again into Yorkshire.

At the beginning of the year 1625, Sir Thomas Wentworth entered into a fecond marriage with Lady Arabella Holles, fecond daughter to the Earl of Clare, a Lady of great merit and beauty. At the accession of King Charles I. he was again chosen to represent the county of York in Parliament; but having made some opposition to the Court measures, he was one of the seven who were nominated by the King to serve as Sheriss, at the beginning of the year 1626, with a view of preventing them from sitting in the second Parliament of that reign: and Sir Thomas was also removed from his place of Custos Rotulorum.

He was much exasperated at his dismission from this post, which was presented to him in the open county court, where he was discharging the office of High Sheriff. He considered the

Duke of Buckingham as the author of his removal; and being again chosen to fit in Parliament, he entered more heartily into the opposition to the measures of the Court, than he had ever done before. He also refused to pay an illegal loan, which had been imposed without consent of Parliament; for which he, as well as many others, was imprisoned in the Marshalsea; and fix weeks afterwards he was confined within a circle of two miles

from the town of Dartford in Kent.

A few months after he was again elected Knight of the Shire for the county of York, and he exerted himself in the House of Commons in promoting the famous Petition of Right. But, notwithstanding this, as Sir Thomas Wentworth was uninfluenced by any genuine principles of public virtue, the Court found it no difficult matter to bring him over to their party. This was at once effected by raising him to the Peerage. " His patriotism " (as the ingenious Mrs. Macaulay expresses it) dissolved on the " first beam of Court favour." He was created Baron Wentworth, Newmarsh, and Oversley, on the 22d of July, 1628. And from this time, instead of defending the liberties of his country, he became an active instrument in the most despotic and unjustifiable measures of the Court. We are told, that he afterwards endeavoured to excuse himself, to some of his friends who were engaged in the opposition, for deferting them; and that, on this occasion, the famous Mr. Pym bad him be at no pains to justify himself; " For though you (said he) have left us, we will not " leave you, while your head is on your shoulders."

Wentworth was a few months after raised to the degree of Viscount, taken into the Privy Council, and made Lord Prefident of the Court and Council of the North. It has been justly obferved, that the whole institution of the Court and Council of the North was a fystem of oppression. It was (says Mr. Guthrie) " a dangerous and unconstitutional court of law, or rather of equity, its bounds and powers being limited or enlarged, according to the conveniencies of State. In short, it was a court which bad fair to render the courts of law in the northern counties of no utility; and the subjects there, from being the most jealous of all others in England, with regard to their liberties, were now, by the terrors of this court, rendered so tame, that many wise men thought that a King, inclined to despotism, might make it a pattern for a like court in the South. Many subjects of the North had very loudly complained of this court's iniquitous proceedings; for Charles had already made it the epitome of what he

wished the courts of Westminster-hall to be (a)."

It appears from this account of the Court and Council of the North, that it was a very proper theatre for Lord Wentworth to display his new principles on. He had for some time been on very friendly terms with Archbishop Laud, and a great intimacy 3 C 2 fubfifted

subfifted between them from this time to the end of their lives. They joined together with great cordiality, and were equally active in promoting the cause of despotism. Wentworth exercised his office as Prefident of the Council of the North, greatly to the fatisfaction of the Court, though not much to the fatisfaction of the people. Indeed he fometimes behaved in a manner exceedingly infolent and arbitrary; though he acted for the most part by his instruments and agents. He brought Sir David Foulis, and two other gentlemen, into the Star-chamber, for diffuading and discouraging persons from paying their composition-money, in the matter of Knighthood. Foulis was also charged with shewing some difrespect to Lord Wentworth: the whole charge against him was, however, very trivial; but the Court of Starchamber nevertheless thought proper, with its usual moderation, to fentence Sir David to be imprisoned in the Fleet during his Majesty's pleasure, to pay a fine of five thousand pounds to the King, and three thousand pounds to Lord Wentworth, besides

other penalties.

The Court and Council of the North, (or, as it was often called, the Court and Council of York), had been first erected, after some insurrections, by a patent from King Henry VIII. without any authority from Parliament. Its power had been extended by degrees; but was never fo great as it was after Wentworth was made Prefident, King Charles having thought proper to invest him and the Council with extraordinary discretionary powers. It was afterwards complained of by the people in the North as an intolerable grievance; and Mr. Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, was appointed by the House of Commons, in 1641, to represent to the House of Peers the pernicious consequences of this court. In his speech on this occasion, which is still extant, Mr. Hyde stiles this court, "a great and crying " grievance; which, though (fays he) it be complained of in " the present pressures but by the northern parts, yet by the lo-" gic and consequences of it, it is the grievance of the whole " kingdom." He also says, that it had " almost overwhelmed " that country under the fea of arbitrary power, and involved " the people in a labyrinth of distemper, oppression, and po-" verty." He likewise observes, that after Wentworth was made President, new clauses were added to the commission, which " crowded in a mass of new, exorbitant, and intolerable power." He proceeds, "What hath the good Northern people done, that " they only must be disfranchised of all their privileges by " Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right; for to what pur-" pose serve these statutes, if they may be fined and imprisoned " without law, according to the discretion of the Commissioners? "What have they done, that they, and they alone of all the people of this happy island, must be disinherited of their 66 birth-right, of their inheritance?" .--- "Truly, my Lords, " these vexed worn-out people of the North are not suitors to

ee your

vour Lordships, to regulate this court, or to reform the Judges " of it, but for extirpating these Judges, and the utter abolish-" ing this court (b)." It is fufficiently evident from hence, how great a grievance this court was. Indeed, Mr. Guthrie fays, that " had Wentworth been guilty of no other demerit, he " deserved to lose his head, for accepting what no King of Eng-" land can give, and no free-born subject ought to execute; I " mean a commission, that, in effect, set aside the laws of the " land, and left no other visible tenor of justice, than the wills of " men, always fallible, and often corrupted, influenced by fenti-" ments of gratitude, fear, or expectancy towards the Crown; " refentments of hatred, envy, and malevolence against the sub-

" ject (c)."

In October, 1631, Lord Wentworth lost his Lady, who had brought him three children. The same year he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, in the room of Lord Falkland. But before he went over to his new Government, he married, in October, 1632, a third wife, Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Godfrey Rhodes. Wentworth confidered this match as rather beneath his dignity; the ceremony was therefore performed in private, and he endeavoured to keep it for some time from the knowledge of the public. His Lady feems also to have had an humble opinion of herfelf, and to have thought it fomewhat of prefumption for her to venture to write to her new husband. However, his Lord-ship endeavoured to encourage her; and, in a letter to her, he fays, "It is no presumption for you to write unto me; the sellow-" ship of marriage ought to carry with it more of love and equa-" lity, than any other apprehension (d)."

When Wentworth went over into Ireland as Lord Deputy, he was invested with more ample powers than had been granted to his predecessors. This, however, did not prevent him from soliciting, foon after his arrival in that kingdom, a farther extension of those powers; and which he accordingly obtained. He found the revenue of Ireland under great anticipations, and loaded with a debt of an hundred and tax thousand pounds. This occasioned the army to be both ill clothed and ill paid; and the excesses of the soldiers were so great, as to produce from the inhabitants of the county of Cavan, a remonstrance against them to the Lord-Deputy, with some proposals for a regulation; which Wentworth, in his haughty manner, seemed, at that time, to disregard. He set himself, however, in a short time, to remedy these inconveniencies; and having procured the continuance of the voluntary contribution of the Nobility, Gentry, and Freeholders, he was very punctual in the payment of the foldiers,

<sup>(</sup>b) See this speech at length in Speeches and Passages of the Parliament of 1641, Edit. 4to. 1641, P. 409---416. (c) Hift, of England, ut supra. (d) Vid. Biograph. Britan.

which put a ftop to many of their diforders, and he was very

fuccefsful in restoring military discipline.

In July, 1634, Lord Wentworth affembled a Parliament at Publin, which he had found means to model in such a manner, that he obtained six subsidies, payable out of lands and goods, each subsidy consisting of about forty-sive thousand pounds, to be raised in four years; the greatest sum ever known to be granted to the Crown in that kingdom. The disposal of this money being lest entirely to Wentworth, he did great matters with it, in paying the army, in reducing the incumbrances upon

the public, and in all branches of government (e).

These services greatly recommended Lord Wentworth to King Charles, who testified his satisfaction at what he had done. But his behaviour in Ireland did not much recommend him to the people there. Though he displayed some abilities in his government, he shewed great want of policy in his treatment of some of the most considerable persons in that kingdom, to whom he behaved in a very haughty, insolent, and arbitrary manner. He embroiled himself first with the Earl of Ormond, and afterwards with the Earl of Kildare, the first Nobleman in Ireland, only for opposing the Court measures in Parliament. He treated the Earl of Corke, and the Lord-Chancellor, with much indignity, and behaved very arrogantly to the Council, paying very little regard either to their persons or judgment.

Wentworth had not been many months in Ireland, before he folicited King Charles to raise him to the dignity of an Earl, but he had the mortification to meet with a repulse. About two years after, he again made application to the King for the same purpose; but Charles once more declined granting his request, which greatly chagrined him. However, the King sending for him into England in September, 1639, he was on the 12th of January following raised to his long-desired dignity, being then created Earl of Strassord. And at the same time he was also raised from the title of Deputy to that of Lord-Lieutenant of

Ireland. He was likewise made a Knight of the Garter.

In the mean time, King Charles had by his imprudent and arbitrary administration thrown both England and Scotland into a state of disorder and confusion, and instanced a great part of both nations against him. From the beginning of his reign he had shewn a strong disposition to despotism, and an unwillingness to be under any restraints from the laws or the constitution. When he found that Parliaments could not be brought to conform to his will and pleasure, and that they would not grant supplies without enquiring into the administration of Government, he determined to rule without them. And accordingly, for upwards of eleven years, he reigned without assembling any Parliament; during which time a variety of illegal and oppressive methods were practised,

gout.

practifed, to extort money from the people for the Crown, and the Government was become little better than a regular system of tyranny. The most arbitrary courts were erected, and the power of others enlarged; fuch were the High Commission Court, the Star-Chamber, the Court of Honour, the Court of Requests, and the Court of Wards. In some of these courts, the most severe, cruel, and unjust sentences were passed on men for very trivial offences; and indeed not unfrequently for actions which were in fact no offences at all, whatever might be pretended by the court. Some of the most respectable men in the kingdom were heavily fined and imprisoned, for no other crime than their freedom of speech in Parliament, while Parliaments had been permitted to assemble. Ship-money, Knighthood-money, and Coat and Conduct-money, were extorted from the people; and those who refused payment were imprisoned. Patents and monopolies of various kinds were granted to private persons, to the great detriment of the public. Tonnage and poundage were levied by the Royal authority alone: and the Custom-house Officers received orders from the Privy Council to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar, to fearch any trunk or chest, and to break any bulk whatever, in default of the payment of customs. Though Charles had passed the Petition of Right in his third Parliament, it was notwithstanding almost perpetually violated. Letters were sent to all parts of the kingdom, requiring people to advance money to the Crown under the title of a Loan. Upwards of thirty Knights, and great numbers of other gentlemen, were imprifoned for refusing to subscribe to this illegal loan; and the Privy Council ordered the common people who refused to subscribe, to be impressed for soldiers. In the mean time, the Scottish nation had been exasperated, not only by many arbitrary proceedings, but by an endeavour to compel them to fubmit to episcopal government, to which they were exceedingly averse, and which had therefore occasioned violent commotions in that kingdom.

Matters were in this fituation, when Charles at length thought proper to assemble another Parliament, at the beginning of the year 1640. This measure is said to have been recommended by the Earl of Strafford. But the House of Commons being very backward in granting supplies, before some of the national grievances were redressed, this Parliament was soon dissolved. Mean while, the Earl of Strafford returned into Ireland, where he staid about a fortnight, in which time he sat in Parliament, had sour subsidies given there, appointed a council of war, and gave orders to levy eight thousand foot there; which, together with two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, which was the standing army in Ireland, and sive thousand horse to be joined with them, were to be sent into Scotland under his Lordship's command, to reduce that country to obedience. He then embarked for England, being at that time sick of a slux, and of the

gout. On his recovery, he was made Lieutenant-General of the English forces in the North; and, a few months after, another

Parliament was affembled.

The Earl of Strafford had now been long in great favour with the King, and was admitted into his most secret councils: and he and Archbishop Laud were generally considered as the two chief promoters of the arbitrary measures of the Court. This occasioned the House of Commons to impeach the Earl of Strafford of high treason, on the 11th of November, 1640. The impeachment was at first carried up by Mr. Pym only in general terms: but the Commons desired, that the Earl might be sequestered from Parliament, and put under consinement, promising to exhibit articles against him in convenient time: whereupon the Lords sequestered him from the House, and committed him to the custody of the Gentleman-Usher of the Black Rod.

On the 18th of November the House of Commons made an order, that none of their Members should visit the Earl, without leave of the House. And the Commons also sent a message the same day to the Lords, to desire them to appoint a Committee to take the depositions of such witnesses as the Commons should think sit to examine against the Earl, and that the Members of the House of Commons might be present; and that the proceedings at their examination might be kept private. And that the Members of the Lords House, whom they should call as witnesses,

might be examined upon eath, as they had ordered their own Members to be; and that the Members of the Privy Council might be examined as witnesses also. And to these particulars

the Lords agreed.

On the 25th of November, nine general articles of impeachment against Strafford were carried up to the Peers from the Commons by Mr. Pym; and on the 30th of January following, twenty-eight other special articles were also carried up to the Lords by the same gentleman. In these articles, it was alledged against the Earl of Strafford, amongst other things, That he had traiteroufly endeavoured to destroy the constitution, and introduce an arbitrary government both in England and Ireland. That he had endeavoured to create hostilities between the subjects of England and Scotland. That he endeavoured to incense his Majesty against Parliaments, and thereby to create divisions between his Majesty and his people, and to ruin and destroy these kingdoms. That the faid Earl, traiterously contriving to bring the Realm of Ireland under his tyranny, did, in the eighth year of the King, by his own authority, impose great sums of money upon the town of Baltimore, and divers other places, and caused the fame to be levied in a warlike manner by troops of foldiers. And that in the 12th year of the King, he authorized Robert Savile, Serjeant at Arms, and feveral Captains, to quarter foldiers upon several of the inhabitants, who would not conform to his orders; and by fuch warlike means compelled them to fubmit to

his unlawful commands: and in like manner expelled Richard Butler from his manor of Castlecumber. And also Edward Obrenman, and others, to the number of one hundred families, he expelled from their possessions, and carried them and their wives to Dublin, and imprisoned them till they surrendered their respective estates; whereby he levied war within the said Realm, against his Majesty, and his liege people of that kingdom. in order to oppress the subjects of Ireland, he obtained of his Majesty, That no complaints should be received in England against any, unless it appeared the party had first applied to the faid Earl. And that, the better to maintain his tyranny, he made use of his Majesty's name in his aforesaid oppressions. And that, to prevent any complaints to his Majesty, he issued a proclamation in the 11th year of the King, forbidding all who held estates and offices in the kingdom, to depart the kingdom without his licence; and that accordingly he imprisoned several who came over to complain. And that having thus subverted the Government in Ireland, he did, to the scandal of his Majesty, affirm, That his Majesty was so well pleased with his army there, and the confequences thereof, that he would make the fame a pattern for all his three kingdoms. And that he had endeavoured to create in his Majesty an ill opinion of the Scots, and excited his Majesty to an offensive war against them.

The trial began on Monday the 22d of March, in Westminster-Hall, and continued fourteen days. The Commons appointed the following Members of their House to be managers for them on this occasion: George, Lord Digby, John Hampden, Esq; John Pym, Esq; Oliver St. John, Esq; Sir Walter Earl, Jeffery Palmer, John Maynard, and John Glyn, Esquires. A very great number of witnesses were examined. We shall insert some of the

most material evidence against him.

William Long, being fworn, deposed, That when Sir Thomas Leyton was Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1632, he heard the Lord Strafford fay at York affizes, "That fome nothing would content "but law, but they should find that the King's little singer should be heavier than the loins of the law (f)." It was alledged by the Commons, that he had faid this with a view of terrifying the Justices of Peace from executing the laws.

John Gore deposed, that in November, 1632, his father, Sir Thomas Gore, was arrested in London by a Serjeant at Arms, on account of some complaint against him in the Court and Council of the North; and that thereupon his father appealed to the Privy Council, he being then out of the jurisdiction of the court Vol. IV. 9.

tellimony of Sir Thomas Leyton, Sir " law was heavier than the King's David Foulis, and Sir William In- " loins." And Sir William Pennygram, though they did not agree in min and Dr. Duncomb deposed to Strafford afferted, that what he had

(f) This was confirmed by the faid was, "That the lit le finger of the

of York; but that the Lord Strafford interposed, and prevailed with the King to leave him to him; by which means Sir Thomas Gore was detained eighteen weeks in custody. Another of that

gentleman's fons deposed to the same effect.

F. Thorpe, who had been a Justice of Peace, but was deprived of his commission for opposing the Earl of Strafford, deposed, That about ten years since he was sent for to attend the Lord President and Council at York; and that he was kept eight days in the Pursuivant's custody, and being brought to the Council-table, the Earl commanded him to kneel, and was offended that he continued kneeling no longer. And that a letter was read from some gentleman, giving an account the deponent had spoken more than became him at the sessions, in behalf of a client; and that he was ordered to find sureties, and make a public submission at the sessions, which he did. And he supposed this was put upon him because he opposed the jurisdiction of the Court of York; and not for saying, that "an indictment was no evidence to a "Petit Jury," as was pretended.

Robert Kennedy deposed, that on the 30th of September, 1633, he was the King's Remembrancer in Ireland, and that day the new Mayor of Dublin was presented to my Lord Strafford; and the Recorder made a speech on the occasion, reciting the many graces they had received from the Kings of England, and among the rest, a charter that no soldier should be billetted on the city of Dublin. That the Lord Deputy answered several particulars in the speech; and particularly he said, "That they were a con"quered nation, and the King might do with them as he 
pleased; and for their antiquated charters, they were binding 
no further than he pleased." The Earl of Corke also gave

evidence to the same purpose.

Lord Gorminstone, Lord Killmallock, and Sir Pierce Crosby, deposed, that in the tenth year of the King's reign, in 1634, a petition having been delivered to the Lord Strafford, on behalf of the country, he did, in the presence of both Houses, sitting under the cloth of State, declare, "That Ireland was a conquered at nation, and therefore must expect laws as from a conqueror;" adding, "That the book of instructions, established in King Iames's reign, for the orderly government of the courts of justice in that kingdom, were instructions contrived and procured by a company of narrow-hearted Commissioners, who knew

" not what belonged to government."

The Earl of Corke deposed, that having been tenant to the Crown, of a Rectory and certain tythes, for thirty-five years, the Lord Strafford presented one Arthur Gwyn to it. That the deponent thereupon went to his Lordship, and desired, if he must be sued for it, it might be in the Exchequer, which was the proper court, and not in the Council-chamber; but the deponent could not prevail, and an order was made that Gwyn should have the tythes, till the Lord Corke should recover them at law. That

the deponent brought his action at law, whereupon the Lord Strafford fent for him; and the deponent faying, he hoped he would not deprive him of his possession on a paper bill, without trial, the Earl of Strafford answered, "Call in your writs, or if you will not, I will clap you up in the castle; for I tell you I will not have my orders disputed by law nor lawyers."

Lord Corke also further deposed, that he being prosecuted in the Star-chamber, for having made a long lease of a Parsonage, contrary to an Act of State made in King James's time; and thereupon representing to the Lord Strafford, that it was a pure Act of charity, and that he was not apprized of any fuch Act of State, and therefore it was not reasonable to prosecute him for it; the Lord Strafford answered, "I tell you, my Lord, as great as " you are, I will make you, and all the subjects of Ireland know, " That any Act of State, made or to be made, shall be as binding to you, and the subjects of Ireland, during my government, as " an Act of Parliament."

John Waldron deposed, that in a cause between the merchants of Galloway, and others, concerning a church leafe, at the Council-table, Mr. Martin, who acted as Council for the merchants, mentioning an Act of Parliament, which, he faid, made for his client; my Lord Strafford faid, "He would make him know, " that an Act of that Board should be as good as a statute;" or to that purpose. Lord Killmallock and John Kay deposed to the

same purpose.

Sir Pierce Crosby deposed, that soon after the Lord Strafford came to Ireland, being at dinner at the deponent's house, with several others of the Privy Council, he took occasion to fay, " that " if he, the Earl of Strafford, lived, he would make an Act of " State to be of equal power with an Act of Parliament;" and added, " that Ireland was a conquered nation, and the con-" queror should give the law."

Mr. Lotts deposed, That the Commons having rejected some bills, particularly one which made it felony for a private person to have gunpowder; and being fent for up to the Lords House, my Lord Strafford told them, " that notwithstanding they had " voted against those bills, he would make them Acts of State,

" which would be as well."

Several witnesses were examined in relation to the affair of the Lord Mountnorris, against whom Strafford had caused a sentence of death to be passed, for an offence exceedingly trivial. A kinsman of the Lord Mountnorris's, who was an attendant of Strafford's, happened in moving a stool to hurt the Earl's foot, he being then ill of the gout. This being reported at the table of the Lord-Chancellor, Loftus, the Lord Mountnorris, who was present, said, " Perhaps it was done in revenge of that public " affront, which my Lord Deputy had done him formerly (g); " but 3 D 2

<sup>(</sup>q) The affront here referred to was was the name of Lord Mountnorris's the following. Mr. Annelley, which relation above spoken of, was one of

but he has a brother, who would not have taken such a RE-" VENGE." This expression being reported to Strafford, on pretence that Lord Mountnorris was an Officer, he ordered him to be tried by a court-martial for mutiny and sedition against his General. The court, being under the influence of Strafford, on the trifling pretence of his having used the before-mentioned words, which, it was pretended, had a tendency to excite some dangerous attempt against the Lord-Deputy, sentenced Lord Mountnorris to be shot to death, or beheaded, at the pleasure of Strafford. This fentence was, indeed, never executed; and the Earl faid, in his defence, among other things, that "he only in-" tended by this proceeding to discipline Mountnorris, and to teach him to govern his speech with more modesty." The causing a man to be sentenced to die for fo trisling an affair was, however, univerfally confidered as a very atrocious action: and it appears that this Nobleman was also for a confiderable time imprisoned, and deprived of an estate, though on other pretences.

The Earl of Traquair deposed, that upon a debate of the demands of the Scotch Parliament before his Majesty, the Earl of Strafford said, " That the unreasonable demands of subjects in " Parliament was a ground for the King to put himself into a " posture of war;" or to that effect; but he could not be posi-

tive as to the very words.

The Earl of Morton being ill, his examination, taken in writing, was read, and it was to the following purport: That he, the faid Earl of Morton, was present at a debate before his Majesty, touching the ground of the war against the Scots, the night before the great meeting of the English Peers at York; and that the Earl of Strafford then said, "That the unreasonable and exorbitant demands made by the Scots in their Parliament, was a " fufficient ground to make war upon them; and that the King " need not feek for any other grounds for it;" or words to that effect. And that the examinant representing, that fince his Majesty had given the Scots leave to present their reasons, his Majesty would not think their demands a ground for making war, till he had heard their reasons; that the Earl of Strafford then replied again, "There was ground enough for that war." And it was added further by this examinant, That on the Earl of Traquair's first relating the Scotch demands to his Majesty at Whitehall, the Earl of Strafford faid, "Those demands were not matters " of religion, but fuch as did strike at the root of Government, 44 and fuch as he thought were fit for his Majesty to punish by

Strafford's Gentleman Ushers, and also but observed Annesley to laugh at one of the horse troop commanded by him. When the Earl was exer-which being exasperated, he went up eifing the faid troop, Annelley hap- to him again, and laying a cane on pened to be out of order on horse- his shoulder, told him, that if he beback, for which Strafford reproved haved so to him again, he would lay him, The Earl then turned ande, him over the pate.

force;" or words to that effect. The Earl of Northumberland's examination also was read, importing, that the Lord Strafford, after the last Parliament, advised his Majesty to go vigorously on in an offensive war against the Scots, and not a defensive war.

Archbishop Usher being ill, his examination was read, in which that Prelate declared, that discoursing with the Earl of Strafford in Ireland, concerning some levies of money made upon the subject, my Lord Strafford said, "He agreed with those in England, who thought that in case of imminent necessity, the "King might make use of his prerogative to levy what he "needed." But added, "that in his opinion his Majesty was "first to try his Parliament, and if they supplied him not, then "he might use his prerogative;" or words to that effect.

"he might use his prerogative;" or words to that effect.

The Earl of Bristol deposed, that discoursing with the Lord Strafford of the distractions of the times, after the breaking up of the last Parliament, and the deponent proposing the summoning a new Parliament as the best means to compose matters; my Lord Strafford did not dissike the proposal, but said it was not adviseable at that time; for that the present dangers of the kingdom were so pressing, they could not admit of so slow and uncertain a remedy as a Parliament was. That the Parliament had, in the great distress of the King and kingdom, resused a supply in the ordinary way of subsidies; and therefore the King must provide for the safety of his kingdom, "by such ways as he" shall think fit in his wisdom."

The examination of the Earl of Northumberland was read, importing, that at the Committee of Council for Scotch affairs, in the prefence of his Majesty, the Earl of Strassord said, "That "in case of necessity, and for the desence and safety of the kingdom, if the people resuse to supply the King, the King is "absolved from rules of government; and that every thing is to be done for the preservation of the King and his people; and "that his Majesty was acquitted before GOD and man."

Sir Henry Vane, the elder, deposed, that when the business of an offensive or desensive war was controverted before his Majesty, in the Committee for Scotch affairs, the Earl of Strafford said, "Your Majesty having tried all ways, and being refused, and in case of this extreme necessity, and for the safety of the king-dom, you are acquitted before GOD and men: you have an army in Ireland, you may employ it to reduce this kingdom;" or words to that effect. But whether by this kingdom, the kingdom of England or Scotland was meant, the deponent would not pretend to interpret.

But before the trial of Strafford was over, Sir Henry Vane went out of town, but fent the keys of his cabinet to his fon, Sir Henry Vane the younger, in order, as it was faid, to fearch for fome papers which were necessary for completing a marriage-settlement. Young Vane, in this fearch, fell upon some notes

taken

taken by his father, of a debate in Council, after the diffolution of the last Parliament. Considering this as a matter of consequence, at the present crisis, he communicated the paper to Mr. Pym, who now produced it as evidence against Strafford before the House of Peers. It contained a short dialogue between King Charles, Lord Strafford, Archbishop Laud, and Lord Cottington. about raising money to carry on the war against the Scots. It was as follows.

" K. Charles. How can we undertake offensive war, if we

have no more money?

" Strafford. Borrow of the city 100,000 l. go on vigorously to er levy ship-money; your Majesty having tried the affection of " your people, you are absolved and loose from all rule of go" vernment, and to do what power will admit.

"Your Majesty having tried all ways, and being refused, es shall be acquitted before GOD and man. And you have an " army in Ireland, that you may employ to reduce this (b) \* kingdom to obedience: for I am confident the Scots cannot " hold out five months.

" Laud. You have tried all ways, and have always been de-

" nied; it is now lawful to take it by force.

" Cottington. Leagues abroad there may be made for the de-44 fence of the kingdom; the lower House are weary of the " King and Church; all ways shall be just to raise money by, in this inevitable necessity, and are to be used, being lawful.

" Laud. For an offensive, not any defensive war.

" Strafford. The town is full of Lords, put the commission of array on foot, and if any of them stir, we will make them

" fmart (i)."

In the course of the trial, Mr. Wiseman was also sworn, and deposed, That the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London being called before the Council for not levying the ship-money, the Earl of Strafford faid, "They would never do their duties well "till they were put to fine and ranfom;" and that he faid fur-ther, "You will have no good of this man, (meaning my Lord " Mayor, as he supposed), till he is laid by the heels."

Sir Henry Garraway, the Lord Mayor, deposed, That having fet forth the difficulties of levying ship-money before his Majesty and Council, it was ill taken; and my Lord Strafford faid to the King, "Sir, you will never do good on this man till you have

(b) Lord Strafford alledged in his defence, that supposing he spake the above words, (which, however, he did not admit), yet by this kingdom could not be meant England, because, he said, England was not out of the way of obedience, and because there never was any intention of land- evidence against Strafford. ing the Irish army in England.

(i) Several objections have been made to this evidence from the notes of Sir Henry Vane; but, upon the whole, we are of opinion, that these objections are much over-balanced, by the agreement between this evidence and the general tenor of the other made him an example; he is too diffident: unless you commit him, you will do no good upon him: or to that purpose (k). That being summoned with the Aldermen before his
Majesty, and the Council, about the loan, and being desired to
rate those that were able to lend in their several wards, they resused; whereupon my Lord Strafford burst out into these words:
Sir, you will never do good on these citizens of London, till
you have made examples of some of the Aldermen.—Unless
you hang up some of them, you will do no good upon them.
That this was after the dissolution of the last Parliament.

It was also proved in the course of the evidence against Strafford, that he imprisoned and fined men by the authority of himself and the Council only; that he had levied taxes on goods in Ireland without any parliamentary authority; that he had arbitrarily caused the goods of persons to be seized, who had resused to obey his commands, though those commands were unwarrantable, and altogether unsupported by any law; and that he caused soldiers to be quartered on private persons, if they did not obey

his orders.

The limits of our Work will not permit us to enter into all the particulars of the Earl of Strafford's defence. We shall, therefore, only observe, that he defended himself, during the whole trial, with extraordinary eloquence, acuteness, and presence of mind. And though he controverted many of the facts which were charged upon him, what he, and the Council which was allowed him as to the matter of law, most insisted on, was, that admitting the charges brought against him to be true, they did not amount to treason by any statute. It was, however, insisted by the Commons, that the Earl was guilty of high treason, for levying war (1) within the King's dominions, contrary to the

(k) Four of the Aldermen were committed to prison, because the city had refused a loan of 100,000l. to the

King.

(1) In what sense the Earl of Strafford had levied war, the Commons explained in the following manner, they having previously produced witnesses to support this charge. "The Earl did by warrant under his hand and scal give authority to Robert Savile, a Serjeant at Arms, and his Deputies, to sets such number of soldiers, horse and foot, of the army in Ireland, together with an Officer, as the Serjeant should think fit, upon his Majesty's subjects of Ireland, against their will. This warrant was granted by the Earl, to the end to compel the subjects of Ireland to submit to the unlawful

fummons and orders made by the " Earl upon paper petitions, exhi-" bited to him in case of private in-" terest between party and " This warrant was executed by Sa-" vile and his Deputies, by felling of " foldiers, both horse and foot, upon " divers of the subjects of Ireland, " against their will, in warlike man-" ner; and at divers times the fol-" diers continued upon the parties " upon whom they were felled, and " wasted their goods, until such times " as they had fubmitted themselves " unto those summons and orders." And Mr. St. John, in behalf of the Commons, used many arguments to prove that this was levying war within the statute of the 25th of Edward III.

statute of the 25th of Edward III. They also alledged, that he was guilty of treason for fessing soldiers on the King's peaceable fubjects, contrary to the Irish statute of the 18th of Henry VI. by which it was enacted, "That no Lord, or any other, of what " condition foever he be, shall bring or lead hoblers, kerves, or " hooded men (m), nor any other people nor horses, to lie on " horseback or on foot upon the King's subjects, without their good wills and confent, but upon their own cofts, and without " hurt doing to the Commons; and if any fo do, he shall be

" judged as traitor." And it was infifted by the Commons, that this Act was still in force.

But as it was, notwithstanding, apprehended by the Commons, that the Lords might have some doubts whether the crimes proved against Strafford amounted to treason by the statute law, they now thought proper to proceed against him by bill of attainder. And accordingly a bill being prepared to attaint him of high treason, it at length paffed both Houses (n). The King, in the mean time, tried every method he could think of to appeale the refentment of the Commons, and was extremely folicitous to fave Strafford. He made a speech to both Houses, in which he told them, he could not in conscience condemn the Earl of high treason, though he was fatisfied his misdemeanours had been such, that " he thought him not fit hereafter to ferve him, or the Common-" wealth, in any place of trust, no not so much as a Constable." But all Charles's endeavours to fave Strafford's life were ineffectual, and he was at length prevailed on to give the Royal affent to the bill of attainder against him.

Much has been faid by fome Writers on the want of equity which they suppose there was in the proceedings against Strafford, and of the deficiency in the evidence against him. It may, indeed, often happen, that an evil Minister of State cannot easily be brought to justice, from the great difficulty of procuring pro-per evidence against persons in their situation and circumstances. A wicked Minister, or Royal Favourite, may give the most pernicious counfels to his Sovereign; his constant access to his Prince, and influence over him, may be generally known; the effects of his counsels may be severely felt through a whole nation; and yet it may be next to impossible to procure proper evidence against him. This would be particularly difficult in the case of a Royal Favourite, who held no responsible office. But as to the Earl of Strafford, though we will not take upon us to determine whether the crimes proved upon him were treason by any particular statute, we are clearly of opinion, that those crimes

which

KERVES and HOODED MEN were scribed by twenty thousand Lon-

<sup>(</sup> m ) HOBLERS were horsemen; was presented to both Houses, fubdoners, praying that justice might be (n) While the bill of attainder executed upon the Earl of Strafford, was before the Parliament, a petition and other notorious offenders.

which were proved upon him justly deserved death : and if he could not legally have been condemned to die, this must have arisen, as we apprehend, not from a deficiency in the evidence against him, but from some deficiency in the laws. It is true, that all the charges against him were not proved; but it is equally true, that a very great degree of guilt was fully proved upon him, and which all the art of his defence was not able to invalidate. It appeared, in the clearest manner, by the evidence of witnesses on oath, (for even the Lords were sworn) that he had himself acted arbitrarily and illegally; and that he had counselled the King to act in a manner so despotic, that it was, fo far as his advice prevailed, to all intents and purposes, de-priving the people of their legal rights and liberties. And, therefore, if he was not guilty of treason against the person of the King, he was, however, manifestly guilty of treason against a whole nation. And must there not be some capital defect, in the laws of a free and limited government, if a man convicted of fuch a crime, cannot be legally and capitally punished? Do not we often fee, with very little emotion, men put to death, only for depriving individuals of a few shillings? and shall it be pretended, that it is cruel or unjust to take away the life of a man, who has endeavoured to deprive a whole people of their native rights and liberties, which, to every noble and generous mind, are infinitely more valuable than any other property ? ( 0 )

King Charles, who was long in much irrefolution about paffing the bill of attainder against Strafford, is generally said to have been at last chiefly induced to do it, by a letter from the Earl himself; in which he desired, that his Majesty would pass the bill, and not hazard the peace of his kingdom for his sake; adding, "Sir, my consent herein, shall more acquit you to GOD, "than all the world can do besides: to a willing man there is no injury done." But it should seem as if the Earl had thought that Charles would not take him at his word; for we are informed by Whitlocke, that when the King sent Carleton, the Secretary of State, to inform Strafford that he had passed the bill of his attainder by commission, it was with difficulty that he was brought to believe it. But finding it to be true, he rose up from his chair, lifted up his eyes to Heaven, laid his hand on his heart, and said, "Put not your trust in Princes, nor in the sons of

" men, for in them there is no falvation."

The 12th of May, 1641, was appointed for the execution of the Earl of Strafford; and accordingly on that day he was brought to the scaffold erected for the purpose on Tower-hill. He was attended in his last moments by Archbishop Usher: he behaved in a very graceful, decent, and becoming manner, and died with great courage and magnanimity. He was at the time of his death in the 49th year of his age.

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Great rejoicings were made in London at his death. Sir Philip Warwick tells us, that " in the evening of the day wherein he was executed, the greatest demonstrations of joy that possibly could be expressed, ran through the whole town and country hereabout: and many, who came up to town on purpose to see the execution, rode in triumph back, waving their hats, and with all expressions of joy, through every town they went, crying,

" His head is off! his head is off!"

The Earl of Strafford was undoubtedly a man of abilities; but that he possessed such great talents as have been attributed to him by fome Historians, does by no means appear. His abilities feem never to have appeared to fo much advantage at any other time, as they did during the course of his trial and defence. He was ambitious, haughty, and passionate; and his vanity, which was one of his predominant qualities, led him sometimes to exercife his power even with childish insolence; particularly in the case of Henry Bellasis, son to the Lord Falconberg, who was committed to prison for not having pulled off his hat to him, though he pleaded that he was talking to Lord Fairfax, and that his face was turned another way. The ingenious Mrs. Macaulay observes, that Strafford's vanity was the prime cause of his misfortunes: and she adds, " No instance can give us a juster idea to " what a height he possessed this contemptible folly, than his " persecution of many people for not complying with those ser-" vile ceremonies which he imagined due to his authority. His " revival of feveral foppish formalities of State, during his com-" mand in Ireland, is another example of the same kind. In all " his letters to the King, and his patron Laud, he assumed to " himself great merit and importance; whilst he degraded the fervices of every other man, excepting those of his own creatures. His behaviour was infolent to his fellow subjects, and " abject to his Prince. He was continually stimulating him to " acts of tyranny, by representing, in phrases bombast, the subif limity of his power, and that it was necessary to curb the info-" lent opposition of his subjects, by severe and vigorous mea-" fures. Laud he constantly courted, because he knew the abso-" lute power this Prelate had obtained over the King. His ta-" lents as an Orator have been much admired: the conclusion of " his defence is infinitely preferable to any other of his produc-"tions of this kind. In his general style of writing and speaking, there is an insolence, a petulance, a vulgar quaintness, which mark the genius and disposition of the man, and which " ran through the whole tenor of his conduct. The criminality " and arrogance of his behaviour rendered him fo dangerous and " obnoxious, that no less than three kingdoms (f) engaged with

<sup>(</sup>f) The Irish House of Commons voted Strafford to be guilty of high treason; and the Commissioners from Scotland complained both of him and Laud as INCENDIARIES in the national differences.

warmth in his profecution; and the fentence of death passed upon him gave universal satisfaction. The indulgence, therefore, with which his memory has been treated, can have no other rise than from the prejudices of party, and his satal end: the ax and the halter are excellent specifics to subdue anger

" and foften refentment."

The Earl was extremely temperate, and is faid to have never been drunk in his life. He was very affiduous in his application to bufiness, and is represented as a warm and generous friend. He was three times married: by his second Lady he had one son and two daughters; and by his last Lady he had one daughter, who was an infant at the time of his death. His son, William, being afterwards restored in blood, succeeded to his father's honours and estates.

The Earl of Strafford's Letters were published in two Vo-

lumes, Folio, in 1739, by Dr. William Knowler.



## The Life of JOHN WILLIAMS, Archbishop of York, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

HIS eminent Prelate was the youngest fon of Edmond Williams, Esq; of Aber-Conway in Caernarvonshire, in Wales, where he was born on the 25th of March, 1582. He was educated at the public school at Reuthen, and gave early indications of excellent parts. In 1598, he was sent to St. John's College in Cambridge, where in 1602 he proceeded Bachelor of Arts; and the following year he obtained

a Fellowship.

Bishop Hacket tells us, that whilst he was at the University, as well as afterwards, "he was the pattern of a most diligent student to all that did emulate him then, or would imitate him hereafter. He had read over fo many authors in several sciences, fo many volumes, fo many historians and poets, Greek and Latin, in four years, (the evidence of it was in his note-books) that I may fay, Atatem ultra putes; who would have thought it had been the dispatch of an under-graduate? He had ransacked not only the bare courts, and spacious lodgings, but the very closes and corners of the best Arts and Authors. Nothing so great that exceeded him; nothing so little that escaped him. He plied his book, as much in the night, as in the day. Nature contributed to this a firange affifiance, that from his youth to his old age, he asked but three hours sleep in twenty-four, to keep him in good plight of health. This we all knew, who lived in his family (p). It would not quickly be believed, but that a cloud of witnesses will avouch it, that it was ordinary with him to begin his studies at fix of the clock, and continue them till three in the morning, and be ready again by feven to walk in the circle of his indefattgable labours (q)."

In 1605, Mr. Williams took the degree of Master of Arts, and feasted his friends at the commencement in a very splendid manner: for he was naturally of a very generous temper, and was liberally supplied with money by his friends and patrons. John, Lord Lumley, often furnished him both with books and money;

and

<sup>(</sup>p) Hacket was Chaplain to Archbishop Williams.
(q) Life of Archbishop Williams, by John Hacket, Bishop of Litchsfeld and Coventry, Folio, 1693. P. 7.

and Dr. Richard Vaughan, Bishop of London, who was related to him, gave him an invitation to spend his time at his palace in Vacation times. This was of considerable service to him, as his being thus introduced into the best company contributed greatly

towards polishing his manners.

Mr. Williams was not only eminently distinguished by his learning, but also by his address and dexterity in business. When he was not more than five and twenty, he was employed by the College in some important concerns of theirs; on which occasions he was sometimes admitted to speak before Archbishop Bancrost, who was exceedingly taken with his engaging wit and graceful behaviour. Another time he was deputed by the Master and Fellows of his College to be their agent at Court, to petition the King for a mortmain, as an increase of their maintenance. He succeeded in this application, and was taken particular notice of by the King: for there was something in him, which his Majesty liked so well, that he told him of it long afterwards, when he came to be intrusted by him in the most important affairs of State.

He entered into Holy Orders in his twenty-seventh year; and accepted of a small Living, which lay beyond St. Edmonsbury, upon the confines of Norfolk. In 1611, he was recommended to the Lord Chancellor Egerton for his Chaplain; but obtained his Lordship's leave to continue one year longer at Cambridge,

in order to serve the office of Proctor of the University.

While Mr. Williams was in this post, the King sent his commands to the Heads of the University, to make the best provision they could for the entertainment of the Duke of Wittemberg, and his train, who, being now in England, intended to visit the University of Cambridge. The Duke himself was esteemed a learned Prince; and it was therefore thought most proper to entertain him with philosophical disputations. Mr. Williams was the Prefident or Moderator at this learned act; and managed his part on the occasion with great skill and address. For, to compliment the Duke of Wittemberg, he backed all his reasons with quotations from Julius Pacious, Goclenius, Keckerman, and others, who had been Professors within the German principalities. Which was fo highly acceptable to the Duke of Wittemberg and his retinue, that they would not part with Mr. Williams from their company, so long as they continued in Cambridge; and they afterwards carried him with them to Newmarket, and acquainted the King what credit he had done to their country Philoso. phers (r).

The following year Mr. Williams took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity; and being about the same time appointed an opponent in some theological disputations before Frederic Prince

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Palatin

<sup>(</sup>r) Life of Archbishop Williams by Ambrose Philips, P. 26, 27, 2nd Hacket, P. 20, 21,

other preferments.

Palatine, he performed his part with extraordinary applause. He afterwards chiefly resided in the house of his patron Lord Egerton, who conceived an uncommon regard and esteem for him, and consulted and advised with him on many occasions. His Lordship was at this time Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and therefore many references and petitions were sent to him from thence; and Mr. Williams's advice was so constantly taken in all matters of this kind, that Dr. King, Bishop of London, would sometimes pleasantly call him "the Chancellor of Oxford."

His interest with the Lord Chancellor enabled him to procure several Livings for his friends, and others whom he esteemed to be men of merit. He did not, however, neglect himself. For Hacket tells us, that "in the space of about sive years that he lived with the Chancellor, he compassed a plentiful fortune to himself, from that bounty which denied him nothing, and commonly prevented him before he asked." In particular, his patron gave him the Parsonage of Walgrave in Northamptonshire, and by his interest got him the Rectory of Graston Underwood, in the same county. He was a Prebendary of the church of Lincoln, and Residentiary, and had the Chantorship of the same. He had a Prebend also in the Minster of Peterborough, and in the

churches of Hereford and St. David's: and to these the Chancellor gave him a finecure in Wales, equal in value to any of his

Towards the latter end of the year 1616, the Lord Chancellor being almost worn out with age, and the satigue of public business, his health began visibly to decline. And in January sollowing, his weakness increased, insomuch that from that time he admitted scarcely any body to him, except his Chaplain. And what business he had with his Majesty, was committed to the trust and management of Mr. Williams. This was a considerable advantage to an aspiring churchman, and which our Chaplain took care to improve. His being often sent with messages to the King, naturally introduced him to the Royal notice; and it was no small credit to him to be intrusted by so able a man with secrets of State. And his Majesty thought, that living so long with so great a Statesman, he could not avoid gaining considerable experience

himself in such affairs (s).

The Lord-Chancellor Egerton died on the 15th of March, 1617. A little before his death, the Chancellor called Mr. Williams, and told him, "That if he wanted money, he would leave him such a legacy in his will, as should furnish him to begin the world like a gentleman." "Sir, (says the Chaplain) I

<sup>&</sup>quot;kifs your hands; you have filled my cup full. I am far from want, unless it be of your Lordship's directions how to live in the world if I furying you." "Well (faid the Chanceller) I

<sup>&</sup>quot; the world, if I survive you." "Well (said the Chancellor) I

"I know you are an expert workman: take these tools to work with, they are the best I have." And he thereupon gave him some books and papers, written entirely with his own hand. Bishop Hacket says, he saw these papers; and that they were that old Statesman's collections for the well ordering the High Court of Parliament, the Court of Chancery, the Court of Star-Chamber, and the Council-Board. And they are supposed to have been of great service to Williams (t).

When Sir Francis Bacon was made Lord-Keeper, he offered to continue Mr. Williams as his Chaplain. This, however, he thought proper to decline; but, fays Hacket, "with fo graceful a compliment, that they parted great friends; and Sir Francis, willing to mark him with fome cognizance of his love, of his own accord made him Justice of the Peace, and of the quorum,

in the county of Northampton."

Mr. Williams was foon after appointed Chaplain in ordinary to And he had his Majesty's orders to wait upon him the King, in his great Northern progress, which James intended to set out upon foon after; and he told Williams pleasantly, " That he " might expect the labourer's penny as foon as they that had " ferved him longer." But the Bishop of Winchester prevailed on his Majesty, to consent that Mr. Williams might flay behind, to take his Doctor's degree, and to affift at the academical entertainment intended to be given at Cambridge to Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, who was newly come over into England. Accordingly in July, 1617, he was created Doctor in Divinity; and he maintained the theses which were appointed for him on this occasion with extraordinary applause. tertainment which Dr. Williams gave at this time, agreeable to the usual custom, at which the Archbishop of Spalato was present, was uncommonly costly and splendid. And we are told, that he was at no little cost and pains in sending to the Italian ordinaries at London, and ransacking the merchants stores, for such delicacies as he thought would be most agreeable to the palate of the Archbishop of Spalato: but it was observed, that the Prelate never took any notice of these dainties, but preferred our English dishes to them.

Dr. Williams now retired to his Rectory of Walgrave in Northamptonshire, where he had been at the expence, before he came, of building, gardening, and planting, so as to make the place sit and pleasant for all seasons of the year. So that when he came, he had no preparations to make, but immediately to fall to the enjoyment of his agreeable retirement. And to make this complete, he had provided a choice collection of books; to which he applied himself so closely, that it is said nothing but his great temperance could have preserved his body from the decay

which his too hard study must otherwise have necessarily brought

upon him (4).

He was also diligent and exact in performing the duties of his function. He read prayers constantly on Wednesdays and Fridays, and preached twice every Sunday at Walgrave, or at Grafton; performing in his turn also at Kettering, in a Lecture supplied by an association of the best Divines in that neighbourhood. It was a common saying with him, that "the way to get the credit from the Nonconformists, was to out-preach them." And Dr Williams's preaching was so much liked, that his church used to be thronged with gentry of the neighbouring parishes, as well as his own.

His manner of living at Walgrave was elegant and hospitable, and he was very liberal to the poor. Bishop Hacket says, his brethren the Clergy, both of the better and of the lower fortone, vifited him much; whose love he repaid with courtefy, conference, and hospitality. He had mightily won the friendship of all the gentry in the whole district about him, and had fuch fayour and countenance from the Nobility likewife, that they wouchsafed their presence at his feasts, but chiefly for his music fake, which was the banquet they came for; and he was furnished very well both for voices and instruments in his own family, It was sumptuous, I confess, for one of his level in those days. But allow him this for the recreation of his spirit, the rather because I never so much as knew him dip his fenses in any other pleasure. I pass by these Grandees, the slower of the country, whose hearts he stole with these obligements. But they were the poor and needy, for whom he brake his bread especially, and replenished their hungry souls with goodness. --- He never murmured that their number was too great, that came to his door for charity.—The labourer knew often where to fill his empty ftomach, and the thirsty where to drink that which would cherish him. The decrepit, the widow, and the fatherless, resorted when they pleased to the common resectory of them all. The sick, who of the comfortless are most to be compassionated, he came to them to their fick bed to pray for them, and to bless them, gave them large from his purse to succour them, not seldom paid the fees of their Phyficians, and always cherished them from his own kitchen with broths and cordial decoctions. These were the iffues of a plentiful estate, a single life, and a merciful heart (w). In 1619, Dr. Williams preached before the King, on Matthew ii. 8. and printed his fermon by his Majesty's order. The fame year he was made Dean of Salisbury; but he still continued to refide chiefly at Walgrave, where he was greatly beloved and respected. And what made him the more so, was his being a

Justice of Peace there; which office he discharged with as much

indeed, he was well read in the laws of his country. He was refolute in maintaining the rights of his brethren of the Clergy. He took great pains to prevent quarrels in his neighbourhood; and when private wranglings were brought before him, he laboured much to pacify the parties; telling them, "That it was for "Christ's fervant to fusfer twice, before he complained once; "that religion was unspirited without love; and that love was a blank without forgiveness; that variances, when all charges are cast up, make the purse light, and the soul heavy." With these, and such words, says Hacket, some did melt into meekness, and shook hands, the rather being reconciled in his buttery, or his cellar.

Dr. Williams fometimes attended the Court in his quality of Chaplain, and was always well received, and much regarded by the King. The Marquis of Buckingham was at this time the ruling favourite: but Williams for some time neglected to pay court to him, for which two reasons are assigned; first, because he suspected the Marquis's favour at Court would not be of long duration; and fecondly, because he observed, that the Marquis was very apt fuddenly to look cloudy upon his dependents, as if he had raifed them up on purpose to cast them down. However, once when Dr. Williams was attending the King, in the absence of the Marquis, his Majesty asked him abruptly, and without any relation to the discourse then in hand, When he was with Buckingham? " Sir, faid Williams, I have had no business to resort " to his Lordship." But, replied the King, wheresoever he is, you must go to him about my business: which he accordingly did, and the Marquis received him very courteously. He took this as a hint from the King to frequent the Marquis; by whose favour he was removed, 1620, from the Deanery of Salisbury, to the Deanery of Westminster. He was serviceable to Buckingham in furthering his marriage with the Earl of Rutland's daughter. And he also reclaimed her Ladyship from the errors of the church of Rome to the profession of the church of England; and he drew up the elements of the Protestant religion for her use, and printed twenty copies of it with no name, it being only faid in the title to be the work of "an old Prebend of Weltminster." And when the Parliament which was affembled in 1620, began to examine into the national grievances, and endeavoured to bring some of the authors of them to punishment, Dean Williams gave Buckingham some excellent advice for his conduct in the then fituation of affairs; and which the Favourite, at that time, was discreet enough to follow.

In May, 1621, Lord Bacon was removed from his office of Lord Chancellor. The King was for some time at a great loss upon whom to bestow this important employment. It is said that when the Great Seal was brought to King James from Bacon, his Majesty was overheard by some near him to say, upon the delivery of it to him, "Now, by my soul, I am pained at the heart where to

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" bestow this; for as to my Lawyers, I think they be all knaves." Several persons were thought of for this office, particularly Sir James Leigh, Sir Henry Hobart, and the Earl of Arundel. But he who was most likely to obtain it, was Sir Lionel Cransield, Master of the Court of Wards. However, the King, before he would difpose of it, had set Buckingham to inquire what the profits of the post might amount to in justice, and whether certain perquisites were natural to it, which some had a great mind to cut off. Sir Lionel Cranfield, in full expectation of obtaining the office, intreated the Marquis of Buckingham to be quick, and to advise concerning the matter with the Dean of Westminster, a found and a ready man, it was said, who was "not wont to clap the "shackles of delay upon a business." Accordingly Dean Williams being fpoken to, to draw up in writing what he thought of the matter, he speedily returned an account of the legal revenues of the office of Lord Keeper, with some observations relative thereto. This paper was carried by Buckingham to the King, who having read it, faid, "You name divers to me to be my " Chancellor. " Queen Elizabeth, after the death of Sir Chrif-" topher Hatton, was inclined in her own judgment, that the good " man Archbishop Whitgist should take the place, who modestly " refused it, because of his great age, and the whole multitude " of ecclefiaftical affairs lying upon his shoulders. Yet Whit-" gift knew not the half that this man doth in reference to this " office." The Marquis was furprized at what the King faid; however, he replied, " Sir, I am a fuitor for none, but for him " that is so capable in your great judgment." " Be you satisfied " then," faid the King, " I think I shall seek no further." Upon this Buckingham immediately fent a messenger to Dean Williams, acquainting him, "That the King had a preferment in the deck for him." The Dean, who was ignorant of what had paffed, misunderstood the message, supposing it might relate to the Bishopric of London, now vacant by the death of Dr. King; and for which Williams had made fome application. But he was foon acquainted what the preferment was which was intended for him. And in this unexpected manner was Dr. Williams raifed to this high and important office; and accordingly on the 10th of July, 1621, he was fworn Keeper of the Great Seal of England. The same month he was likewise promoted to the Bishopric of Lincoln, and was also permitted to hold the Deanery of Westminster, and the Rectory of Walgrave, in commendam.

Bishop Williams discharged the duties of his post as Lord Keeper with eminent ability, and with extraordinary diligence and assiduity. It is said by Hacket, that when our Prelate first entered upon this office, he had such a load of business, that he was forced to fit by candle-light in the Court of Chancery two hours before day, and to remain there till between eight and nine; after which he repaired to the House of Peers, where he sat as Speaker till twelve or one every day. After a short repass

at home, he then returned to hear the causes in Chancery, which he could not dispatch in the morning: or if he attended the Council at Whitehall, he came back towards evening, and followed his Chancery business till eight at night, and later. After this, when he came home, he perused what papers his Secretaries brought to him; and when that was done, though late in the night, he prepared himself for the business which was to be transacted next morning in the House of Lords. And we are told, that when he had been one year Lord Keeper, he had finally concluded more causes, than had been dispatched in the seven

preceding years.

In the Star-chamber he behaved with more lenity and moderation in general, than was usual among the Judges of that Court. He would excuse himself from inslicting any severe corporal punishment upon an offender, by saying, That Councils had for-bad Bishops from meddling with blood in a judicial form. And in pecuniary fines his hand was fo light, that the Lord-Treasurer Cranfield complained against him to the King, for lessening his Majesty's fees. He was as generous also in remitting his own fines; of which the following is given as an instance. Sir Francis Inglefield had faid before witnesses, " That he could prove " this Holy Bishop Judge had been bribed by some that had fared The Lord Keeper, to clear himself, " well in their causes." calls upon Sir Francis to make good his words: which he being not able to do, a fine of some thousand pounds was laid upon him, to be paid to the King and the injured party. But foon after Bishop Williams sent sor Sir Francis, and told him, he would give him a demonstration, that he was above a bribe; and for my part, said he, I forgive you every penny of my fine, and will beg of his Majesty to do the same. This piece of generosity so vanquished Sir Francis, that he acknowledged his fault, and was afterwards received into some degree of friendship and acquain-

weldon charges Bishop Williams with corruption, but nothing of this kind was ever proved against him; and the imputation appears to have been groundlets. His Lordship being retired one summer to Nonsuch-house, it happened as he was taking the air in the great park, that he cast his eye on the little village of Malden, from one of the hills; and seeing there a newbuilt church, he asked at whose expence it was erected. Mr. George Minors, who attended him then, told his Lordship who was the greatest benefactor. And has he not a suit depending now in Chancery? said the Lord Keeper. The very same, replied the other. "And the same (returned his Lordship) shall "not sare the worse for building of churches." When Mr. Minors had told his neighbour this, the next morning he sent a present of some of the fruits of his orchard, and the poultry in his

yard, to Nonsuch-house. "Nay, carry them back George, " (said the Lord-Keeper) and tell your friend, he shall not fare

" the better for fending of prefents."

Bishop Williams was very desirous of keeping upon good terms with the favourite Buckingham; but it appears, notwithstanding, that he withstood him when he saw just reason for it. He sometimes also gave Buckingham excellent advice; but it being not always fuitable to the Favourite's inclinations, and delivered with more freedom than was agreeable to him, it did not fecure his friendship. Indeed, his resolution in sometimes crossing Buckingham's defigns, when he faw weighty reasons for it, was so apparent, that the King when in a pleafant mood would fay, "That he was a stout man, and durst do more than himself." For the Duke's afcendancy was so great, over the Prince as well as the King, that James fometimes appeared afraid of openly testifying his diflike of fuch of Buckingham's actions as he really disapproved. And we are told, that his Majesty thanked GOD in the presence of many, that he had put Williams into the place of Lord-Keeper. " For (said he) he that will not wrest justice for Buckingham's fake, whom he loves, will never be corrupted with money, which he never loved." And because the Keeper had lived for the space of three years upon the bare revenues of his office, and was not the richer by the fale of one cursitor's place in all that time; his Majesty gave him a bountiful New Year's Gift, thinking, we are told, that it was but reafonable to encourage him by his liberality, who never fought after wealth by the fordid means of extortion or bribery (y).

The Lord-Keeper made use of his influence with the King, in behalf of feveral Noblemen who were under the Royal displeafure, and in confinement. He prevailed with his Majesty to set at liberty the Earl of Northumberland, who had been fifteen years a prisoner in the Tower. He procured also the enlargement of the Earls of Oxford and Arundel, both of whom had been a confiderable time under confinement (z). He employed likewise his good offices with the King, in behalf of many others To this purpose, Bishop Hacket relates of inferior rank. the following story. A Clergyman had been imprisoned for meddling with State-affairs in the pulpit, Bishop Williams was desirous of procuring his releasement; and, therefore, he went to the King, and told him, that he had heard fome idle goffips complained of his Majesty grievously, and did not stick to curse him. "Why, what evil have I done to them?" said the King. " Sir," faid the Lord-Keeper, " fuch a man's wife, upon ti-" dings of her husband's imprisonment, fell presently in labour, " and the midwives can do her no good to deliver her, but fay it 45 will not be effected till she be comforted to see her husband " again; For which the women that affift her revile you, that

<sup>(</sup>y) Philips, P. 94, 95. (a) Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, P. 70.

"her pains should stick at such a difficulty." "Now weal away," said the King, "fend a warrant presently to release

" him, lest the woman perish."

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Mr. Knight, a young Divine of Oxford, had also advanced somewhat in a fermon which was faid to be derogatory to the Royal prerogative, for which he was a long time imprisoned in the Gate-house; and a charge was about to be drawn up against him, to impeach him of treasonable doctrine. One Dr. White, a Clergyman far advanced in years, was likewise in great danger of a profecution of the fame kind. Bishop Williams was very defirous of bringing both these gentlemen off, and he hit on the following stratagem to effectuate it. Some instructions had been appointed to be drawn up by his care and direction, for the performance of useful and orderly preaching; which being under his hand to dispatch, he now befought his Majesty, that this proviso might pass among the rest; that none of the Clergy might be permitted to preach before the age of thirty years, nor after threescore. " On my foul, (faid the King), the Devil, or some " fit of madness is in the motion; for I have many great wits, " and of clear distillation, that have preached before me at Roy-" ston and Newmarket to my great liking, that are under thirty. " And my Prelates and Chaplains, that are far stricken in years, " are the best masters in that faculty that Europe affords." " I " agree to all this, (answered the Lord-Keeper), and since your "Majesty will allow both young and old to go up into the pul-pit, it is but justice that you shew indulgence to the young " ones, if they run into errors before their wits be fettled, (for " every apprentice is allowed to mar fome work, before he be " cunning in the mystery of his trade), and pity to the old ones, " if some of them fall into dotage, when their brains grow dry. "Will your Majesty conceive displeasure, and not lay it down; " if the former fet your teeth on edge sometimes, before they " are mellow-wise; and if the doctrine of the latter be touched "with a blemish, when they begin to be rotten, and to drop from the tree?" "This is not unsit for consideration, (said " the King), but what do you drive at ?" " Sir, (replied Wil-" liams), first, to beg your pardon for mine own boldness: then " to remember you that Knight is a beardless boy, from whom " exactness of judgment could not be expected. And that "White is a decrepid spent man, who had not a fee-simple, but " a lease of reason, and it is expired. Both these, that have " been foolish in their several extremes of years, I prostrate at the feet of your princely elemency." In consequence of this artful application, King James readily granted a pardon to both

Bishop Williams expended considerable sums to procure good intelligence in assairs of State; and Hacket gives a very parti-

cular account of an artful stratagem by which he discovered the intrigues of the Spanish Ambassador against Buckingham. A paper of complaints and informations against that Favourite had been privately given to the King. This gave James great disturbance; and in this disposition he took coach with Prince Charles to Windfor; and when Buckingham, who attended, offered to step in, the King found a slight excuse to leave him behind; and he in vain begged with tears to know the cause of his Majesty's displeasure. Williams, having received intelligence of this, went immediately to Buckingham, who was retired melancholy to Wallingford-house, where he acquainted him, that it was some of the Spanish Ambassador's Agents who had endeavoured to ruin him with the King; and advised him to go to Windfor, and never leave his Majesty, and also gave him some farther directions, in order to prevent the effect of the Spanish machinations against him. Buckingham was prudent enough to follow this advice, and soon after told the story to Prince Charles at Windfor. This was on Saturday, and on the Monday following the Prince was very early at the House of Lords; and when the Lord-Keeper came thither, his Highness took him aside into lobby, thanked him for the warning given to Buckingham, and begged him to discover what he further knew concerning this plot against that Favourite. "You, (said his Highness), that have " gone thus far, may receive greater thanks of us both, if you will spread open this black contrivance, which has lost Buck-"ingham the good opinion of my father, and myself am in little better condition." "Sir, (said the Lord-Keeper), let my foul suffer for falsehood, if I know any more, than that some " in the Spanish Ambassador's house have been preparing mis-" chief, and infused it about four days fince into his Majesty. " But the curtain of privacy is drawn before the picture, that I " cannot guess at the colours." " Well, my Lord, (replied the " Prince), I expected better service from you; for if that be the " picture-drawer's shop, no Counsellor in this kingdom is better " acquainted than yourfelf with the works, and the workmen." " I might have been, (answered the Lord-Keeper), but your " Highness and my Lord Duke have made it a crime to send unto that house; and they are afraid to do it who are com-manded from his Majesty. It is a month since I have forbid-" den the fervants of that family to come at me." " But (faid " the Prince) I will make that paffage open to you again without " offence; and enterprize any way to bring us out of this wood, " wherein we are lost. Only, before we part, keep not from me " how you came to know, or imagine, that the Spanish Agents " have charged Buckingham to my father with high milde-" meanors, or perhaps difloyalty. I would hear you to that of point, that I may compare it with other parcels of my intelli-" gence." " Sir, (replied the Lord-Keeper), I will go on di-" rectly with you. Another perhaps would blush, when I tell

" you with what heifer I plow; but knowing mine own inno-" cency, the worst that can happen is to expose myself to be " laughed at. Your Highness hath often seen the Secretary
"Don Francisco Carondelet. He loves me, because he is a " scholar; for he is Arch-Deacon of Cambray. And sometimes " we are pleasant together; for he is a Walloon by birth, and " not a Castilian. I have discovered him to be a wanton, and a " fervant to some of our English beauties, but above all to one " of that gentle craft in Mark-lane. A wit she is, and one that " must be courted with news and occurrences at home and " abroad, as well as with gifts. I have a friend that hath bribed " her in my name, to fend me a faithful conveyance of fuch " tidings as her paramour Carondelet brings to her. All that I " instructed the Duke in, came out of her chamber. And she " hath well earned a piece of plate or two from me, and shall " not be unrecompensed for this service, about which your High-" ness doth use me, if the drab can help me in it. Truly, Sir, " this is my dark lanthorn, and I am not ashamed to inquire of " a Dalilah to resolve a riddle: for in my studies of Divinity I " have gleaned up this maxim, Licet uti alieno peccato; though " the Devil make her a finner, I may make good use of her fin. "Yea, (faid the Prince merrily), do you deal in fuch ware?" " In good faith, Sir, (replied the Lord-Keeper), I never faw her " face." In this manner the conference between them ended; but Williams afterwards found means, with great art and address, to draw from Don Francisco Carondolet himself, the particulars of the Spanish charge against Buckingham; he also drew up an answer to that charge for the Duke's use, and sent them both to him by the Prince. By which means the Favourite was foon restored to the good graces of King James (b).

But notwithstanding the services which Williams rendered to Buckingham, he could not secure that Favourite's friendship. This, it seems, was not to be done but by an implicit conformity to his will and pleasure in all things: and this Williams could not he brought to. Our Prelate's interest with the King was, however, so great, that he continued to hold his post till the death of James, whom he attended in his last moments. He also preached his suneral sermon, in which he stattered the deceased King very

liberally.

Soon after the acceffion of Charles I. Bishop Williams found that his power at Court would not be of long continuance. He was out of favour with Buckingham; and Bishop Laud, though he was under obligations to Williams, is said to have done him ill offices with the Favourite. The Lord-Keeper's counsel concerning the public assairs at this time, was also more prudent and moderate than was agreeable to the present disposition of the new King. Charles's first Parliament was assembled in June, 1625,

but it was hastily and imprudently disfolved, contrary to the earnest solicitations of Bishop Williams, on the 12th of August

It is afferted by some Writers, that in the interval between the first and second Parliament of this reign, the Duke of Buckingham being allowed to throw his marks of displeasure upon those Members who had opposed him in the last Parliament, openly reproved the Lord-Keeper at Christ-church in Oxford, for siding against him. To this Williams is said to have answered, " That he was indeed engaged with William, Earl of Pembroke, and other worthy Patriots, to labour the redress of the people's "grievances; and in so good a cause he was resolved to stand " upon his own legs." " If that be your resolution," said the

Duke, "fee you stand fast;" and so they parted.

On the 15th of October, 1625, the Lord Conway came to Bishop Williams's lodgings in Salisbury with this message; That his Majesty understanding that his father had taken a re-" folution, that the Keeper of the Great Seal of England should continue but from three years to three years, and approving very well thereof, and being resolved to observe the order du-" ring his own reign, he expects that you should furrender up the " Seal by Allhallowtide next, alledging no other cause thereof. "And that having so done, you should retire yourself to your Bishopric of Lincoln." The Lord-Keeper declared his readiness to comply with the King's pleasure, but expressed his disfatisfaction at its being intimated that he was to be restrained to his Bishopric. To this the Lord Conway replied, that he conceived it not to be a restraint which was meant, but only an intimation, that his Majesty intended not to employ him at the Council-table, but left him free to go to his Bishopric. And the Lord-Keeper was afterwards informed by the same Nobleman, that his Majesty did not intend to debar him from any of his church preferments, until he should provide him better.

A few days after, Williams was permitted to have an interview with the King, when he returned his Majesty thanks for his gracious promise, that he would take away none of his church preferments till he had given him better. Charles replied, "It is my " intention." He then befought his Majesty to remember his father's promise, made before all the Lords, that whensoever he took away the Seal, he would place him in as good a Bishopric or Archbishopric as he could: " a promise (said he) not only se-" conded, but drawn from your father first by your Majesty." The King replied, "There is no fuch place yet void; when any falls, then it will be time to make this request to me." Williams likewise desired, that he might not be commanded away from the Council-table, but that his absence might be left wholly to his own difcretion. "I ever intended it should be so, (said " Charles), and never faid a word to the contrary; but then, I " expect you should not offend by a voluntary intrusion." The Lord-Keeper

Lord-Keeper then said, "Whereas by your father's direction, I bought a pension of 2000 marks per annum for 3000 l. I defire your Majesty would be pleased either to buy it of me for the same sum again, and extinguish it; or assign it to be paid me out of the tenths and subsidies of the Bishoprics, as before I had appointment to receive it out of the Hanaper." The King answered, "Assignments are naught; but I will take order with my Treasurer, either to pay it, or buy it, as shall be found most convenient." Williams also desired that his Majesty would be pleased to ratify a grant made by King James, of four Advowsons to St. John's College in Cambridge, two whereof he had bought with his own money, and two the late King had given him for the use of that society. Charles told him, that he would ratify the grant, and give way to amend any errors in the form, or in the passing. At parting, the King gave the Lord-Keeper his hand to kis, and dismissed him, seemingly, in a gracious manner. But notwithstanding Charles's promise, he never received from that time any part of his pension, nor any thing for it; nor to his dying day could he ever bring it to a hearing. However, the four Advowsons were consirmed to St. John's College.

On the 25th of the same month, Sir John Suckling, Comptroller of the Houshold, brought a warrant from the King to the Lord-Keeper, who was then at Foxley, near Windsor, to receive the Great Seal; which he accordingly delivered. He soon after retired to Bugden, in Huntingdonshire, where he had a seat, as Bishop of Lincoln. And, in the mean time, Buckingham procured a commission of thirteen to be appointed, to examine all the actions of our Prelate, and to make a collection of what would bear a censure in the King's-Bench, the Star-chamber, or in the Parliament. However, this enquiry only redounded to the honour of Williams; for it appeared that they could prove

nothing criminal against him.

The 2d of February, 1626, was appointed for the Coronation of King Charles. It had been always usual, for above three hundred years past, for the Dean of Westminster to have a particular place at this solemnity: but when the appointed day approached, Bishop Williams, though he was Dean of Westminster, had orders to absent himself, and to depute one of the Prebendaries in his place. Bishop Laud was a Prebendary of Westminster; but Williams was resolved not to name him, because he knew him to be his enemy; and to substitute one of a degree inserior to a Bishop, he thought would be taken ill by the Court. He, therefore, sent to the King a list of all the Prebendaries, and their several dignities, and left it to him to chuse whom he pleased; and Charles immediately pitched upon Laud, who accordingly attended in the room of Williams.

Before the opening of the second Parliament in this reign, the Lord Coventry was appointed Keeper of the Great Seal, and Vol. IV. 10.

Bishop Williams had now no parliamentary summons sent to him; and when, upon a motion in Parliament, he did receive it, he received likewise a particular charge from the new Keeper not to take his seat, with which direction he complied. When the writ was sent to him for the meeting of Charles's third Parliament, he had the same intimation given him as before, of his Majesty's pleasure that he should forbear being present in it: but he now resused to submit to these arbitrary directions, and resolved to stand upon his privilege, and accordingly took his seat in the House of Lords, where he exerted himself in supporting

the Petition of Right.

For four years after Williams was confecrated Bishop of Lincoln, he had not had time, for the multiplicity of affairs of State in which he was engaged, so much as to make his appearance in a visitation amongst his Clergy. But, nevertheless, his government, we are told, was such, as gave content to his whole Diocese. He managed the affairs of it with the greatest exactness by faithful substitutes, who gave him a just account of all things; so that he knew even the name and character of every one of his Clergy, and took care to encourage the deserving. And they knew not, it is said, that they wanted him, till he came now to live at Bugden, and made them a large amends for his former absence.

He found the episcopal house here quite out of repair; but in the fpace of one year he made an elegant mansion out of a ruinous pile; however, the most costly furniture he had, was a curious collection of paintings which he had made. He also beautified the chapel at a confiderable expence; and likewife planted woods and walks, fenced the park, and stored it with deer. He was exceedingly delighted with the pleasures of gardening, fo that he was profuse in his expences this way, in arbours, flowers of the choicest kinds, orchards, pools, and fishponds; and he raised a walk three seet from the ground, of about a mile in compass, paled in, and shaded on each side with trees; for walking was his chief exercise, which he used in fair weather for upwards of two hours every day. He was very fond of music; and this was so well known, that the greatest masters reforted to him from London, especially in the summer season, to whom he was very liberal in his gratifications; and to one, in particular, a gentleman of the King's chapel, he gave a leafe worth five hundred pounds.

The concourse that came to our Prelate's chapel was very great; and his table was for the most part well filled with gentry; insomuch that Sanderson, an Historian who is no friend to Williams, says, "That he lived at Bugden more episcopally than any of his predecessors." All the great persons and Nobility who had occasion to travel that way, would call upon his Lordship, from whom they and their retinue were sure of an hearty welcome, and the best entertainment. All the neighbouring Clergy

also, and many of the Yeomanry, were free to come to his table; and indeed he feldom fat down without some of the Clergy. He was also extremely charitable to the poor; and used to say, "That he would fpend his own while he had it; for he thought " his adverfaries would not permit him long to enjoy it." Some thought his magnificence would run him into debt; but he was provident enough to look into his own concerns, and to keep

within bounds, though they were very large ones.

If Bishop Williams had not lived in this hospitable and plentiful manner, yet his conversation, and agreeable manner of accommodating himself to his guests, were so generally pleasing, that he was not like to be much alone. Many Members of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the most distinguished for their wit and learning, made him frequent visits; so that very often, take the company and entertainment together, Bugden feemed to refemble one of the Univerfities in commencement time. And when he had scholars and learned friends about him, he would very often keep them up till midnight, or later. was his custom, at his table, to have a chapter in the English Bible read daily at dinner by one of the choristers, and another at

supper in Latin by one of his gentlemen.

His hospitable and splendid manner of living gave offence to the Court, as he was publicly known to be out of favour there. It was faid, that fuch a mode of living was very improper for a man in difgrace: but to this Williams replied, "That he knew " not what he had done, to live the worse for their sakes, who " did not love him." His family was the nursery of several Noblemen's fons; particularly those of the Marquis of Hertford, and of the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, and Leicester. These, together with many other young gentlemen, had tutors assigned them, of whom our Prelate took an account, how their pupils improved in virtue and learning. And to those who were about to be removed to the Universities, before he sent them from him, he read himself a brief system of logic; which lectures even his own servants frequented, who were capable of such instructions. And he took especial care, that they should be thoroughly grounded in the principles of religion (d).

He was exceedingly liberal to poor scholars in both the Universities; and his disbursements this way are said every year to have amounted to a thousand, and sometimes to twelve hundred pounds. He was also very generous to learned foreigners. When Dr. Peter Du Moulin fled over into England, to avoid persecution in France, Bishop Williams hearing of him, ordered his Chaplain, Dr. Hacket (e), to make him a visit from him. And

3 G 2 Supposing

(d) Philips, P. 247-- 255. He was admitted very young into (e) JOHN HACKET was born Westminster-school, and, in 1608, near Exeter-house in the Strand, Lon-don, on the 1st of September, 1592. in Cambridge. His parts and learn-

fuppefing that he might be in want, he bade him carry him some money, not naming any sum. Upon which Hacket said, that he could not give him less than twenty pounds. "I did demur upon the sum, (said the Bishop) to try you. Is twenty pounds as a sit gift for me to give a man of his parts and deserts? Take an hundred, and present it from me, and tell him he shall not want, and I will come shortly, and visit him myself." Which our Prelate asterwards did; and was as good as his word in supplying Du Moulin's wants while he was in England. Williams was also a great patron to his countryman, John Owen, the Epigrammatist, whom he maintained for several years; and when he died, he buried him, and erected a monument for him at his own expence.

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ing recommended him to particular notice; fo that after taking the proper degrees, he was chosen Fellow of his College, and became a tutor of great reputation. One month in the long vacation, retiring with his pupil, afterwards Lord Byron, into Nottinghamshire, he there composed a Latin Comedy, intitted, Loyola; which was twice acted before K. James I.

and printed in 1648.

At his return to College, he applied himfelf wholly to the fludy of Divinity; and, in 1618, received Holy Orders from Dr. King, Bishop of London, who expressed a great regard for him upon all occasions; as did also Bishop Andrews, from whom he frequently received presents. But his greatest patron was Bishop Williams, who, when he was appointed Lerd-Keeper of the Great Seal, chose Mr. Hacket for his Chaplain, and ever loved and esteemed him above the rest of his Chaplains.

In 1623, he was made Chaplain to King James I. and also a Prebendary of Lincoln; and the year following, upon the Lord-Keeper's recommendation, Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, in London. Eishop Williams also procured him the same year the Rectory of Cheam in Surrey; telling him, he intended Holborn for wealth, and Cheam for health. In 1628, he commenced Doctor in Divinity; and, in 1631, was made Archdeacon of Bedford. His church of St. Andrew's being old and decayed, he undertook to re-build it, and for that purpose

got together a confiderable fum of money in flock and fubscriptions; but upon the breaking out of the civil wars, the Parliament seized it, as well as what had been gathered for the repair of St. Paul's cathedral. March, 1641, he was one of the Sub-Committee appointed by the House of Lords, to confult of what wanted correction in the Liturgy; and he made a speech against the bill for taking away Deans and Chapters, which was afterwards published. In. March, 1642, he was prefented to a Prebend, and a Residentiary's place, in the church of St. Paul's; but the civil wars occasioned him to have no enjoyment of this, nor of his Rectory of St. Andrew's.

He feems from this time chiefly to have continued in a kind of retirement at Cheam, till the restoration of King Charles II. when he recovered all his preferments, and was offered the Bishopric of Gloucester, which he refused; but he accepted shortly after of that of Litchfield and Coventry, and was confecrated on the 22d of December, 1661. The fpring fol-lowing he repaired to Litchfield, where finding a great part of the cathedral battered down, he fet up in eight years a complete church again, better than ever it had been before, at the expence of 20,0001. a confiderable part of which was defrayed by himself. He was also a considerable benefactor to the University of Cambridge; and he gave all his books, which had cost him 1500l, to the University

The Duke of Buckingham was not content with having removed Williams from all power at Court, but for a long while he laboured all he could to injure and to ruin him; though a short time before his death he appears to have been fomewhat reconciled to him. Our Bishop seems to have greatly contributed towards the first promotion of Laud (f); but notwithstanding this, both before the death of Buckingham, and after that event, this Prelate was a very violent, and a very ungenerous enemy, to Williams (g). And for this animosity against him, Laud appears to have had no reasonable cause. It seems to have arisen merely from a jealoufy of his abilities, and an apprehension that if Williams was restored to favour at Court, it would have a tendency to diminish his own influence there. However, it is certain, that every art was employed to ruin him; and when that was not found practicable, all possible methods were used to harrass and to disturb him. For besides the hatred of Laud against him, his political principles were much disliked at Court: his notions of government were supposed to be too conformable to the antient constitution, and too favourable to the rights of the people, to be relished by Charles and his Ministers. And, therefore, when fome years after his removal from Court, he was deprived even of the title of Privy Counfellor, though he had long before been restrained from taking any seat at the Council-board, Williams having asked the Earl of Holland, What had kindled the King's anger so against him, that he would not allow him the empty title of a Counsellor? The Earl replied, "That he must " expect worse than this, because he was such a champion for the " Petition of Right;" and, " that there was no room at the ta-" ble for those that would abide it (b)."

Williams was perpetually harraffed with law fuits and profecutions, by the influence of Laud, and the inftrumentality of his creatures; and though nothing criminal could be proved against him, yet he was by these means put to great trouble and expence.

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University library. He died at Litchfield on the 28th of October, 1670; and was buried in the cathedral, where a monument was erected to his memory by his eldest fon, Sir Andrew Hacket, who was a Master in Chancery. Our Prelate was twice married, and had several children by both his wives.

Rithop HACKET was a pious and very learned Prelate; he had an extraordinary memory, and was a great mafter both of civil and ecclefialtical Hittory; he was also generous and charitable, and of virtuous and exemplary manners. One hundred of his fermons were published in 1675,

in Folio. And in 1693, was published, in two parts, in Folio, his "Life of Archbishop Williams," in which he hath displayed a great share of learning. Ambrose Philips observes, that "Bishop Hacket in this "book has set out the Lord-Keeper, "just for all the world as he was "when living, that is, surrounded with a mutitude of learning, and "all the coitly variety of science."

(f) Sec P. 258, 259. (g) Vid. Bilhop Hacket's Life of Archbilhop Williams, Part II. P. 85, 86, 87, 114, 115, 121, 122, 125, 126, 128, 129.

( b ) Hacket, Part II. P. 96.

This induced our Prelate to ask Lord Cottington, if he could tell him what he should do to procure his peace, and such other ordinary favours as other Bishops had from his Majesty? To which Lord Cottington replied, That the splendor in which he lived, and the great refort of company that came to him, was offenfive; and that the King must needs take it ill, that one under the height of his displeasure should live at so magnificent a rate. In the next place, his Majesty would be better pleased if he refigned the Deanery of Westminster, because he did not care that he should be so near a neighbour to Whitehall. But Williams was not willing to retrench his manner of living to please his enemies; nor was he fo short-fighted as to part with his Deanery upon fuch precarious terms. For (faid he) "What health can come from fuch a semedy? Am I like to be beholden to them " for a fettled tranquility, that practice upon the ruin of my effate, and the thrall of my honour? If I forfeit one prefer-" ment for fear, will it not encourage them to tear me piece-" meal hereafter? It is not my case alone, but every man's: and " if the law cannot maintain my right, it can maintain no " man's."

Among other profecutions which were carried on against Bishop Williams, an information was filed against him in the Star-Chamber, by Sir John Lamb and Dr. Sibthorpe, both of them Laud's creatures, in the following terms; " That the faid Bifhop did give them great discouragement in their proceedings in the ecclenatical courts against the Puritans; and that the Bishop asked Sir John Lamb what kind of people those Puritans were, of whom he complained? And whether they did not pay the loanmoney?" To which Sir John answered, "That they did indeed conform in that point, and paid their money; but nevertheless they were Puritans, not conformable to the church." To which the Bishop replied, " If they pay their monies so readily to the King, the Puritans are the King's best subjects; and I am fure, faid he, the Puritans will carry all at last." But this charge was thought insufficient to produce such a censure as Laud wished for against Williams; and another charge, of the most false and frivolous kind, was brought against the Bishop, in 1637, for tampering with the King's witnesses in another prosecution, which they had in vain endeavoured to carry on against him. This charge, though managed by men of the most infamous character, employed the Members of the Star-Chamber for nine days; and the basest practices were made use of against him (i). At last, sentence was given, that Williams should pay a fine of ten thousand pounds to the King, and fusier imprisonment during his Majesty's pleasure, be suspended by the High Commission Court from all his ecclefiaftical offices and functions, and pay a fine of one thoufand marks to Sir John Mounson, who was a party in this business. In a former attempt to carry on an accusation against Williams, Mounson had taken unfair methods to impeach the credit of a principal witness in the Bishop's favour, and had obtained a pretended order of a country fessions for that purpose. This order Williams had called "a pocket-order;" intimating thereby, that it was irregularly obtained, which appears to have been the truth. However, it was only for faying this, that Bishop Williams was fentenced to pay Mounson one thousand marks, as we have already observed; though the conscientious Archbishop Laud faid on this occasion in the Star-Chamber, that "he was "forry the fine was not a thousand pounds ( k )." But this was not the whole extent of Laud's malice. For before the Members met in the Star-Chamber, they debated in another room, for feveral hours, concerning the punishment to be inflicted on Williams; and it was with great difficulty that the more moderate Members prevented his being degraded, with the view of inflicting on him fome corporal punishment. And both the Lord Chief Justice Finch, and Sir Francis Windebank, two of Laud's most trusty tools, hinted in their speeches at somewhat of this kind (1). Hacket, speaking of the suspension of Williams, says, that some years after Sir Edward Littleton brought Williams and Laud face to face at Lambeth; when Williams told his Grace, that " the commission under the Great Seal had not a word in it to enable him to suspend either Bishop or Priest, by direction from a sentence of the Star-Chamber, but only for offences specified in the commission; and that the fact which his Grace had done, had brought him and the other Commissioners into a premunire." To which Laud answered, " that he had never read the com-" mission (m)."

The sentence which had been passed against Williams, was extremely oppressive and iniquitous. He received the news of it, however, with great temper. " Now the work is over," faid he, " my heart is at rest: so is not many of their's that have cen-" fured me." He was then fent to the Tower of London, where he lived with his usual chearfulness, and amused himself with literary employments. He petitioned the King, that his fine might be taken up by a thousand pounds yearly, as his estate would bear it, till the whole was paid; but this fmall favour was not granted him. Kilvert, a man of infamous character, who had acted as Solicitor against him, was ordered to go to Bugden and Lincoln, and to feize upon the Bishop's effects, which he accordingly did to the amount of ten thousand pounds. But he is faid never to have accounted for more than eight hundred, and to have continued revelling for three fummers in Bugden-house.

But

<sup>(</sup> k ) Hacket, Part II. P. 126. land, Vol. III. P 937.

<sup>(</sup>m) " A learned fatisfaction, fays liams, P. 125. Hacket, was it not? when he had

cenfured fo many by the power of Vid. Guthrie's Hift. of Eng- that commission, which he confessed he had never read." --- Life of Wil-

But Williams's enemies were not yet fatisfied; they continued to harrass him with various prosecutions on the most ridiculous pretences; and, in 1638, he was charged with receiving libellous and scandalous letters against Archbishop Laud and the late Lord Treasurer. These letters were written to Bishop Williams by Mr. Ofbaldiston, master of Westminster-school. It was alledged, 1. That in these letters Ofbaldiston used the words " Vermin, " little Urchin, and meddling Hocus Pocus," by which it was faid Archbishop Laud was meant; and that he had stiled the deceased Lord Treasurer, " the Great Leviathan." 2. That one of these letters contained false news and tales in this passage, 15 That the little Urchin, and great Leviathan, are become at " great distance in carnest (n)." 3. That these letters contained a confpiracy to deftroy his Grace of Canterbury, because in one of them it was enquired, " when Lincoln would come to " Westminster, to look after this gear ?" For the high crime of receiving these letters, and not discovering the writer, another fine of eight thousand pounds was laid on Williams by the righteous court of Star-Chamber. And Osbaldiston was likewise brought to a trial, and condemned, for writing the letters, to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and to have his ears nailed to the pillory before his own school. However, he found means to save himself by slight; and left a note in his study, wherein he said, " That he was gone beyond Canterbury."

Williams's imprisonment in the Tower continued for three years and an half. When the Parliament met in November, 1640, he petitioned the King for his enlargement, and to have his writ of furamens to Parliament. But though he had procured the mediation of the Queen, who had always professed a kindness for him, yet Archbishop Laud and the Lord-Keeper Finch prevailed on the King to refuse granting his request. However, about a fortnight after, the House of Lords fent the Gentleman-Usher of the Black Rod to demand him of the Lieutenant of the Tower; upon which he was brought to the Parliament-House, and took his seat among his brethren. Hereupon King Charles now thought it prudent to be reconciled to him, and therefore commanded that all orders kept in any court or regiftry, upon the former hearings and informations against him, should be taken off, razed, and cancelled, that nothing, it was faid, might stand upon record to his difadvantage. But the truth is, that the Ministry were afraid that Williams would

(n) Osbaldiston said, " That the garly abused with that by-word, and

<sup>&</sup>quot;great Prelate (Laud) had no reason that Judge Richardson was the great to take those nick-names to himto take those nick-names to himfive years before to Newgate. So that Laud seems to have taken nicknames to himself which were never hable, that the Horse Preus was introduced for him. bable, that by Hocus Pocus was intended for him. meant one Dr. Spicer, who was vul-

complain to the Parliament of the illegal and arbitrary proceedings against him. This, indeed, the leaders in the opposition were very urgent with him to do: but this Williams declined. For he was very desirous of conciliating the good will of the King; hoping, probably, that he might obtain, in the present situation of affairs, some degree of power and influence at Court, for the attainment of which he seems to have been much too solicitous.

When the bill of attainder against the Earl of Strafford had passed both Houses, Williams advised the King to give the Royal assent to it. He afterwards defended in a long speech, in the House of Peers, the right of the Bishops to sit there. And the critical state of Charles's affairs now induced him to advance Williams to the Archbishopric of York, on the 4th of Decem-

ber, 1641, with a view of attaching him to his interest.

The arbitrary and unjust proceedings in which many of the Bishops had been personally engaged, and which they had promoted by their influence, in this reign, in the High Commission Court, and in other places, had violently inflamed great numbers of the people against the whole episcopal order. About this time, a bill being brought in to deprive the Bishops of their votes in Parliament, great numbers of people who were very folicitous to have this bill pass, assembled about the Parliament-House. Some of these behaved riotously, and insulted the Bishops. Archbishop Williams, who was very active against the rioters, had his robes torn by them. Being greatly exasperated at this, he affembled all the Bishops who were in town, and with their approbation drew up a protestation, in which it was fet forth, that though they, the Bishops, had an undoubted right to fit and vote in Parliament, yet in coming thither they had been menaced and infulted by the unruly multitude, and could no longer with safety attend their duty in the House. For this reafon, they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and invalid, which should pass during the time of their forced and violent absence. This protestation was signed by Archbishop Williams, and eleven other Prelates, and was affented to by the King. It was afterwards presented to the Lords, who communicated it to the Commons. But the consequence was, the commitment of Williams and all his brethren to the Tower, on an accufation by the Parliament of high treason. They continued in their confinement till the bill was passed for depriving the Bishops of their seats in Parliament, when on the 6th of May, 1642, they were fet at liberty.

In June, 1642, when the King was at York, our Archbishop was inthroned in person in his own cathedral. But soon after his Majesty had left York, which was in July following, Williams was obliged to leave it too. Being at Cawood-castle one night very late, Dr. Ferne, whom he had sormerly made Archdeacon of Leicester, came and earnestly begged him to leave the house and the Vol. IV. 10.

country immediately; for that the younger Hotham was preparing to come with fufficient force, by five o'clock the next morning, to take the caffle; and it was added, that he had threatened the Archbishop's life. This intelligence, which was well founded, induced our Prelate to make his escape from thence at midnight, with some few horse, and what goods he could carry off at so short a warning: and from that time he never came again into his Diocese, the civil wars then breaking out all over England. He now retired into Wales, to his estate at Aber-Conway, where he repaired and fortified Conway-castle for the King; which so much pleased his Majesty, that by a letter, dated from Oxford, August 1, 1643, " he heartily defired him to go on " with that work; affuring him, that whatever money he should " lay out upon the fortifications of the faid castle, should be re-" paid unto him, before the custody thereof should be put into " any other hands than his own, or fuch as he should recom-" mend." And by virtue of a warrant, dated in January, 1644, the Archbishop deputed his nephew, William Hooks, Esq; to have

the custody of this castle.

He was some time after sent for by the King to attend him at And among other advice which he then gave his Majesty, Bishop Hacket informs us, that he particularly cautioned him against Cromwell, " who (he faid) was the most dangerous " enemy that his Majesty had. For though he were at that time " of mean rank and use among them, yet he would climb " higher." He then proceeded to draw a very fevere character of Cromwell. " I knew him (faid he) at Bugden, but never " knew his religion. He was a common spokesman for Secta-" ries, and maintained their part with stubborness. He never " discoursed as if he were pleased with your Majesty, and your great Officers: indeed, he loves none that are more than his " equals. Your Majesty did him but justice in repulsing a petier tion put up by him against Sir Thomas Steward, of the isle " of Ely; but he takes them all for his enemies, that would not " let him undo his best friend : and above all that live, I think 66 he is Injuriarum persequentissimus, as Portius Latro faid of Ca-" tiline. He talks openly that it is fit some should act more vi-" goroufly against your forces, and bring your person into the " power of the Parliament, He cannot give a good word of " his General the Earl of Effex, because he says the Earl is but " half an enemy to your Majesty, and hath done you more fa-" your than harm. His fortunes are broken, that it is impof-" fible for him to subsist, much less to be what he aspires to, but by your Majesty's bounty, or by the ruin of us all, and a com-" mon confusion, as one faid, Lentulus salva republica salvus esse " non potuit. In short, every beast hath some evil properties; " but Cromwell hath the properties of all evil beafts. My " humble motion is, that either you would win him to you by " the promises of fair treatment, or catch him by some strata-

" gem, and cut him short (o)."

After some stay at Oxford, our Prelate returned to his own country, having received a fresh charge from his Majesty to take care of all North Wales, but especially of Conway-castle, in which the people of the country had obtained leave of the Archbishop to lay up their most valuable effects. A year after this, Sir John Owen, a Colonel of the Royal party, marching that way after a defeat, obtained of Prince Rupert to be substituted under his hand Commander of the castle: and accordingly he entered it by force, though Williams had been before affured, under the King's own fignet, that he should possess it quietly, till the charges he had been at should be refunded him, which as yet had never been offered. But Owen not only forcibly detained the effects of the Archbishop, and of the country people, but refused to let our Prelate have a little of his own beer and wine for his present use. He remonstrated against Owen's conduct to the King, but could obtain no redrefs: and this induced him to agree to join with the country people, whose properties were detained in the castle, in assisting Colonel Milton, an Officer on the side of the Parliament, to force open the gates, and feize the cattle. The Archbishop is said to have assisted in this action in person, and his whole conduct in the affair has been much cenfured by the Royalists. But it is certain that he had received great provocation: and it is faid, that he did not join Milton with any intention to prejudice the King's fervice, but agreed to put him into the castle, on condition that every proprietary might have his own effects delivered up to him, which the Colonel faw honourably performed.

Our Prelate now retired to the house of Lady Mostyn, where he continued till his death, which happened on his birth-day, the 25th of March, 1650, when he was fixty-eight years of age. He was interred in Llandegay church, where, some years after, his nephew and heir, Sir Grissith Williams, erected an handsome mo-

nument of white marble to his memory.

Archbishop Williams was handsome in his person, of a fair complexion, and stately presence. He was a man of great abilities, great learning, and great application; but too much tinctured with secular ambition. He was generous and magnificent, and a liberal patron of men of letters. He seems to have had juster notions of the constitution of his country, than most of the Ministers of his time, especially those of the episcopal order. And he appears to have been a friend to the rights of the people: but his ambition, and desire of obtaining and retaining power, induced him sometimes to accommodate himself more to the views and designs of the Court, than was consistent with strict 3 H 2 integrity.

integrity. He feldom attended the High Commission Court, because he disapproved many of the practices of that Court, and the severity of its proceedings. He was very eloquent; and in conversation he was easy, chearful, and affable. He had a retentive memory, and his acquaintance with civil and ecclefiaftical History was very extensive. He was of an high spirit, and too much inclined to passion; but his anger was not of long duration, and he was very placable to those who had injured or offended him. He appears to have had a strong sense of the importance of religion, though his being engaged in affairs of State seems to have taken his attention too much from it. When a Divine once came to him for institution to a Living, Williams expressed himself thus: " I have (said he) passed through many " places of honour and trust, both in Church and State, more " than any of my order in England these seventy years before. "But were I but affured, that by my preaching I had converted

" but one foul unto GOD, I should take therein more spiritual in joy and comfort, than in all the honours and offices which have

" been bestowed upon me"

Besides several sermons, Archbishop Williams published a book against the innovations in church ceremonies, introduced by Archbishop Laud, under the following title: "The Holy Table, "Name, and Thing, more antiently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament, than that of Altar. Written long ago by a Minister in Lincolnshire, in answer to D. Cole, a justicious Divine of Queen Mary's days. Printed for the Diocese of Lincoln, 1637; in 4to." Lord Clarendon, though he appears to have treated the character of this Prelate very injuriously, yet represents this book as full of good learning, and that learning closely and folidly applied.





JOHN HAMPDEN.

# The Life of JOHN HAMPDEN.

HIS celebrated Patriot was descended from one of the most antient families in Buckinghamshire, and was born in London, in the year 1594. He was cousingerman to Oliver Cromwell; his father, John Hampden, Esq; having married Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbroke in Huntingdonshire, grand-

father to the Protector (p).

In 1609, when he was fifteen years of age, he was fent to Oxford, and admitted a Commoner of Magdalen College. After he had made fome stay at the University, he quitted it, without taking a degree, and removed to the Inns of Court, where he made a considerable progress in the study of the common law. By the death of his parents, he early succeeded to an opulent fortune; a circumstance which, concurring with the vivacity of youth, excited him to indulge in those pleasures and amusements which consine the excellencies of genius to the narrow compass of private gratification (q).

When he was fomewhat turned of thirty years of age, Mr. Hampden was elected a Member of the House of Commons; an incident which roused to exertion those principles of virtue and affection to the public, which lay latent in his character. And he now totally discarded the levities of his youth, and became remarkable for the sobriety, strictness, and regularity of his manners; which, still retaining his natural vivacity of temper, he embellished with an affable, chearful, and polished behaviour (r). And about this time he married Sarah, second daughter of Thomas Foley, Esq; (great-grandsather to the first Lord Foley) and widow of Essex Knightley, Esq; of Fawesley in Northampton-shire (s).

Mr. Hampden was consulted by the leading Members of Parliament in all the important points of opposition, and joined heartily in the profecution of the Duke of Buckingham, and other affairs carried on against the Court. It was Hampden's peculiar talent to act powerfully when he seemed the most disengaged; and he never put himself forward, but when forwardness was necessary: so that in this Parliament he was not thought an

opponen

<sup>(</sup>p) Biograph. Britan. (q) Vid. Mrs. Macaulay's Hift. of England, Vol. III. P. 445. (r) Macaulay, as before, P. 446, 447. (s) Biograph. Britan.

opponent formidable enough to be pricked down for Sheriff, to prevent his election in the ensuing one; and he escaped a commitment to the Tower in 1628, for what was termed a riotous proceeding in Parliament: but his honour not permitting him to comply with the exaction of an illegal loan, he was among those who suffered imprisonment on this account. It was, however, the trial of Ship-Money, in the year 1636, which unfolded to public view those patriotic virtues which modesty, dissidence,

or art, had hitherto in some measure obscured (t).

After several steps had been taken to oblige the nation to submit to the imposition of Ship-Money, the King, in order to discourage all opposition, proposed it as a question to the Judges, "Whether, in case of necessity, for the desence of the king-"dom, he might not impose this taxation, and whether he was not sole judge of the necessity?" And these guardians of law and liberty, proper methods having been taken with them, at length subscribed a paper, wherein they declared, "That in a case of necessity, the King might impose that taxation, and that he was sole Judge of the necessity (u)." One cannot resect, without surprize and indignation, that so many men should have been at one time seated on the Bench of Justice, who could thus basely prostitute the sacred character of Judge, to gratify the iniquitous desires of the Court.

This declared opinion of the Judges in favour of Ship-Money, instead of satisfying the people, and convincing them of the legality of the tax, only instanced them the more against it. No man believed, that the Judges had in this case given their opinion agreeable to their consciences. The determination was clearly contrary to the principles of law and the constitution; and it was considered as a great addition to the national grievances, that arbitrary and illegal exactions should not only be imposed by the Court, but be countenanced and supported by those who were ap-

pointed to prefide in the courts of justice.

Mr. Hampden had been rated at twenty shillings for an estate, which he held in county of Buckingham: but notwithstanding the declared opinion of the Judges, the great power of the Crown, and the little prospect there was at present of relief from Parliament, he resolved, rather than tamely submit to so illegal an imposition, to stand a legal prosecution, and expose himself to all the indignation of the Court (w). Lord Clarendon says, that Mr. Hampden "was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse, or same in the kingdom, before the business of Ship-Money: but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man enquiring who, and what he was, that durst,

<sup>(</sup>t) Macaulay, ut supra. (u) Vid. Hume's Hist. of Great Britain, Vol. I. P. 217. Edit. Edinb. 1754. and Whitlocke's Memorials, P. 24. (v) Hums, at supra.

at his own charge, support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought, from being made a

prey to the Court (x)."

After some delays, the case of Mr. Hampden, or rather that of Ship-Money, was argued during twelve days, in the Exchequerchamber, before all the Judges of England; and the nation regarded, with the utmost anxiety, every circumstance of this celebrated trial (y). The event might, indeed, be eafily foreseen, from the opinion previously given by the Judges; they were, however, not now unanimous; four of them were recovered to a fense of their duty; but the other eight of these prostituted Judges gave judgment in favour of the Crown, and against Mr. Hampden (2): though it was fufficiently evident, that the neceffity which was affigned as a ground for levying this unconftitutional tax, was a ridiculous pretence; as England was then in a profound peace with all her neighbours. And as to the pretenfion, that the King was fole Judge of the necessity, this was, in effect, to subject all the privileges of the nation to his arbitrary will and pleafure (f).

The imposition of Ship-Money, says Mr. Hume, was apparently the most avowed and most dangerous invasion of national privileges, not only which Charles was ever guilty of, but which the most arbitrary Princes in England, fince any liberty had been ascertained to the people, had ever ventured upon. In vain were

precedents

(x) Hift. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. P. 265. 8vo. Edit.

(y) Hume, ut fupra. (≈) "The Judges, Weston, Craw-ley, Berkeley, Vernon, Trevor, Finch, and Bramston, gave for the King: Crooke, Denham, and Davenport, gave for Mr. Hampden; and the judgment of Jones was, that Mr. Hampden should be charged with Ship-Money, but with this limitation and condition, that none of it should come into the King's purse, for if it did his opinion was against it."---Guthrie's Hiftory of England, Vol. III.

P. 939

(f) Lord Clarendon observes, that before the Judges had afferted the legality of Ship-Money, many had before paid it with more chearfulnefs, " pleasing themselves with doing fomewhat for the King's fervice, as a tellimony of their affection, which they were not bound to do." But when in the course of the trial between Mr. Hampden and the King " they heard this (fays his Lordship) demanded in a court of law, as a

right, and found it, by fworn Judges of the law, adjudged fo, upon fuch grounds and reasons as every standerby was able to swear was not law, and so had lost the pleasure and delight of being kind and dutiful to the King; and instead of giving, were required to pay; and by a logic that left no man any thing which he might call his own, they no more looked upon it as the case of one man, but the case of the kingdom, nor as an imposition laid upon them by the King, but by Judges; which they thought themselves bound in conscience to the public justice not to submit to." The Noble Historian further remarks, that " the damage and mischief cannot be expressed, that the Crown and State fultained by the deserved reproach and infamy that attended the Judges, by being made use of in this, and like acts of power; there being no possibility to preserve the dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws thereselves, but by the integrity and innocency of the Judges."---Hift, of the Rebellion, Vol. I. P. 69, 70.

precedents of antient writs produced: these writs, when examined, were only found to require the sea-ports, sometimes at their own charge, fometimes at the charge of the counties, to fend their ships for the defence of the nation. Even the prerogative, which impowered the Crown to iffue fuch writs, was abolished, and its exercise almost entirely discontinued, from the time of Edward III. and all the authority, which remained, or was afterwards exerted, was to press ships into the public service, to be paid for by the public. How wide were these precedents from a power of arbitrarily obliging the people, at their own charge, to build new ships, to victual and pay them, for the public; nay, to furnish money to the Crown for that purpose? What fecurity was there either against the farther extension of this claim, or against the money so levied being employed to other purposes? The plea of necessity would warrant any other taxation, as well as that of Ship-Money; and it was difficult to conceive the kingdom in a fituation, where that plea could be urged with less plausibility than at present. And if such maxims and fuch practices were to prevail, where would be the national liberty? Of what avail would be the great charter, the statutes, and that very petition of right, which, in the present reign, had been so solemnly enacted, by the concurrence of the whole Legislature (a)?

It has been fuggested, that it was owing to Mr. Hampden's great temper and winning deportment, that he was indulged with a trial which had been refused to several others. Mr. Richard Chambers, a merchant in London, having refused to pay this tax, was imprisoned in the King's Bench; and though upon bringing his Habeas Corpus he was, for the present, admitted to bail, yet Judge Berkeley absolutely refused to suffer the legality of the tax to be argued (b). A petition was also, about the same

P. 218.

(6) Mr. RICHARD CHAMBERS, whom we have mentioned above, opposed the illegal and arbitrary proceedings of Charles's government with extraordinary spirit and sirmness, and his name deserves to be transmitted with honour to posterity. In 1628, he refused to pay tonnage and poundage, which had not been granted by Parliament: it having been previously voted by the House of Commons, "That whosoever " should counsel or advise the taking " or levying of the fubfidy of ton-" nage and poundage, not granted by " Parliament, or who should be any

(a) Hist, of Great Britain, Vol. I. " be reputed an innovator in the Go-" vernment, and a capital enemy to " the kingdom and Commonwealth: " and if any merchant or person " whatfoever should voluntarily yield " or pay the faid fublidy of tonnage " and poundage, not being granted " by Parliament, they should like-" wife be reputed betrayers of the " liberties of England, and enomies to the same." But notwithstanding this declaration of the Commons, Mr. Chambers, in confequence of his refutal to pay these duties, had goods, to the amount of upwards of feven thousand pounds, seized by the Cus-tom-house Officers. He endeavoured to obtain redress in the courts of 46 actor or instrument therein, should law, but the prostituted time-serving Judges

time, presented by the city of London, complaining of the illegality of this tax, but the trial was still avoided. Lord Say likewise refused the payment of Ship-Money, and was very importunate with the Judges, both privately at their chambers, and publicly in the courts at Westminster, to have his case argued. But it was thought proper to pay this distinction to Mr. Hampden Vol. IV. 10.

Judges concurred with the Court, fo that he could get no fatisfaction. He was also summoned to the Counciltable; and under pretence that he had there faid, " that the English " merchants were more screwed up " in England than in Turkey," an information was filed against him in the court of Star-Chamber, which was fomewhat divided about the fine which was to be laid on him for fpeaking these words. The Chan-cellor of the Exchequer, and the two chief Justices, were for fining him 500 l. others proposed 1500 l. and others 2000 l. But Laud, then Bishop of London, and feveral more, were for raising the fine to 3000 l. It was at length fettled, that he should be fined 2000 l. be imprisoned in the Fleet, and make submission for his offence, at the Council-board, in the Star-Chamber, and at the Royal Exchange. A draught of the fubmission required of him, (in which he was to acknowledge his fault, and the justice of his fentence), was transmitted by the Attorney-General to Mr. Chambers, who was then in the Fleet. But instead of agreeing to submit to the proposed acknowledgment, as foon as he had read the paper, he wrote under it as follows:

"All the abovefaid contents and fubmiftion, I Richard Chambers do tuterly abhor and deteft, as most unjust and false; and never till death will acknowledge any part thereof,

"RICH. CHAMBERS."

He refused also to pay the fine which was laid on him, and proved the illegality of his sentence. He shewed that the proceedings against him were inconsistent with Magna Charta, contrary to an Act of Parliament of the 9th of Henry III. to another of the 1st of Edw. III. to another of the 5th of the same raign,

and to two others passed in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII. But notwithstanding all this, he could obtain no justice in the courts of law, but was imprisoned six whole years in the

Mr. Chambers's great losses, and long imprisonment, did not, however, subdue his patriotic spirit. In 1636, he was imprisoned for his refusal to pay Ship-Money, by Sir Edward Bromfield, Lord-Mayor, who was one of the Commissioners for levying this illegal tax. Chambers thereupon brought an action against Bromfield into the court of King's Bench, for a trespass and false imprisonment; but Sir Robert Berkeley, one of the Judges of that court, would not fuf-Chambers's Counsel to argue against the legality of Ship Money, declaring openly in court, " that there " was a rule of law, and a rule of " government, and that many things, " which might not be done by the " rule of law, might be done by the " rule of government." And Mr. Chambers was foon after imprisoned in Newgate for nine months, on account of his refusal to pay this tax.

In 1642, he was chosen Alderman of London; and, in 1644, he ferved the office of Sheriff of that city, in the discharge of which he expended four thousand pounds that year. He laid out also confiderable sums for the public fervice; and was promifed by the Parliament, that he should receive reparation and fatisfaction for his losses, fufferings, and expences; but, to their very great dishonour, they never kept their promise; and this truly public-spirited man died in indigent circumstances, in 1658, when he was about feventy years of age.-- Ruth-worth's Historical Collections, Vol. I. P. 639, 640, 670, 671---679. Vid. also Guthrie's Hift. of England, Vol. III, P. 932.

alone: and the reason assigned for this extraordinary preference is, that he was a master of the greatest address and infinuation to compass any point he had in view; in which respect, it is said, he

was superior to any man of that time.

Though Mr. Hampden had lost his cause, yet he obtained by the trial the end, for which he had so generously sacrificed his safety and his quiet. The people were rouzed from their lethargy, and saw plainly the chains which were prepared for them. These national questions were canvassed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently did it appear to many, that the constitution was totally subverted, and an unusual and arbitrary authority exercised over the kingdom. Slavish principles, they said, concurred with illegal practices; ecclefiaftical tyranny gave aid to civil usurpations; iniquitous taxations were supported by arbitrary punishments; and the whole rights of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, fecured by fo many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes and Patriots, now lay prostrate at the feet of the Monarch (c).

After Mr. Hampden's trial with the King concerning Ship-Money, he became one of the most popular men in the nation; and his actions and conduct were the theme of every tongue. It was observed, that the King did not obtain so much advantage by gaining his cause, as Hampden acquired credit by the losing of it : and it was now that he first became distinguished by the

glorious appellation of Patriot Hampden.

In the Parliament which was affembled in 1640, an event which had been long impatiently expected by the people, and to which the indefatigable industry, activity, and abilities of Hampden, had in a great measure contributed, he was one of the chief directors of the Anti-court party; and was particularly trusted in the business of watching the King's conduct in Scotland, and preventing the Scots being feduced from the interests of liberty (e) by the cabals and cajolements of the Court: his art of directing the understanding, and governing the inclinations of men, being such, that, in all the transactions between the two nations, he was appointed by the Parliament one of the Commiffioners to treat with that people ( f).

Lord Clarendon observes, that when this Parliament began to fit, "the eyes of all men were fixed upon Hampden, as their Pa-

(e) Hume, as before, P. 219. (c) It is faid, that before the affembling of this Parliament, Mr. Hampden had made feveral expeditions into Scotland for this purpose.

And he had also had many meetings Vol. III. P. 447, 448. Hampden had made feveral expeditions into Scotland for this purpole. in different parts of England, with

fome of the most active Patriots, in order to confult on proper measures for opposing in the most effectual

triæ Pater, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded, says his Lordship, his power and interest at that time was greater to do good or hurt, than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time: for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them (g)."

Mr. Hampden was appointed by the Parliament one of the Committee to prepare the charge against the Earl of Strafford, one of the managers of the evidence again him, and one of the Committee to expedite the charge against Archbishop Laud. It is intimated by Clarendon, that after Laud and Strafford were removed from power, there was some design, though it was never effected, of promoting the Earl of Bedford, Mr. Pym, Mr. St. John, and others who had been engaged in the opposition, to some important offices in the Ministry. "All who had been active in the Court, (says the Noble Historian) or in any service for the King, being totally dispirited, and most of them to be disposed to any ill offices against him; the great Patriots thought they might be able to do their country better service, if they got the places and preferments of the Court for themselves, and so prevent the evil counsels which had used to spring from thence (b)."

Other Writers inform us, that when this scheme was upon the carpet, which Charles at one time seemed disposed to agree to, Mr. Hampden was content to have undertaken the office of Tutor to the Prince. "Whilst there were any hopes (says the very ingenious semale Historian whom we have often before referred to) that the administration of the country could be corrected without the entire overthrow of the constitution, Hampden chose before other preferment the superintendency of the Prince's mind (i), aiming to correct the source from whence the

(g) Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol.II. P. 265. 8vo. Edit.

(b) History, ut supra, P. 210.
(i) Mr. Guthrie observes, that Hampden thought, "that however insignificant the kingly power was rendered, it was of the utmost importance that the King himself should be a man of virtue and abilities. This made him secretly affect the superintendency of the Prince's education; and had he obtained it, it is hard to say what miracles so masterly a hand might not have reared from so rich a soil as was the capacity of the younger Charles."--Hist, of England, Vol. III. P. 1034.

Mrs. Macaulay also further obferves, that "if any cultivation could
have regulated the understanding, and
corrected the nature of the younger
Charles, the nation would have received great benefit from this promotion's taking place. "Hampden,
" (fays Sir Philip Warwick) aiming at
" the alteration of some parts of the
"Government, knew of how great
" consequence it would be, that a
" young Prince should have prin" ciples suitable to what should be
" established as laws." The Author
might have observed, that Hampden
knew, that could he give to the
Prince just notions on religious and

happiness or misfortunes of the Empire, if the Government continued monarchical, must flow; but the aversion which the King discovered to those regulations which were necessary to secure the freedom of the constitution from any future attempt of the Crown, with the schemes he had entered on to punish the authors of Reformation, and rescind his concessions, determined the con-

duct of Hampden ( k )."

Mr. Hampden's great abilities, activity, and spirited conduct in Parliament, occasioned his being one of the fix Members who were marked out by Charles for his particular vengeance. And being at length convinced, that the King's affections and understanding, as Mrs. Macaulay expresses it, "were too corrupt to be trusted with power in any degree, he sought the abolition of Monarchy as the only cure to national grievances, warmly opposing all overtures for treaties as dangerous inares, or any other expe-

dient than conquest for accommodation."

When the contention between the King and the Parliament broke out into open war, he accepted the command of a regiment of foot under the Earl of Esfex, and was one of the first who opened the war by an action, at a place called Brill, in Buckinghamshire. He displayed the same fortitude and bravery in his military character, as he had firmness and intrepidity in his civil capacity. Indeed, his activity and courage in the field, and his wife and spirited councils on the operations of the war, rendered him fo formidable a rival of the Earl of Essex, that it was thought, had he lived, the Parliament, who were greatly diffatiffied with that Nobleman's conduct, would have taken the command from him, and made Hampden General. But he did not live to reap the reward of his valour, or to restore his country to the enjoyment of that liberty, which he fo ardently patronized and promoted; for he was taken off by a mortal wound, which he received in a skirmish with Prince Rupert, at Chalgrove field, in Oxfordshire. The first news of Mr. Hampden's being wounded, which was matter of great joy and triumph to the Royal party, they received from one of the prisoners taken in the action, who faid, that he was confident Mr. Hampden was hurt:

civil policy, with fo much rational fecure from farther invafion, and the knowledge as would have stimulated morals, taste, and manners of the him with an higher ambition than the trampling on the liberties of men, and given him a juster taste of pleafure than using the advantages of his station to the gross enjoyment of licentious levity and unbounded vice, with the infipid gratifications which of Royal life, the laws and conditution of the country would have been

people, uncorrupted by the example of those fantastic amusements, servile ceremonies, and numerous vices, which abound in Courts. But fuch documents as might have been expected from an Hampden, were not the kind with which the King wished ( k) Hift. of England, ut supra.

hurt: for he faw him, contrary to his usual custom, ride off the field, before the action was finished; his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck. Next day, the news arrived that he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken. His wound, after occasioning him to linger six days in exquisite pain, put a period to his life on the 18th of June, 1643. The King himself, in order to express his esteem for Hampden, is said to have sent Dr. Chinner to offer him the assistance of his own surgeons. He was buried in the church of Great Hampden in Buckinghamshire, where a stone was laid over his grave, with the sigures of himself, his wise, and

ten children, engraven upon it.

"Thus, (fays Mrs. Macaulay) to the high exultation of all who wished ill to the freedom of the country, and to the confernation of his party, almost equal to a total defeat, an accident, arising from the spirited activity of his disposition (1), shortened the glorious course of JOHN HAMPDEN; and, as if the existence of liberty depended on the virtue of a single individual, as the stand he had made against Ship-Money gave rife to the revolution that succeeded, so his premature fate made way for the tyranny of a successful usurper." This very ingenious Lady, who hath drawn the character of this justly-celebrated Patriot with great strength, elegance, and accuracy, observes, that " Clarendon has pretended to draw the exact portraiture of this eminent personage; but, though marked with those partial lines that distinguish the hand of the Historian, it is the testimony of an enemy to virtues poffeffed only by the foremost rank of men. With all the talents and virtues that render private life useful, amiable, and respectable, were united in Hampden, in the highest degree, those excellencies which guide the jarring opinions of popular

(1) Mr. Hume, giving an account of the occasion and circumstances of the skirmish, in which Hampden received the wound which put an end to his life, fays, "Colonel Urrey, a Scotlman, who ferved in the Parliament's army, having received fome difgust, came to Oxford, and offered his service to the King. In order to prove the fincerity of his conversion, he informed Prince Rupert of the loofe disposition of the enemies quarters, and exhorted him to form some The Prince, attempt upon them. who was entirely fitted for that kind of fervice, falling fuddenly upon the dispersed bodies of Essex's army, routed two regiments of cavalry, and one of infantry, and carried his ravages within two miles of the Gene-

ral's quarters. The alarm being given, every one mounted on horleback, in order to puriue the Prince, to recover the prisoners, and to repair the difgrace which the army had fuffered. Among the rest, Hampden, who had a regiment of infantry, that lay at a distance, joined the horse as a fimple volunteer; and overtaking the Royalifts on Chalgrave field, entered into the thickest of the battle." And this Historian, after giving an account of Mr. Hampden's death, observes, that " his valour, during the war, had shone out with a lustre, equal to that of all the other accomplishments by which he had ever been fo much dif. tinguished." --- Hist. of Great Britain, Vol. I. P. 352, 353.

popular counsels to determined points; and whilst he penetrated into the most secret designs of other men, he never discovered more of his own inclinations than was necessary to the purpose in hand. In debate he was so much a master, that joining the art of Socrates with the graces of Cicero, he fixed his own opinion under the modest guise of desiring to improve by that of others; and, contrary to the nature of disputes, left a pleasing impresfion, which prejudiced his antagonist in his favour, even when he had not convinced or altered his judgment. His carriage was fo generally, uniformly, and unaffectedly affable; his conversation fo enlivened by his vivacity, fo feafoned by his knowledge and understanding, and so well applied to the genius, humour, and prejudices of those he conversed with, that his talents to gain popularity were absolute. With qualities of this high nature he possessed in Council penetration and discernment, with a fagacity on which no one could impose, and industry and vigilance that were indefatigable, with the entire mastery of his passions and affections; an advantage which gave him infinite superiority over less regulated minds." --- " It was him the party relied on to animate the cold councils of their General, the Earl of Essex; it was his example and influence they trusted to keep him honest to the interest of the public, and to preserve to the Parliament the affections of the army. Had he been at first appointed to the fupreme military command, the civil war, under all the horrors of which the country languished more than three years, would have been but of a short continuance (m)."

Mr. Hampden's eldest son, Richard, made a figure in Parliament, as did afterwards his grandson John. One of his daughters was married to Sir John Hobart; another to Sir Robert Pye, a gentleman of an antient extraction in Herefordshire, a Member of this Parliament, under the authority of which he served in many public employments; another to Colonel Hammond, who was appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight; and another to Mr. Knightly of Northamptonshire. The Parliament, as a testimony of their sense of Mr. Hampden's services to the public, ordered the sum of sive thousand pounds to be paid

out of the public revenues for the use of his family.

There is a story related concerning John Hampden, Esq; grandson to our Patriot, which deserves to be remembered. Mr. Hampden, being in France, became acquainted with Mons. de Mezeray, the samous Historian; and discoursing with him once concerning the difference of the Government in France and England, Mezeray broke out into this expression: O fortunatos mimium bona si fua norint Anglicanos! "We had once in France" (continued he) the same happiness and the same privileges as "you have; our laws were made by Representatives of our own "chusing;

"chusing; our money was not taken from us, but by our own consent; our Kings were subject to the rules of law and reafon: but now, alas! we are miserable, and all is lost. Think nothing, Sir, too dear to maintain these precious advantages;
and if there be occasion, venture your life, your estate, and all you have, rather than submit to the miserable condition to which you see us reduced."--- "These words of his," said Mr. Hampden, "with what I saw, of the misery of that country, made an impression on me, which nothing can essace (n)."

( n ) Critical Hift, of England, Vol. I. P. 12.



# The Lives of FRANCIS BEAUMONT, and John Fletcher.

HESE two eminent Dramatic Poets were fo closely united in their Lives, and in their Writings, that we shall, in imitation of most of our biographical prede-

cessors, give an account of them together.

FRANCIS BEAUMONT was descended from an antient family of that name at Grace Dieu in Leicestershire, where he was born about the year 1585. His grandfather, John Beaumont, was Master of the Rolls, and his father, Francis Beaumont, one of the Judges of the court of Common Pleas. Our Poet was educated at Cambridge, and afterwards admitted of the Inner Temple; but it does not appear that he made any proficiency in the law, his passion for the Muses being such, as made him entirely devote himself to poetry (o). Indeed, he could have but little time to apply himself to any other studies: for although out of upwards of fifty plays, which are collected together as the labours of these united Authors, Mr. Beaumont was concerned in much the greatest part of them, yet he did not live to complete his thirtieth year. For he died in March, 1615, on the ninth day of which he was interred at the entrance of St. Benedict's chapel in Westminster-Abbey. There is no inscription on his tomb, but two epitaphs were written to his memory, one by his elder brother, Sir John Beaumont ( p ), which is as follows:

" On

( ) Vid. New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo. Biograph. Britan. Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I.

P. 154.

(p) Sir JOHN BEAUMONT was also born at Grace Dieu in Leicester-shire, the seat of his father, Judge Beaumont, in the year 1582. He was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner of Broadgate-hall, in Oxford, in 1596. After three years he left the University, and entered himself in one of the Inns of Court. But he soon quitted that situation, and retired to the place of his nativity, where he married a wife of the samily of Fortescue. In

the second year of King Charles I. he had the dignity of Baronet conferred on him. In his youth, he also cultivated the Muses, as well as his brother; and Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, and others, have celebrated his poetical genius. He died in 1628, and left behind him three sons, John, who died without issue, Francis, who was afterwards a Jesuit, and Thomas, who at length succeeded to his title and estate.

He wrote a poem in eight books, intitled, "The Crown of Thorns." There is also extant a poem of his, intitled, "Bosworth Field;" together

- " On death, thy murderer, this revenge I take,
- " I flight his terror, and just question make, "Which of us two the best precedence have,

" Mine to this wretched world, thine to the grave.

"Thou should'st have followed me, but death, to blame,

" Miscounted years, and measured age by fame. " So dearly hast thou bought thy precious lines;

" Their praise grew swiftly, so thy life declines. "Thy muse, the hearer's Queen, the reader's love,

" All ears, all hearts, (but death's) could please and move."

#### The other is by Bishop Corbet (f):

- " He that hath fuch acuteness, and fuch wit,
- " As would ask ten good heads to husband it;
- " He that can write fo well, that no man dare

" Refuse it for the best, let him beware:

" Beaumont is dead, by whose sole death appears,

" Wit's a disease consumes men in few years."

He left a daughter, Frances Beaumont, who lived to a great age, and died in Leicestershire since the year 1700. She had in her possession several poems of her father's writing, but they were lost at sea in her voyage from Ireland, where she had lived some time in the Duke of Ormond's family. Besides the plays in which Mr. Beaumont was jointly concerned with Fletcher, he wrote a little dramatic Piece, intitled, "A Masque of Gray's Inn " Gentlemen and the Inner Temple ;" a Poetical Epistle to Ben Jonson, Verses to his friend Mr. John Fletcher upon his Faithful Shepherdess, and other poems, printed together in 1653, in 8vo. Langbaine fays, " Beaumont was master of a good wit, and a better judgment; he so admirably well understood the art of the flage, that even Jonson himself thought it no disparagement to fubmit his Writings to his correction ( q ):" and, indeed, it appears that Ben had a very high opinion of him.

IOHN FLETCHER was fon to Dr. Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London, and was born in Northamptonshire, in the year 1576. He was educated at Cambridge, and is supposed to have been of Bennet College, to which his father had been a benefactor. Vol. IV. 10.

with some translations from the Latin; poems, which have been greatly comof a religious and moral kind.

(f) Dr. RICHARD CORBET Was TICA STROMATA. made Bishop of Oxford in 1629, and was afterwards translated to the See of Norwich. A collection of his

and some other small poems, chiefly mended, was published at London in 8vo. in 1647, under the title of Poz-

(9) Account of the English Dramatic Poets, P. 204.

He made a great proficiency in his studies at the University, and was esteemed an excellent scholar. Besides the plays which he wrote in conjunction with Mr. Beaumont, he is said to have assisted Ben Jonson in writing a Comedy, called The Widow. After Beaumont's death, we are told that he consulted Mr. James Shirley (r) in working up the plots of several of his plays. The Faithful Shepherdess was written entirely by Mr. Fletcher; it has been much commended by several Poets; but its reception on the stage fell short of its merit. Ben Jonson was much displeased with the audience for their ill treatment of this Piece, as appears from the following lines of his, addressed to the Author:

"The wife and many-headed bench that fits "Upon the life and death of plays and wits,

" (Compos'd of Gamester, Captain, Knight, Knight's man,

"Lady, or pufil, that wears mask or fan,

" Velvet

(r) JAMES SHIRLEY was de-feended from an antient family, and born in London about the year 1594. He was educated at Merchant-Taylor's school, and from thence removed to St. John's College in Oxford; where Dr. Laud, then President of that College, conceived a great affection for him, on account of his excellent parts; but yet would often tell him, that " he was an unfit person " to take the facred function upon " him, and should never have his " consent :" because Mr. Shirley had a large mole upon his left cheek, which Laud considered as a deformity fufficient to disqualify him from being a Divine. Afterwards, leaving Oxford, he went to Cambridge, and foon after, entering into Holy Orders, he took a Cure at or near St. Alban's. In the mean time, growing unfettled in his principles, he changed his religion, and embraced Popery; and refigning his Living, he taught a grammar-school in St. Alban's. But this employment not being agreeable to him, he retired to London, lived in Gray's Inn, and became a writer of plays. By this he gained, not only a maintenance, but allo great respect and encouragement from persons of quality, and especially from King Charles the First's Queen. When the civil wars broke out, he was obliged to leave London and his family; for he had now a wife and children. He

afterwards for some time attended William, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Newcastle: but on the decline of the King's cause, he retired to London; where, among other of his friends, he found Mr. Stanley, Author of the Lives of the Philosophers, who supported him for the present. The acting of plays being prohibited, he then returned to his old occupation of teaching school, which he did in White Fryars; and, at the restora-tion, several of his plays were brought upon the Theatre again. In 1666, he was burnt out of his house near Fleet-street, by the great fire of London; from whence he removed into the parish of St. Giles's in the Fields. But he and his wife being extremely affected with the loss and terror occasioned by that dreadful conflagration, they both died within the space of twenty-four hours, and were interred in the same grave.

Mr. Shirley was eminent as a dramatic Poet in his own time: he wrote thirty-nine plays, which were printed at different times; and he also published a Volume of Poems in 8vo. in 1646, with three tracts relating to grammar. He affisted his patron, the Duke of Newcatlle, in composing several plays, which the Duke published; as likewise Mr. John Ogilby, in his translation of Homer and Virgil, with writing notes on them,

" Velvet or taffata cap, rank'd in the dark

"With the shop's foreman, or some such brave spark,

"That may judge for his fix-pence) had before
"They faw it half, damn'd the whole play, and more:

"Their motives were, fince it had not to do

"With vices, which they look'd for, and came to.

"I that am glad thy innocence was thy guilt,
And wish that all the Muses blood were spilt

"In fuch a martyrdom, to vex their eyes,

" Do crown thy murder'd poem, which shall rife

" A glorified Work to time, when fire

" Or moths, shall eat what all such fools admire."

#### Mr. Cartwright also thus celebrated the same Piece :

" His Shepherdess, a Piece

" Even and smooth spun from a finer fleece,

"Where foftness reigns, where passions passions greet

" Gentle and high, as floods of balfam meet :

"Where, dressed in white expressions, sit bright loves "Drawn, like their fairest Queen, by milky doves;

" A Piece, which Jonson in a rapture bid "Come up a glorified Work, and so it did."

Mr. Fletcher died of the plague, in the 49th year of his age, in the year 1625, and was buried in St. Mary Overy's church, in Southwark.

During the joint Lives of Beaumont and Fletcher, it appears that they scarcely wrote any thing separately, but their plays were almost entirely written in concert. What share each had in contriving the plots, and writing the scenes, is not known; but it is generally allowed that Fletcher's peculiar talent was wit, and Beaumont's, though much the younger man, judgment. However, it is certain that the Works of these united Authors have great merit, and some of their Pieces deservedly stand on the list of the present ornaments of the Theatre. The plots are ingenious, interesting, and well managed, the characters strongly marked, and the dialogue sprightly and natural, but sometimes bordering upom obscenity (s).

Winstanley relates, that our two Poets being once at a tavern together, to form a rude draught of a Tragedy, Fletcher undertook to kill the King; which words being over-heard by an officious waiter, he went and lodged an information against them for treason; but their loyalty being unquestioned, and the circumstance being so probable, that the plot was only against a dramatical King, the affair became a jest. The first play which

3 K 2 brough

brought them into esteem, as Mr. Dryden tells us, was "Philaster, " or Love lies a bleeding:" but before this, they had written two or three which did not meet with success. Their plots, according to the same Author, were generally more regular than Shakespeare's, especially those which were formed before Mr. Beaumont's death; and they understood and imitated the conversation of gentlemen much better, whose wild debaucheries and quickness of wit, no Poet before them ever painted as they had done. They represented all the passions in a very lively manner, especially that of love. And Mr. Dryden adds, that, in his time, their plays were the most favourite and frequent entertainments of the stage.

The plays written by Beaumont and Fletcher, are the following: 1. The Beggar's Bush, a Comedy. 2. The Bloody Brother, a Tragedy. 3. Bonduca, a Tragedy. 4. The Captain, a Tragedy. 5. The Chances, a Comedy. 6. The Coxcomb, a Comedy. 7. Cupid's Revenge, a Tragedy. 8. The Custom of the Country, a Comedy. 9. The Double Marriage, a Tragedy. 10. The Elder Brother, a Comedy. 11. The Faithful Shepherdes, a Pastoral. This, as hath been observed before, was written by Fletcher alone. 12. The Fair Maid of the Inn, a Tragi-Comedy. 13. The False One, a Tragedy. 14. Four Plays in One, or Moral Representations. 15. An Honelt Man's Fortune, a Tragi-Comedy. 16. The Humorous Lieutenant, a Tragi-Comedy. 17. The Island Princess, a Tragi-Comedy. 18. King and no King, a Tragi-Comedy. 19. The Knight of Malta, a Tragi-Comedy. 20. The Knight of the Burning Pestle, a Comedy. 21. The Laws of Candy, a Tragi-Comedy. 22. The Little French Lawyer, a Comedy. 23. Love's Cure, or the Martial Maid, a Comedy. 24. Love's Pilgrimage, a Comedy. 25. The Lover's Progress, a Tragi-Comedy. 26. The Loyal Subject, a Comedy. 27. The Mad Lover, a Tragi-Comedy. 28. The Maid in the Mill, a Comedy. 29. The Maid's Tragedy. 30. The Masque of Gray's Inn Gentlemen, and the Inner Temple. This was written by Beaumont alone; and exhibited at the Banquetting-House, Whitehall, at the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and the Prince Palatine. 31. Monsieur Thomas, a Comedy. This was written by Fletcher alone. 32. Nice Valour, or the Passionate Mad-Man, a Comedy. 33. The Night Walker, or the Little Thief a Comedy. Thief, a Comedy. This was entirely written by Fletcher. 34. The Noble Gentleman, a Comedy. 35. Philaster, or Love lies a bleeding, a Tragi-Comedy. 36. The Pilgrim, a Comedy. 37. The Prophetes, a Tragical History. 38. The Queen of Corinth, a Tragi-Comedy. 39. Rule a Wife and have a Wife, a Comedy. 40. The Scornful Lady, a Comedy. 41. The Sea Voyage, a Comedy. 42. The Spanish Curate, a Comedy. 43. Thierry and Theodoret, a Tragedy. 44. The Two Noble Kinsmen, a Tragi-Comedy. This play was written by Fletcher, who received some

affistance in it from Shakespeare, 45. Valentinian, a Tragedy. 46. A Wife for a Month, a Tragi-Comedy. 47. The Wild-goose Chace, a Comedy. 48. Wit at several Weapons, a Comedy. 49. Wit without Money, a Comedy. 50. The Woman-hater, a Comedy. This was written by Fletcher alone. 51. Women pleased, a Tragi-Comedy. 52. The Woman's Prize, or the Tamer tamed, a Comedy.

Some of these plays were printed in Quarto during the lives of the Authors; and, in the year 1645, there was published in Folio, a collection of such plays as had not been printed before. This collection was published by Mr. Shirley, after the shutting up of the Theatres, and dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, by ten of the most famous actors. In 1679, an edition of all the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher was published in Folio. Another edition, in seven Volumes, 8vo. was published in 1711, and another in 1751.



# The Life of JOSEPH MEDE.

HIS very learned Divine was descended from a good family, and born in October, 1586, at Berden in Ef-When he was about ten years of age, both he and his father fell fick at the same time of the small-This disease proved mortal to the father, but the son recovered: and his mother afterwards married one Mr. Gower, of Nafing in Effex, by whom he was fent to school. He was first inftructed in grammar-learning at Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, and afterwards made a farther progress at Weathersfield in Essex. While he was at this last school, going to London upon some occafion, he bought Bellarmine's Hebrew grammar; and though his mafter, who had no skill in that language, told him it was a book not fit for him, yet fuch was young Mede's thirst for knowledge, that in a little time he attained confiderable skill in the Hebrew tongue (t).

In 1602, he was fent to Christ's College in Cambridge; where the improvements he made in a short time, by his great application, and the excellency of his natural parts, attracted the notice not only of his own College, but of the whole University; though he had an uncommon impediment in his speech, which would not permit him to shew his learning and abilities to advantage. wanted, we are told, " that felicity of utterance, which useth to fet off flight parts; and had so great an hesitation in his " speech, as rendered his expression painful to himself, and less pleafing to others ( u ). Which made him decline all public disputations, and other exercises, as not to be performed by him without great difficulty: his labour in them, as he was wont to tell his familiar acquaintance, being double to that of others; in regard he was put to study, not for matter only, but of for words; not to express his mind, for they naturally follow " a good and clear apprehension, but for words that he could ut-" ter. But in time, and with proper care, he attained to fo " great a mastery over that infirmity, that he was able to deliver

" a whole fermon without any confiderable hefitation."

<sup>(1)</sup> Biograph. Britan. and New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo. Vid. also the Life of Mr. Mede, prefixed to his Works in Folio.

<sup>(</sup>u) Fuller fays, that the letter R, in particular, was Shibboleth unto him, which he could not eafily pronounce.

In 1610, he took the degree of Master of Arts, and by that time had made fo uncommon a progress in all kinds of academical studies, that he was universally esteemed a most accomplished scholar. He was, it is said, an acute Logician, an accurate Philosopher, a skilful Mathematician, a great Philologer, a master of many languages, and a good proficient in History and Chronology; and he had also some skill in Anatomy. He gave a specimen of his learning in a Latin treatise on relative holiness, which he addressed to Bishop Andrews; but in his maturer years he censured it as a juvenile performance, and therefore never published it. However, the learned Prelate to whom he addressed it, was fo well pleased with it, that he defired Mr. Mede to become his domestic Chaplain. But this offer he civilly declined the acceptance of; valuing the liberty of his studies above any hopes of preferment, and esteeming that freedom which he enjoyed in his cell, so he used to call it, as the haven of all his wishes. And, indeed, these thoughts had possessed him from his earliest youth: for when he was a school-boy, he was sent to by his uncle, Mr. Richard Mede, a merchant; who being then without children, offered to adopt him for his fon, if he would live with him: but he refused the offer, preferring, even then, a life of study to any lucrative advantages.

He was not chosen Fellow of his College till after he was Master of Arts, and then not without the assistance and influence of his friend Bishop Andrews: for he had been passed over at several elections, on account of some suspicion of his favouring Puritanical principles. However, being elected Fellow, he became an eminent and faithful tutor. After he had by daily lectures well grounded his pupils in humanity, logic, and philosophy, and by frequent conversations understood what particular studies they might be most profitably employed in, he gave them his advice accordingly: and when they were able to go alone, he chose rather to fet every one his daily task, than constantly to confine himself and them to precise hours for lectures. In the evening they all came to his chamber, to fatisfy him that they had performed the task he set them. The first question which he used then to propound to every one in his order was, " Quid dubitas? What doubts have you met with in your studies to-day?" For he supposed, that to doubt nothing, and to understand nothing, was nearly the fame thing. Their doubts being proposed, he retolved their questions, and so set them upon clear ground, to proceed more distinctly. And then, having by prayer commended them and their studies to GOD's protection and blessing, he dismissed

them to their lodgings.

In the mean time, Mr. Mede was appointed Reader of the Greek lecture of Sir Walter Mildmay's foundation; an office which he held during the remainder of his life. He so entirely devoted himself to the study of all useful knowledge, that he made even the time which he spent in his recreation serviceable to

his defign. For, as he allowed himself little or no exercise but walking, when he and others were walking in the fields, and in the College garden, he would take occasion to discourse on the beauty, fignatures, and useful properties of the plants then in view; he being, we are told, a curious florist, an accurate botanist, and thoroughly versed in the book of nature. One of his most agreeable entertainments was to discourse with learned friends; and particularly with Mr. William Chappel, afterwards Provoft of Trinity-College in Dublin, and Bishop of Corke and Ross (w), in whose conversation he took great pleasure.

born at Lexington in Nottinghamshire, on the 10th of December, 1582. He was fent to a grammar-school at Mansfield, in the same county, where he was early taken no-tice of for the gravity of his manners, the meekness of his temper, and his diligent application to his books. This induced his relations, though their circumstances were but narrow, to fend him to the University of Cambridge, where he was entered of Christ's College at the age of seven-Arts, he was cleded Fellow of his College in the year 1607. He then became extremely eminent in the University as a tutor; and was also remarkable for his abilities as a difputant; in regard to which there is an anecdote or two preserved, which may be worth relating.

In the spring of the year 1624, King James vilited the Univerlity of Cambridge, lodged in Trinity-College; and was entertained with a philosophical act, and other academical performances. At these exercises, Dr. Roberts of Trinity-College was respondent at St. Mary's; where Mr. Chappel, as opponent, pushed him so hard, that finding himself unable to keep up the dispute, he fainted. Upon this King James, who valued himself much upon his skill in such matters, undertook to maintain the question, but with no better fortune than the Doctor ; for Chappel was fo much his superior at these logical weapons, that his Majesty " openly professed his joy to find a man of great talents so good a subject." Many years after this, Sir William St. Leger riding to Corke with the Popish

( w) WILLIAM CHAPPEL was titular Dean of that city, it happened, that Mr. Chappel, then Dean of Cashel, and Provost of Trinity-College, accidentally overtook them. Upon which Sir William, who was then President of Munster, proposed, that the two Deans should dispute; which, though Mr. Chappel was not forward to accept, yet he did no ways decline. But the Popish Dean, with great dexterity and address, extricated himself from this difficulty, faying, " Excuse me, Sir; I don't care to dispute with one who is " went to kill his man."

Mr.

In 1633, Mr. Chappel went over into Ireland, being promoted to the Deanery of Cashel in that kingdom, by the interest of Archbishop Laud. Soon after, he was made Provost of Trinity College in Dublin, by the influence of the same Prelate; who being defirous of making fome new regulations in that University, looked upon Chappel to be the properest per-fon to settle the establishment which he intended. Chappel, however, took great pains to decline this charge, the burthen of which he thought would be too heavy for his shoulders; and for this purpose returned to England in May, 1634; but in vain. Upon this, he went down to Cambridge, and refigned his Fellowship; which to him, he said, was the sweetest of earthly preferments. He also visited his native country; and taking his last leave of his aged and pious mother, he returned to Ireland. He had the care of Trinity-College immediately committed to him; tho' he was not Iworn into the Provoftship till the 5th of June, 1637, on account of the new statutes not being sooner fettled and received.

Mr. Mede was a curious enquirer into the most abstruse parts of learning, and endeavoured to acquire knowledge in those things which were most remote from the vulgar track. Among other things, he fpent no small pains and time in founding the depths of astrology, and blotted much paper in calculating the nativities of his near relations, and fellow-students: but this was in his younger years, and he was afterwards convinced of the vanity and weakness of this fanciful art. He applied himself to the more useful study of History and Antiquities, particularly to those mysterious sciences which made the antient Chaldeans, Egyptians, and other nations, so famous; tracing them, as far as he could have any light to guide him, in their oriental schemes and figurative expressions, as likewise in their hieroglyphics, not forgetting also to enquire into the oneirocritics of the antients. Which he did the rather, we are told, because of that affinity which he conceived they might have with the language of the Prophets, to the understanding of which he shewed a most ardent defire. His humanity studies and mathematical labours were but initial things, which he made subservient to a more perfect knowledge of Divinity. He was a curious and laborious fearcher into antiquities relating to religion, Ethnic, Jewish, Christian, and Mahometan; and very diligent in his application to every branch 3 L Vol. IV. 10.

In 1638, he was promoted to the Bishopricks of Corke, Cloyne, and Rofs. However, by the King's command, he continued in his Provostship for some time, but resigned it in July, 1640; before which time he had endeavoured to obtain a small Bishopric in England, that he might return to his native country, as he faid, and die in peace. But his endeavours were fruitles; and he soon after fell under profecution in the Irish Parliament. The chief cause of which is supposed to have been, his strictness in enforcing uniformity and church discipline in Trinity-College. While he laboured under this profecution, he was in danger of still greater troubles, by the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland. This induced him to quit that kingdom; and accordingly he landed at Milford-Haven on the 27th of Deto Pembroke, and then to Tenby, where information being made of him to the Mayor, he was committed to goal. After lying there feven weeks, he was fet at liberty by the interest of Sir Hugh Owen, a Member thousand pounds for his appearance; appears to be ill grounded.

and on the 16th of March he fet out for Briftol. Here he learnt, that the thip bound from Corke to England, wherein were a great part of his ef-fects, was lost near Minehead; and therein, among other things, perished his choice collection of books. Being thus befet with misfortunes, and the civil wars now coming on, he withdrew to his native foil, where he fpent the remainder of his life in study and retirement. He died at Derby, where he had some time re-

fided, upon Whitfunday, 1649. Bifhop Chappel wrote "Methodus Concionandi," which was printed, in Latin, the year before his death, in 840. An English translation of this was published, in 1656, under the title of "The true Method of preach-" ing." He also wrote, " The use of " Holy Scripture," which was printed in 1653, in 8vo. He left behind him also his own Life, written by himself in Latin, which has been twice printed. And it has also been con-jectured, that he was the Author of "The Whole Duty of Man." But there is not fufficient evidence of this: of Parliament, upon giving bond in a and, upon the whole, the supposition

of knowledge, which had a tendency to encrease his skill in the

Sacred Writings.

In 1618, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity; but his modesty and humility restrained him from taking the degree of Doctor. In 1627, he published at Cambridge, in 4to. " Clavis " Apocalyptica, ex innatis et infitis Visionum characteribus " eruta & demonstrata;" i. e. a Key to the Apocalypse, &c. to which he added, in 1632, "In Sancti Joannis Apocalypsin Commentarius, ad amussim Clavis Apocalypticæ;" i. e. A Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John, corresponding exactly to his Key, &c. The Clavis was re-printed afterwards at London; and in English in 1650, 4to. These learned Pieces were received with great approbation both in England, and in foreign countries.

In 1627, Mr. Mede declined accepting the Provoftship of Trinity-College, Dublin, into which he had been elected at the particular recommendation of Archbishop Usher; as he did also when it was offered him a second time, in 1630. The height of his ambition was, only to have had some small sine-cure added to his Fellowship, or to have been placed in some collegiate Church, or rural College; where, retired from the noise and tumults of the world, and possessed of a competency of fortune, he might have purfued his studies without interruption. therefore, when a report was spread that he was made Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he thus expressed himself in a letter to a friend: "That he had lived, till the best of his time " was spent, in tranquillitate et secessii; and now that there is " but a little left, should I (said he) be so unwise, suppose there " were nothing else, as to enter now into a tumultuous life, " where I should not have time to think my own thoughts, and " must of necessity displease others, or myself? Those who think " fo, know not my disposition in this kind to be as averse, as " fome perhaps would be ambitious."

Though Mr. Mede's income was but small, as he had nothing but his Fellowship and a College-lecture, yet he was extremely generous and charitable. He constantly appropriated a tenth of his income to charitable uses. He was enabled to do this by his frugality and temperance (x). He carefully avoided the occa-

(x) One of the Writers of Mr. Mcde's Life observes, that " It is a " most approved and experienced " truth, That for the enabling a man " to a free and chearful exercise of " Christian charity, it is absolutely necessary that he retrench and cut off all needless expences, either about apparel or diet, building, or " sports and recreations, &c. Other-" wife frequent or excessive treat-4 ments, pride, and curiofity about "facrifices of communicating and 44 attire and dress, will soon make 44 doing good, with which the eternal 45 charity bare and cold, and at last 44 and only true God is well pleased. 14

" quite starve it. Where much is " laid out upon back or belly, there " will be but little spared for benefi-" cence. Where so much is solemnly " offered in facrifice, as especially at " great fealts, to that false God, the Belly, (and the best and fattest is " offered up, and withal the sweetest, " for large drink-offerings to that " mortal and perishing God), there " will be but little referved for the sions of unnecessary expences; and when he saw others lavishly spending beyond their income, and not prudently proportioning their expences to their receipts, he used to say, "They wanted "the estimative faculty." As to his temperance, what he eat and drank was rather to suffice nature, than indulge his appetite; it consisting ordinarily of his College-commons, and the smaller fort of beer.

The generous defign of bringing about an universal pacification among Protestants, was a subject which much employed the thoughts of Mr. Mede; as appears from feveral letters that paffed between him and John Dury and Mr. Hartlib, the strenuous promoters of this excellent design. Mr. Mede's sentiments upon this point were, that all fides should yield, and abate of their pretenfions. "Iam," faid he, " fo far inclinable to peace, " that I can yield to a Christian communion at as great a distance " of opinions, as any Protestant whatsoever. For I hold, that " communion is not to be broken but for Fundamentals : of " which kind I take none of the differences between the Calvi-" nists and Lutherans to be .--- Nor do I think this union, which " every true Christian ought so much to desire, will ever be " brought to pass by a full decision of the controversies; but " only by abating of that vast distance which contention hath " made, and approaching the differences fo near, as that either " party may be induced to tolerate the other, and acknowledge " them for brethren and members of the same body."

Mr. Mede's Life, like that of many other learned men, contains few remarkable incidents. For his days were chiefly passed in a kind of studious retirement. He died on the 1st of October, 1638, in the sitty-second year of his age, having spent above two thirds of his time in his College. The next day he was buried in the inner chapel of the College, about the middle of the area on the south-side. He gave in his will 1001, to the poor of the town of Cambridge; some legacies to his kindred; and the remainder of his estate, amounting to 3001, to his College.

As to his person, he was of a middle stature, and well proportioned. His eye was full, quick, and sparkling; and his whole countenance sedate and grave, and such as commanded reverence, but at the same time tempered with an engaging sweetness. His learning was very great and extensive; for his application to his studies was indesatigable. He appears to have been entirely free from ambition, and to have had no inclination for preferment; an ardent desire of knowledge being his prevailing passion. His piety was exemplary, and his manners irreproachable. He was free from pride, anger, and selfishness; and eminent for his patience and meekness. His prudence and moderation, either in declaring or desending his private opinions, were remarkable; and his conversation was friendly, assable, and chearful, and sometimes intermixed with pleasantry.

3 L 2

Some of his fayings, which have been recorded, are as follows: "That he who cannot hold his tongne, can hold nothing." That "he never found himself prone to change his hearty affections to any one, for mere difference in opinion." "I cannot believe," said he, "that truth can be prejudiced by the discovery of truth; but I fear that the maintenance thereof by fallacy or falsehood may not end with a blessing." And such Fellow-Commoners as came to the University chiefly to see it, and be seen in it, he used to call "the University Tulips," that

only made a gaudy shew in it for a while.

In 1677, a complete Edition of Mr. Mede's Works (many of his Pieces having been before printed feparately) was published, in Folio, by Dr. Worthington, and divided into five books, dif-posed in the following order. I. The first book contains fifty-three fermons on feveral texts of Scripture. Book II. contains fuch tracts and discourses on several texts of Scripture, as were of the like argument and defign; viz. about churches, and the worship of GOD therein; of the Christian sacrifice, in nine chapters; of the name Altar, or Thusiastherion, antiently given to the Holy Table; and Concio ad Clerum. Book III. contains his treatifes upon prophetical Scripture, viz. the Apocalyple, St. Peter's prophecy concerning the day of CHRIST's fecond coming, St. Paul's prophecy touching the apostasy of the latter times; and three treatises on some obscure passages in Daniel. Book IV. contains his letters to feveral learned men, together with their letters to him. And Book V. comprehends Fragmenta Sacra, or fuch theological miscellanies as could not well come under any of the fore-mentioned heads.

Before we conclude, we shall insert some of this learned Writer's observations concerning the Damons of the Heathen theology, and the Dæmoniacs mentioned in the New Testament. " Damons in the Gentiles theology," fays he, " were Deaffri, or " an inferior fort of deified Powers, as a middle between the " Sovereign Gods and mortal men .-- The Sovereign, or highest "Gods, which amongst them were properly called Theor, were "those whom they supposed to be in the Heav ns, yea in the fun, moon, and stars, whence they called them Dii superi, Dii " cælestes, whom they affirmed to have neither beginning nor " ending .--- Now these Sovereign coelettial Gods they supposed " fo sublime and pure, as might not be profaned with approach of earthly things, or with the care or managing of mortal " men's bufineffes; and therefore they bring in that middle fort " of Divine Powers which they call Dæmons, to be as Mediators " and Agents between the Sovereign Gods and mortal men .---"This was the occumenical philosophy of the Apollles times, " and of the times before them. Thales, Pythagoras, all the " Academics, and Stoics, and not many to be excepted, unless " the Epicurians, taught this Divinity .-- As to the original of Da-" mons, they were the fouls of men deified or canonized after " death. death. Baal, or Bell, or Belus, was the first deified King : " hence Damons are called in Scripture Baalim. The Heathens " fancied, that the fouls of men took degrees after death: 1st, " they commenced Heroes, who were as Probationers to a Dæ-" monship; then, after a time sufficient, Damons; and after "that, if they deserved well, to a more sublime degree. This order of Dæmons, or Soul-Gods, was called by the elder Romans Penates, Lares, and Manii Dei; and when once they be-" gan to canonize their deceased Emperors, (which was from the " time of Augustus), they called them Divi .-- But besides these " Dæmons, their theologists bring in another kind of Dæmons, " more high and sublime, which had never been the souls of men, nor ever were linked to a mortal body, but were from the " beginning, or without beginning, always the fame. This fort " of Dæmons doth fitly answer and parallel that fort of spiritual " Powers which we call Angels, as the former doth those which with us are called Saints .- . The manner and way of worship-" ping the Dæmons, and retaining their presence, was by conse-" crated images and pillars. Images were as bodies for Dæmons " to animate and dwell in. The Sovereign and coeleftial Gods " were worshipped in the sun, moon, and stars, where they were " fupposed to dwell: but images and columns were for Dæ-" mons. Another piece of Dæmon doctrine, was the worship-" ping of Dæmons in their reliques, shrines, and sepulchres. " The Gentiles temples were nothing but the sepulchres of dead " men." And Mr. Mede afterwards makes it appear, that this Dæmon-worship of the Heathens was, in fact, revived in the Romish Church, in the adoration and invocation of Saints and Angels.

With respect to the Damoniacs mentioned in the Gospels, he expresses himtelf thus: " I make no question," says he, " but that. now and then the fame befals other men, whereof I have exof perience myself, to wit, to marvel how these Dæmoniacs should. " fo abound in and about the Jewish nation, which was the peo-46 ple of GOD, (whereas in other nations, and their Writings, we. " hear of no such), and that too, as it should seem, about the " time of our Saviour's being on earth only, because in the " time before we find no mention of them in Scripture. " wonder is yet the greater, because, it seems, notwithstanding " all this, by the story of the Gospel, not to have been then ac-" counted by the people of the Jews any strange or extraordi-" nary thing, but as a matter usual; nor besides is taken notice " of by any foreign story. To meet with all these difficulties, " (which I see not how otherwise can be easily satisfied) I am persuaded, till I shall hear better reason to the contrary, that " these Dæmoniacs were no other than such as we call Mad-" men and Lunatics .--- Understand me to mean, not of deliria-" tion ex vi morbi, (not delirious or phrentic) or of fimple

dotage, but Melancholici and Maniaci, (melancholic and morbus comitialis, or falling fickness, and whatsoever is properly called Lunacy. Such as these, the Jews and Gentiles believed to be troubled and acted with evil spirits."

Mr. MEDE's hypothesis concerning the New Testament Dæmoniacs, hath been adopted by some learned Writers in later times.



# The Life of ROBERT SANDERSON, Bishop of Lincoln.

OBERT SANDERSON was born at Rotheram in Yorkshire, in the year 1587. He was the second and youngest son of Robert Sanderson, Esq; of Gilthwait-Hall, in that county. In his earliest years he discovered an excellent temper and disposition, which was improved by the care and good example of his father (y). He was educated at the grammar-school at Rotheram; and Mr. Walton fays, that " in the time of his being a scholar there, he was obferved to use an unwearied diligence to attain learning, and to have a feriousness beyond his age, and with it a more than common modefly; and to be of fo calm and obliging a behaviour, that the matter, and whole number of scholars, loved him as one

When he was arrived to the thirteenth year of his age, his father came up with him towards London, with a view of placing him for a year, for his farther improvement, in one of the more eminent grammar-schools, either Westminster or Eaton, and then intending to remove him to Oxford. But an old acquaintance, a Clergyman, whom he called on in the way, having examined young Sanderson as to the progress which he had made in learning, advised the father to shorten his journey, and leave his son at Oxford; affuring him, that the youth " was fo perfect a gramma-" rian, that he had laid a good foundation to build any, or all " the arts upon." And accordingly the father took his friend's advice, and left his fon at the University, where he was admitted into Lincoln College.

While he was at the University, he generally spent eleven hours a day in study: which industry of his enabled him to go through the whole course of philosophy, and also to gain a most accurate and intimate acquaintance with all the classic Authors; from most of whom he made large extracts, and also drew up indexes

<sup>(</sup>y) Mr. Walton observes, that the "making useful applications of them; excellency of his disposition "was "by which his ion was in his inmaintained and improved by his "fancy taught to abhor vanity and " and little pleafant flories, and of Lincoln, Edit. 8vo. 1678.

<sup>&</sup>quot; prudent father's good example, and " vice as moniters, and to differn the " by frequent converting with him; " loveliness of wildom and virtue." " and scattering short apophthegms Life of Dr. Robert Sanderson, Bithon

for his private use, either in his own paper-book, or at the beginning and end of each book. He continued the same assiduity and diligence during the remainder of his life; not only avoiding, but perfectly hating idleness, and hardly recommending any thing more than this: " Be always furnished with somewhat to

" do, as the best way to innocence and pleasure ( z )."

In 1604, Mr. Sanderson took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and on this occasion his tutor told Dr. Kilbie, who was then Rector of Lincoln College, " That his pupil Sanderson had a metaof physical brain, and a matchless memory: and that he thought " he had improved, or made the last so, by an art of his own invention (a)." In 1606, he was chosen Fellow of his College, and the following year he took the degree of Master of Arts. 1608, he was chosen Reader of Logic in his College; an office which he discharged with so much ability, that he was elected again the year following; and he also became an eminent tutor.

In 1611, he entered into Holy Orders, being ordained by Dr. King, Bishop of London. In the years 1613, 1614, and 1616, he ferved the office of Sub-Rector of his College; and, in 1617, he was senior Proctor of the University. His abilities and behaviour in all thefe employments were fuch, that he was univerfally loved and respected; there being no other objection made to him, but

that he was modest and bashful to an extreme.

The same year in which he served the office of Proctor, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity. In 1618, he was presented by his kinsman, Sir Nicholas Sanderson, Lord Viscount Cassleton, to the Rectory of Wibberton, near Boston, in Lincolnshire, a Living of good value: but he refigned it the year following, on account of the unhealthiness of the situation. And about the same time he was collated to the Rectory of Boothby Pannel, in the same county, which he enjoyed above forty years, being extremely beloved and esteemed by his parishioners. Soon after his acceptance of this Living, he refigned his Fellowship: and thortly after married Anne, the daughter of Henry Nelson, Rector of Haugham, in the county of Lincoln; who proved, fays Mr. Walton (b), " fuch a wife as was fuitable to his own defires; " a wife, that made his life happy by being always content when he was chearful; that divided her joys with him, and abated of

" his forrow, by bearing a part of that burthen; a wife, that " demonstrated her affection by a chearful obedience to all his

" defires, during the whole course of his life; and at his death

" too, for she out-lived him."

About

( 2) Vid. Biograph. Britan.

(a) Walton, as before.
(1) IZAAK WALTON was born in August, 1593. No account is pre-ferved of the manner of his educa-

brought up a tradefman, and to have been first settled in business at the Royal Exchange. He afterwards lived in Flect-street, and in Chancery-lane, where, in some deeds of conveyance, on, but he appears to have been he is faid to have followed the trade About the time of Mr. Sanderson's marriage, he was made Prebendary of the collegiate church of Southwell; and, in 1629, Vol. IV. 10.

of a linen-draper. About the year 1643, he left London, and feems to have retired with a competent fortune altogether from bufiness. He afterwards lived some time at Strafford, and elsewhere; but mostly in the families of fome of the eminent Clergy, by whom he was much beloved. When he lived in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, whereof Dr. John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, was Vicar, he became intimately acquainted with that eminent Divine; and upon his decease, at the request of Sir Henry Wotton, collected materials for his Life, which he finished in the year 1640, and published it with a collection of the Doctor's fermons in Folio. Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, in a letter to Mr. Walton, thus expresses himself concerning this Life. " I am " glad that the general demonstration of his worth was fo fairly preferved and represented to the world, by " your pen, in the History of his Life; " indeed fo well, that besides others, " the best critic of our later time, " Mr. John Hales of Eaton, affirmed to me, he had not seen a Life writ-" ten with more advantage to the fubight ject, or reputation to the Writer, than that of Dr. Donne."

Sir Henry Wotten dying in 1639, Bishop King importuned Mr. Walton to undertake the writing his life, which he did, and it was prefixed to a col-lection of Sir Henry's remains, intitled, Reliquiæ Wottoniana. About two years after the Restoration, he wrote the Life of the learned Richard Hooker; which he was enjoined to undertake by his friend Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. And under the roof of his good friend and patron Dr. George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, he wrote the Life of Mr. George Herbert. These Lives were collected together, and published in a small Volume, 8vo. in 1675, with a Preface, and a Dedi-cation to the Bishop of Winchester.

When he was in his eighty-third year, he undertook to write the Life

of Bishop Sanderson, which was published together with several of that Prelate's pieces, and a fermon of Hooker's, in 8vo. in 1678. But his pen was not altogether confined to Biography. While he lived in London, his favourite amusement was angling ; in which he was a great proficient. Langbaine stiles him, the common father of all Anglers. The precepts of the art of angling, having hardly ever been reduced to writing, were propagated from age to age chiefly by tradition : but Walton, whose benevolent and communicative temper appears in every line of his Writings, being unwilling to conceal from the world those affistances, which his long practice and experience enabled him to give, in the year 1653, he published, in a very elegant manner, his " Complete Angler; or, Contempla-" tive Man's Recreation;" in fmall 12mo, adorned with cuts of most of the fish mentioned in it. This is no trifling work, but both entertaining and instructive; and, according to fome critics, whether we confider the elegant simplicity of the style, the ease and unaffected humour of the dialogue, the pleasing scenes which it delineates, the delightful pastoral poetry which it contains, or the fine morality it fo fweetly inculcates, has hardly its fellow in any of the mo-dern languages. That this work met with a very favourable reception from the public, may eafily be inferred from its going through five Editions in the Author's life-time; to the laft of which, his intimate friend and adopted fon, Charles Cotton, of Beresford in Staffordshire, Esq; added a very judicious supplement, containing, " Instructions how to angle for a "Trout, or Grayling, in a clear ftream." An elegant Edition of this Work was published at London, in 1760, with notes, historical, critical, and explanatory, together with fome account of the Lives both of Walton and Cotton.

In 1683, when he was ninety years old,

he was installed into a Prebend in the cathedral of Lincoln. He continued to discharge the duties of his function in his parish in a very exemplary manner. He laboured much in reconciling differences, and preventing law-suits, both in his parish, and in the neighbourhood. He also often visited sick and disconsolate families, raising them from dejection by his advice and chearful discourse, and also giving pecuniary assistance to those who were in want of it.

He was often called upon to preach at affizes and vifitations. But his fermons on these occasions, though much esteemed by the best judges, were the less valued by the generality, because he read them; which he was forced to do, Walton observes, notwithstanding he had an extraordinary memory, even the art of it, because he had such an innate, invincible fear and bashfulness, that it rendered his memory wholly useless as to the repetition of his sermons; which occasioned it to be remarked when they were first printed, which was in the year 1632, that "the best sermons

" that were ever read, were never preached."

At the beginning of the reign of King Charles I. he was chosen one of the Clerks in Convocation for the Diocese of Lincoln; as he was also in all the subsequent Convocations during that reign. And Dr. Laud, at that time Bishop of London, having recommended Sanderson to the King, as a man excellently skilled in casuistical learning, he was appointed Chaplain to his Majesty in November, 1631. When he became known to the King, his Majesty put many cases of conscience to him, and received from him fuch folutions as gave him great fatisfaction: fo that, at the end of his month's attendance, the King told him, that "he should long for next November; for he resolved to have " a more inward acquaintance with him, when the month and " he returned." And it is faid that the King was never absent from his fermons, and used to fay, that "he carried his ears to " hear other preachers, but his conscience to hear Mr. Sander-" fon."

In August, 1636, when the Court was entertained at Oxford, he was, among others, created Doctor in Divinity. In 1642, he was proposed

old, Mr. Walton published, "Theal"ma and Clearchus, a pastoral histo"ry in smooth and very easy verse;
"written long since by John Chalk"hill, Esq; an acquaintance and
"friend of Edmund Spenser." To
this Poem he wrote a Preface, containing a very amiable character of
the Author: He lived but a very little time after the publication of this
Poem; for this ingenious, meck, benevolent, and pious man, ended his
days on the 15th of December, 1683,

in the great frost at Winchester, in the house of his son-in-law, Dr. William Hawkins, a Prebendary of the church there; where he lies buried. By his will, in failure of his son's issue, he requeathed part of his citate to the town of Stassord, for binding out poor boys apprentices, and portioning out poor maidens in marriage, and buying coals for poor people in hard and severe times. Vid Supplement to New and Gen. Biog. Dict.

proposed by both Houses of Parliament to the King, who was then at Oxford, to be one of their trustees for the settling of church affairs, and was approved of by his Majesty: but that treaty came to nothing. The same year his Majesty appointed him Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, with the Canonry of Christ-church annexed; but the civil wars hindered him from entering on it till 1646, and then he did not hold it undisturbed

much above a year.

In 1643, he was nominated by the Parliament one of the Asfembly of Divines, but never fat among them: neither did he take the Covenant or Engagement, so that his Living was sequestered: but, so great was his reputation for piety and learning, that he was not deprived of it. He had the chief hand in drawing up " The reasons of the University of Oxford against the " folemn League and Covenant, the negative oath, and the ordi-" nances concerning discipline and worship:" and when the Parliament had fent proposals to the King for a peace in Church and State, his Majesty desired, that Dr. Sanderson, with the Doctors Hammond, Sheldon, and Morley, should attend him, and advise him how far he might with a good conscience comply with those proposals. This request was then rejected; but it being complied with, when his Majesty was at Hampton-court, and in the Isle of Wight, in 1647 and 1648, those Divines attended him there. Dr. Sanderson often preached before him, and had many public and private conferences with him, to his Majesty's great fatisfaction. The King also desired him, at Hamptoncourt, fince the Parliament had proposed the abolishing of epifcopal government, as inconfistent with Monarchy, that he would confider of it, and declare his judgment. He did fo; and what he wrote upon that subject, was afterwards printed in 1661, and 1663, in 8vo. under this title, " Episcopacy, as established by law " in England, not prejudicial to Regal power."

At Dr. Sanderson's taking leave of his Majesty, in this his last attendance on him, the King requested him to apply himself to the writing "Cases of Conscience." To which his answer was, that "he was now grown old, and unsit to write Cases of Conscience." But the King replied, that "this was the simplest answer was fit to be a Judge, or write Cases of Conscience." And upon this occasion, Mr. Walton relates the following anecdote: that in one of these conferences, the King told Dr. Sanderson, or one of them that then waited with him, "That the remembrance of two errors did much afflict him, which were, his assent to the Earl of Strafford's death, and the abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland; and that, if GOD ever restored him to the peace- able possession of his Crown, he would demonstrate his repensance by a public consession and a voluntary penance, by walk-

ing bare-foot from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's church; and would defire the people to intercede with

" GOD for his pardon."

It should seem from hence, and from what was said before, that the King's conscience was in some matters very scrupulous: it would, however, have been well for this Monarch, as well as for the nation, if he had been more scrupulous with respect to the rights of his people: if he had enquired with more care and fincerity, whether he had a right to violate his Coronation oath, and whether he might conscientiously deprive his subjects of their laws and their liberties? But unfortunately for Charles, too many of his Clergy were extremely ready to suggest to him, that his fubjects had no rights; that he was the Sovereign Master of their persons and of their properties; and that they were bound to submit, like beafts of burthen, to whatever hardships, impositions, or exactions, he, in his Royal goodness and wisdom, should think fit to lay upon them. And these doctrines were so agreeable to his Majesty, that he endeavoured to regulate his government in exact conformity to them.

In 1648, Dr. Sanderson, on account of his adherence to the Royal cause, was ejected from his Professorship and Canonry in Oxford, by the Parliament visitors: And upon this he retired to his Living of Boothby Pannel. Soon after, he was taken prisoner, and carried to Lincoln, on purpose to be exchanged for Mr. Clarke, a Puritan Divine, who had been made prisoner by the King's party: and he was indeed soon released upon articles, one of which was, that he should be restored to his Living, and which he accordingly was. But though the articles imported also, that he should live undisturbed, yet ye was far from being either quiet or safe, being once wounded and several times plundered: and the outrage of the soldiers was such, that they not only came into his church, and disturbed him when he was reading prayers, but even forced the common prayer book from him,

and tore it to pieces.

About this time Dr. Sanderson received a visit from the learned Dr. Hammond, who wanted to discourse with him upon some points disputed between the Calvinists and Arminians; and some letters which afterwards passed between them on these subjects have since been printed. While Hammond was at Sanderson's house, he laboured to persuade him to trust to his excellent memory, and not to read but try to speak a sermon, as he had written it. Dr. Sanderson promised that he would endeavour to do so and to that end they both went early the Sunday sollowing to a neighbouring Clergyman, and requested to exchange a sermon, which they accordingly did. At Dr. Sanderson's going into the pulpit he gave his sermon, which was a very short one, into the hand of Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as it was written:

but before he had preached a third part, Hammond looking upon the written fermon, observed him to be much out, and so lost as to the matter, that he was in pain for him: and indeed, the disorder of the preacher, and the incoherency of his sermon, was very apparent to many of the auditors, though of the lowest rank. After the fermon was over, our two Divines walking home together, Dr. Sanderson said with much earnestness, " Good "Doctor give me my fermon, and know, that neither you, nor any " man living, shall ever persuade me to preach again without my " books." Hammond replied, " Good Doctor, be not angry: " for if I ever perfuade you to preach again without book, I will

" give you leave to burn all those that I am master of." Dr. Sanderson was exceedingly sensible of the great disadvantage of the extreme timidity and bashfulness of his temper. This appears from some conversation which passed between him and the Writer of his Life, Mr. Walton, when they happened to meet in London, a few years before the Restoration, at which time Sanderson's attachment to the Royal party had occasioned his circumstances to be very low. " I met him accidentally in London (fays Walton) in fad-coloured clothes, and, Gop knows, far from being costly: the place of our meeting was near to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand. We had no inclination to part presently; and therefore turned to stand in a corner under a pent-house, for it began to rain, and immediately the wind rose, and the rain increased so much, that both became so inconvenient, as to force us into a cleanly house, where we had bread, cheese, ale, and a fire for our money. This rain and wind were fo obliging to me, as to force our stay there for at least an hour, to my great content and advantage: for in that time he made to me many useful observations, with much clearness and conscientious free-After relating some of the conversation which passed between them on this occasion, Mr. Walton goes on to inform us, that Dr. Sanderson expressed a forrow by faying to him, "O " that I had gone Chaplain to that excellently accomplished gen-" tleman, your friend, Sir Henry Wotton! which was once in-" tended, when he first went Ambassador to the State of Venice: " for by that employment I had been forced into a necessity of " converfing, not with him only, but with feveral men of feve-" ral nations; and might thereby have kept myfelf from my un-" manly bashfulness, which has proved very troublesome, and not " less inconvenient to me; and which I now fear is become fo \* habitual as never to leave me. And by that means I might " also have known, or at least have had the satisfaction of fee-" ing one of the late miracles of general learning, prudence,

and modesty, Sir Henry Wotton's dear friend, Father Paul. who, the author of his Life fays, was born with a bashfulness as invincible, as I have found my own to be: a man whose " fame must never die, till virtue and learning shall become so

" useless as not to be regarded."

It was in 1647, that Dr. Sanderson first published his lectures De Juramenti Obligatione, which being some years after read with great satisfaction by the celebrated Mr. Robert Boyle, that gentleman asked Dr. Barlow, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, if he thought Dr. Sanderson could be induced to write Cases of Conscience, if he might have an honorary pension allowed, to supply him with books and an amanuenfis? But Dr. Sanderson told Dr. Barlow, that if any future tract of his could bring any benefit to mankind, he would readily fet about it without a pension. Upon this Mr. Boyle fent him a prefent of fifty pounds, which his circumstances at that time rendered very acceptable; and Dr Sanderson presently revised, finished, and published his treatise De Obligatione Conscientia.

On the restoration of King Charles II. Dr. Sanderson was reinstated in his Professorship and Canonry. Soon after, at the recommendation of Dr. Sheldon, he was nominated to the Bishopric of Lincoln; and was confecrated on the 28th of October, 1660. But as he was now upwards of feventy-three years of age. he enjoyed his new dignity little more than two years, during which time he repaired his Palace at Bugden, augmented poor vicarages, and did all the good in his power. He died on the 20th of January, 1663, in the feventy-fixth year of his age; and was buried in the Chancel of Bugden-church, with as much privacy, and as little expence as possible, according to his own di-

rection.

Bishop SANDERSON was in his person moderately tall, of a healthy constitution, of a mild, chearful, and even temper, and extremely temperate. In his behaviour, he was affable, civil, and obliging, but not ceremonious. He was a man of great piety, modesty, learning, and abilities, and of unblameable manners. He had great knowledge in the fathers, schoolmen, and casuistical and controverfial Divinity; and was well skilled in antient and modern History. It should seem, however, as if he had not been of such universal reading, as might be supposed. For we are told, that being asked by a friend, what books he studied most, when he laid the foundation of his great and clear learning, he answered, that "he declined reading many books, but what " he did read were well chosen, and read often; and added, that they were chiefly three, Aristotle's Rhetoric, Aquinas's Se-" cunda Secundæ, and Tully, but especially his Offices, which " he had not read over less than twenty times, and could even in

"his old age receite without book." He told him also, that the learned Civilian Dr. Zouch had written Elementa Jurisprudentiae, which he thought he could also say without book, and that no wise man could read it too often. We are also told, as an evidence of the strength of Dr. Sanderson's memory, that alone, or to a friend, he could repeat all the Odes of Horace, and much of Juvenal and Persius without book. And he said, that "the re"petition of one of the Odes of Horace to himself was to him
"fuch music, as a lesson on the viol was to others, when they
"played it to themselves or friends." The worthiest and most learned of his contemporaries speak of him in the most respectful terms. Dr. Hammond says, "That staid and well-weighed man Dr. Sanderson conceives all things deliberately, dwells upon them discreetly, discerns things that disser exactly, passes feth his judgment rationally, and expresses it aptly, clearly, and honestly."

The Works which this Prelate published were the following:

I. Logicæ Artis Compendium, Oxon. 1615, 8vo. This has been many times fince re-printed.

II. Phyficæ scientiæ Compendium, Oxon. 1671, 8vo.

III. Thirty-five Sermons, printed in feveral forms, and at different times, and all together, in Folio, in 1681.

IV. Nine Cases of Conscience resolved, 1678, 8vo.

V. De Juramenti promissorii Obligatione Prælectiones Septem. First printed at London in 1647, 8vo. and re-printed several times since with De Obligatione Conscientiæ Prælectiones Decem.

VI. A Censure of Mr. Anthony Ascham his Book of the Confusions and Revolutions of Government, 1649, 8vo.

VII. Episcopacy, as established by law in England, not pre-

judicial to the regal power, Lond. 1661.

VIII. Pax Ecclesiæ, concerning Predestination, &c. Printed, with some other small pieces, at the end of his Life by Mr. Walton.

IX. Discourse concerning the church in these particulars: first concerning the visibility of the true church; secondly, concerning

the church of Rome, &c. Lond. 1688. 4to.

X. Mr. Peck, in the second Volume of his Desiderata Curiosa, has published the History and Antiquities of the Cathedral at Lincoln: containing an axact copy of all the antient monumental inscriptions there, in number 163, as they stood in 1641, most of which were soon after torn up, or otherwise defaced. Collected

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by Robert Sanderson, S. T. P. afterwards Lord Bishop of that church, and compared with and corrected by Sir William Dugdale's M, S. Survey.

The END of the FOURTH VOLUMB.





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